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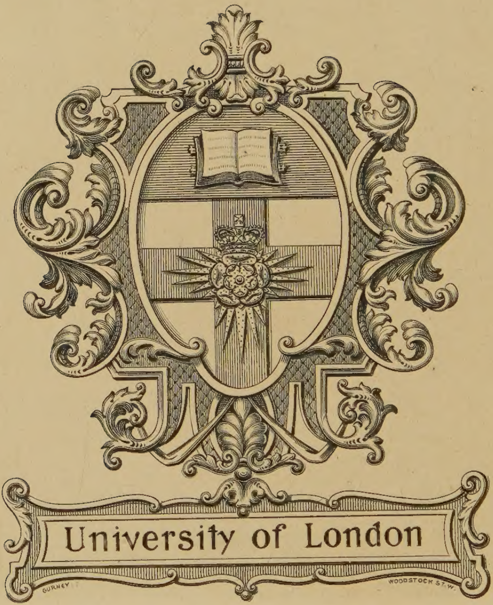

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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES.

SIXTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT
OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

5 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME CXLI.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY TO THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1905.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION.

1905.

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CHRONOLOGY OF "THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

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OF THE

LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

IN THE

SIXTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

5 EDWARD VII. 1905.

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160 Camperdown, Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of
4 Canterbury, Randall Thomas Archbishop of
216 Canterbury, Henry Charles Viscount
405 Carew, Robert Shapland George Julian Lord
315 Carleton, Richard Henry Lord. (*Earl of Shannon*)
70 Carlisle, George James Earl of

117	Carnarvon, George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Earl of
85	Carnwath, Robert Harris Carnwath Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
192	Carrington, Charles Robert Earl
345	Carysfort, William Lord. (*Earl of Carysfort*)
355	Castlemaine, Albert Edward Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
458	Castletown, Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord
144	Cathcart, Alan Frederick Earl
158	Cawdor, Frederick Archibald Vaughan Earl
386	Chaworth, Reginald Lord. (*Earl of Meath*)
429	Chelmsford, Frederic Augustus Lord
428	Chesham, Charles Compton William Lord
245	Chester, Francis John Bishop of
67	Chesterfield, Edwyn Francis Earl of
529	Cheylesmore, Herbert Francis Lord
132	Chichester, Francis Godolphin Earl of
240	Chichester, Ernest Roland Bishop of
43	Cholmondeley, George Henry Hugh Marquess of
234	Churchill, Victor Albert Francis Charles Viscount
430	Churston, John Lord
214	Clancarty, William Frederick Viscount. (*Earl of Clancarty*)
379	Clanwilliam, Richard James Lord. (*Earl of Clanwilliam*)
55 & 112	Clarendon, Edward Hyde Earl of. (*Lord Chamberlain of the Household*)
384	Clements, Charles Lord. (*Earl of Leitrim*)
284	Clifford of Chudleigh, Lewis Henry Hugh Lord
264	Clinton, Charles John Robert Lord
338	Clonbrock, Luke Gerald Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
391	Cloncurry, Valentine Frederick Lord
201	Cobham, Charles George Viscount
360	Colchester, Reginald Charles Edward Lord
468	Coleridge, Bernard John Seymour Lord
233	Colville of Culross, Charles Robert William Viscount
215	Combermere, Francis Lynch Wellington Viscount
418	Congleton, Henry Lord
2	Connaught and Strathearn, His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of
173	Cottenham, Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of
470	Cottesloe, Thomas Francis Lord
77	Coventry, George William Earl of
174	Cowley, Henry Arthur Mornington Earl
93	Cowper, Francis Thomas de Grey Earl
190	Cranbrook, Gathorne Earl of
579	Cranworth, Bertram Francis Lord
129	Craven, William George Robert Earl of
539	Crawshaw, Thomas Lord
193	Crewe, Robert Offley Ashburton Earl of
340	Crofton, Edward Henry Churchill Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
197	Cromer, Evelyn Earl of
225	Cross, Richard Assheton Viscount
25	Cumberland and Teviotdale, His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Fredk. Duke of
576	Currie, Philip Henry Wodehouse Lord

D

90	Dartmouth, William Heneage Earl of
179	Dartrey, Vesey Earl of
553	Davey, Horace Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
567	Dawnay, Hugh Richard Lord. (*Viscount Downe*)
263	de Clifford, Jack Southwell Lord
421	De Freyne, Arthur Lord
107	De La Warr, Gilbert Geo. Reginald Earl
395	De L'Isle and Dudley, Philip Lord
406	De Mauley, William Ashley Webb Lord

528	De Ramsey, William Henry Lord
260	de Ros, Dudley Charles Lord
392	de Saumarez, James St. Vincent Lord
368	Delamere, Hugh Lord
62	Denbigh, Rudolph Robert Basil Aloysius Augustine Earl of
393	Denman, Thomas Lord
509	Deramore, Robert Wilfrid Lord
57	Derby, Frederick Arthur Earl of
492	Derwent, Harcourt Lord
60	Devon, Charles Pepys Earl of
17	Devonshire, Spencer Compton Duke of.
302	Digby, Edward Henry Trafalgar Lord
305	Dinevor, Arthur de Cardonnel Lord
71	Doncaster, William Henry Walter Earl of. (*Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*)
280	Dormer, Ronald John Lord
472	Douglas, Charles Alexander Lord. (*Earl of Home*)
121	Drogheda, Ponsonby William Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
165	Ducie, Henry John Earl of
176	Dudley, William Humble Earl of
51	Dufferin and Ava, Terence John Temple Marquess of
343	Dunalley, Henry O'Callaghan Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
333	Dunboyne, Robert St. John Fitz-Walter Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
88	Dundonald, Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
542	Dunleath, Henry Lyle Lord
387	Dunmore, Charles Adolphus Lord. (*Earl of Dunmore*)
454	Dunning, John Lord. (*Lord Rollo*)
162	Durham, John George Earl of
237	Durham, Handley Carr Glyn Bishop of

E

427	Ebury, Robert Wellesley Lord
164	Effingham, Henry Alexander Gordon Earl of
194	Egerton, Wilbraham Earl
151	Eldon, John Earl of
420	Elgin, Victor Alexander Lord. (*Earl of Elgin and Kincardine*)
347	Ellenborough, Edward Downes Lord
171	Ellesmere, Francis Charles Granville Earl of
511	Elphinstone, Sidney Herbert Lord
244	Ely, Alwyne Bishop of
469	Emly, Thomas William Gaston Lord
350	Erskine, William Macnaghten Lord
229	Esher, Reginald Baliol Viscount
69	Essex, George Devereux de Vere Earl of
596	Estcourt, George Thomas John Lord
464	Ettrick, William John George Lord. (*Lord Napier*)
39	Exeter, William Thomas Brownlow Marquess of
212	Exmouth, Edward Addington Hargreaves Viscount

F

566	Fairlie, David Lord. (*Earl of Glasgow*)
199	Falkland, Byron Plantagenet Viscount. (*Elected for Scotland*)
202	Falmouth, Evelyn Edward Thomas Viscount
573	Farquhar, Horace Brand Lord
547	Farrer, Thomas Cecil Lord
474	Fermanagh, John Henry Lord. (*Earl Erne*)
89	Ferrers, Sewallis Edward Earl
180	Feversham, William Ernest Earl of
532	Field, William Ventris Lord
29	Fife, Alexander William George Duke of
382	Fingall, Arthur James Francis Lord (*Earl of Fingall*)
319	Fisherwick, Edward Arthur Donald St. George Hamilton Lord. (*Marquess of Donegall*)
437	Fitzhardinge, Charles Paget Fitzhardinge Lord
103	Fitzwilliam, William Charles De Meuron Earl
304	Foley, Henry Thomas Lord
287	Forbes, Horace Courtenay Gammell Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)
369	Forester, Cecil Theodore Lord

116	Fortescue, Hugh Earl
358	Foxford, William Henry Edmond de Vere Sheaffe Lord. (*Earl of Limerick*)

G

320	Gage, Henry Charles Lord. (*Viscount Gage*)
170	Gainsborough, Charles William Francis Earl of
353	Gardner, ——— Lord
478	Gerard, Frederic John Lord
371	Gifford, Edric Frederic Lord
577	Glanusk, Joseph Russell Lord
560	Glenesk, Algernon Lord
239	Gloucester, Charles John Bishop of
211	Gordon, John Campbell Viscount. (*Earl of Aberdeen*)
451	Gormanston, Jenico William Joseph Lord. (*Viscount Gormanston*)
230	Goschen, George Joachim Viscount
219	Gough, Hugh Viscount
12	Grafton, Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of
96	Graham, Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl. (*Duke of Montrose*)
352	Granard, Bernard Arthur William Patrick Hastings Lord. (*Earl of Granard*)
309	Grantley, John Richard Brinsley Lord
163	Granville, Granville George Earl
591	Grenfell, Francis Wallace Lord
461	Greville, Algernon William Fulke Lord
139	Grey, Albert Henry George Earl
266	Grey de Ruthyn, Rawdon George Grey Lord
515	Grimthorpe, Edmund Lord
357	Grinstead, Lowry Egerton Lord (*Earl of Enniskillen*)
104	Guilford, Frederick George Earl of
329	Gwydir, Peter Robert Lord

H

83	Haddington, George Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
482	Haldon, Lawrence William Lord
575	Haliburton, Arthur Lawrence Lord
220	Halifax, Charles Lindley Viscount
5 & 195	Halsbury, Hardinge Stanley Earl of. (*Lord High Chancellor*)
519	Hamilton of Dalzell, Gavin George Lord
223	Hampden, Henry Robert Viscount
471	Hampton, Herbert Perrott Murray Lord
218	Hardinge, Henry Charles Viscount
105	Hardwicke, John Manners Earl of
456	Hare William Lord. (*Earl of Listowel*)
142	Harewood, Henry Ulick Earl of
475	Harlech, George Ralph Charles Lord
99	Harrington, Charles Augustus Earl of
359	Harris, George Robert Canning Lord
141	Harrowby, John Herbert Dudley Earl of
443	Hartismere, Charles Henry Chandos Lord. (*Lord Henniker*)
262	Hastings, Albert Edward Delaval Lord
397	Hatherton, Edward George Percy Lord
303	Hawke, Martin Bladen Lord
549	Hawkesbury, Cecil George Savile Lord
294	Hay, Archibald Fitzroy George Lord. (*Earl of Kinnoul*)
339	Headley, Charles Mark Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
562	Heneage, Edward Lord
198	Hereford, Robert Viscount
251	Hereford, John Bishop of
500	Herries, Marmaduke Francis Lord
512	Herschell, Richard Farrer Lord
37	Hertford, Hugh de Grey Marquess of
377	Heytesbury, Leonard Lord
217	Hill, Rowland Richard Viscount
513	Hillingdon, Charles William Lord
111	Hillsborough, Arthur Wills John Wellington Trumbull Blundell Earl of. (*Marquess of Downshire*)
514	Hindlip, Charles Lord
569	Holm Patrick, Hans Wellesley Lord
205	Hood, Francis Wheler Viscount

493 Hothfield, Henry James Lord

457 Howard of Glossop, Francis Edward Lord

276 Howard de Walden, Thomas Evelyn Lord

152 Howe, Richard George Penn Earl

490 Howth, William Ulick Tristram Lord. (*Earl of Howth*)

58 Huntingdon, Warner Francis John Plantagenet Earl of

213 Hutchinson, Richard Walter John Viscount. (*Earl of Donoughmore*)

444 Hylton, Hylton George Hylton Lord

I

188 Iddesleigh, Walter Stafford Earl of

106 Ilchester, Henry Edward Earl of

334 Inchiquin, Lucius William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

167 Innes, Henry John Earl. (*Duke of Roxburghe*)

570 Inverclyde, George Arbuthnot Lord

533 Iveagh, Edward Cecil Lord

J

558 James, Henry Lord

78 Jersey, Victor Albert George Earl of

K

536 Kelvin, William Lord

385 Kenlis, Geoffrey Thomas Lord. (*Marquess of Headfort*)

424 Kenmare, Valentine Augustus Lord. (*Earl of Kenmare*)

441 Kenry, Windham Thomas Lord. (*Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl*)

517 Kensington, Hugh Lord

317 Kenyon, Lloyd Lord

361 Ker, Robert Schomberg Lord. (*Marquess of Lothian*)

447 Kesteven, John Henry Lord

584 Killanin, Martin Henry Lord

337 Kilmaine, Francis William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

381 Kilmarnock, Charles Gore Lord. (*Earl of Erroll*)

155 Kilmorey, Francis Charles Earl of (*Elected for Ireland*)

178 Kimberley, John Earl of

435 Kinnaird, Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord

564 Kinnear, Alexander Smith Lord

587 Kinross, Patrick Lord

403 Kintore, Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord (*Earl of Kintore*)

232 Kitchener of Khartoum and of the Vaal, Horatio Herbert Viscount

592 Knollys, Francis Lord

227 Knutsford, Henry Thurstan Viscount

L

485 Lamington, Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Lord

122 Lanesborough, John Vansittart Danvers Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

341 Langford, Hercules Edward Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

32 Lansdowne, Henry Charles Keith Marquess of

185 Lathom, Edward George Earl of

84 Lauderdale, Frederick Henry Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

453 Lawrence, John Hamilton Lord

431 Leconfield, Charles Henry Lord

15 Leeds, George Godolphin Duke of

168 Leicester, Thomas William Earl of

411 Leigh, William Henry Lord

204 Leinster, Maurice Viscount. (*Duke of Leinster*)

86 Leven and Melville, Ronald Ruthven Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

161 Lichfield, Thomas Francis Earl of

248 Lichfield, Augustus Bishop of

331 Lilford, John Lord

242 Lincoln, Edward Bishop of

583 Lindley, Nathaniel Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

64 Lindsey, Montague Peregrine Albemarle Earl of

506 Lingen, Ralph Robert Wheeler Lord

53 Linlithgow, John Adrian Louis Marquess of

565 Lister, Joseph Lord

259 Liverpool, Francis James Bishop of

228 Llandaff, Henry Viscount

543 Llangattock, John Allan Lord

554 Loch, Edward Douglas Lord

344 Loftus, John Henry Lord. (*Marquess of Ely*)

189 Londesborough, William Francis Henry Earl of

236 London, Arthur Foley Bishop of

140 Lonsdale, Hugh Cecil Earl of

401 Lovat, Simon Joseph Lord

169 Lovelace, Ralph Gordon Earl of

300 Lovel and Holland, Augustus Arthur Lord. (*Earl of Egmont*)

125 Lucan, George Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

568 Ludlow, Henry Ludlow Lord

413 Lurgan, William Lord

184 Lytton, Victor Alexander George Robert Earl of

433 Lyveden, Courtenay Robert Percy Lord

M

95 Macclesfield, George Loveden William Henry Earl of

522 Macnaghten, Edward Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

526 Magheramorne, Dudley Stuart Lord

119 Malmesbury, James Edward Earl of

22 Manchester, William Angus Drogo Duke of

285 Manners of Haddon, Henry John Brinsley Lord. (*Marquess of Granby*)

354 Manners, John Thomas Lord

113 Mansfield, William David Earl of

137 Manvers, Charles William Sydney Earl

80 Mar, John Francis Erskine Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

82 Mar and Kellie, Walter John Francis Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

18 Marlborough, Charles Richard John Duke of

535 Masham, Samuel Lord

335 Massy, John Thomas William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

123 Mayo, Dermot Robert Wyndham Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

356 Meldrum, Charles Lord. (*Marquess of Huntly*)

208 Melville, Charles Saunders Viscount

323 Mendip, Thomas Charles Lord. (*Viscount Clifden*)

440 Meredyth, James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord. (*Lord Athlumney*)

409 Methuen, Paul Sanford Lord

295 Middleton, Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord

235 Milner, Alfred Viscount

362 Minster, Victor George Henry Francis Lord. (*Marquess Conyngham*)

143 Minto, Gilbert John Earl of

442 Monck, Henry Power Charles Stanley Lord. (*Viscount Monck*)

524 Monckton, George Edmund Milnes Lord. (*Viscount Galway*)

467 Moncreiff, Henry James Lord

497 Monk Bretton, John William Lord

505 Monkswell, Robert Lord

296 Monson, Augustus Debonnaire John Lord

510 Montagu of Beaulieu, Henry John Lord

351 Monteagle, Henry Ulick Lord (*Marquess of Sligo*)

414 Monteagle of Brandon, Thomas Spring Lord

148 Morley, Albert Edmund Earl of

81 Morton, Sholto George Watson Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)

389 Mostyn, Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord

115 Mount Edgcumbe, William Henry Earl of

534 Mount Stephen, George Lord

261 Mowbray, Charles Botolph Joseph Lord

574 Muncaster, Josslyn Francis Lord

159 Munster, Aubrey Earl of

336 Muskerry, Hamilton Matthew Fitzmaurice Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

N

450 Napier, Robert William Lord

135 Nelson, Horatio Earl

23 Newcastle, Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of

572 Newlands, William Wallace Lord

541	Newton, Thomas Wodehouse Lord
9	Norfolk, Henry Duke of. (*Earl Marshal of England*)
47	Normanby, Constantine Charles Henry Marquess of
274	North, William Henry John Lord
40	Northampton, William George Spencer Scott Marquess of
498	Northbourne, Walter Henry Lord
182	Northbrook, Francis George Earl of
581	Northcote, Henry Stafford Lord
87	Northesk, David John Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
502	Northington, Frederic Lord. (*Lord Henley*)
24	Northumberland, Henry George Duke of
480	Norton, Charles Bowyer Lord
249	Norwich, John Bishop of

O

585	O'Brien, Peter Lord
462	O'Hagan, Maurice Herbert Ignatius Towneley Lord
449	O'Neill, Edward Lord
130	Onslow, William Hillier Earl of
400	Oranmore and Browne, Geoffrey Henry Browne Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
138	Orford, Robert Horace Earl of
366	Oriel, Clotworthy John Eyre Lord. (*Viscount Massereene*)
448	Ormathwaite, Arthur Lord
363	Ormonde, James Edward William Theobald Lord. (*Marquess of Ormonde*)
548	Overtoun, John Campbell Lord
416	Oxenfoord, John Hew North Gustave Henry Lord. (*Earl of Stair*)

P

226	Peel, Arthur Wellesley Viscount
64 & 59	Pembroke and Montgomery, Sidney Earl of. (*Lord Steward of the Household*)
445	Penrhyn, George Sholto Gordon Lord
254	Peterborough, Edward Carr Bishop of
277	Petre, Bernard Henry Philip Lord
544	Playfair, George James Lord
376	Plunket, William Lee Lord
388	Poltimore, Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord
297	Ponsonby, Walter William Brabazon Lord. (*Earl of Bessborough*)
21	Portland, William John Arthur Charles James Duke of
222	Portman, William Henry Berkeley Viscount
100	Portsmouth, Newton Earl of
79	Poulett, William John Lydston Earl
501	Powerscourt, Mervyn Richard Lord
134	Powis, George Charles Earl of

R

108	Radnor, Jacob Earl of
423	Raglan, George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord
473	Ramsay, Arthur George Maule Lord. (*Earl of Dalhousie*)
374	Ranfurly, Uchter John Mark Lord. (*Earl of Ranfurly*)
452	Rathdonnell, Thomas Kane Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
559	Rathmore, David Robert Lord
367	Ravensworth, Arthur Thomas Lord
370	Rayleigh, John William Lord
491	Reay, Donald James Lord
593	Redesdale, Algernon Bertram Lord
551	Rendel, Stuart Lord
504	Revelstoke, John Lord
332	Ribblesdale, Thomas Lord
11	Richmond, Charles Henry Duke of
231	Ridley, Matthew White Viscount
48	Ripon, George Frederick Samuel Marquess of
241	Ripon, William Boyd Bishop of
196	Roberts, Frederick Sleigh Earl
580	Robertson, James Patrick Bannerman Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
252	Rochester, Edward Stuart Bishop of
310	Rodney, George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord
439	Romilly, John Gaspard Le Marchant Lord
131	Romney, Charles Earl of
378	Rosebery, Archibald Philip Lord, (*Earl of Rosebery*)

563 Rosmead, Hercules Arthur Temple Lord
136 Rosse, Lawrence Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
128 Rosslyn, James Francis Harry Earl of
404 Rossmore, Derrick Warner William Lord
503 Rothschild, Nathaniel Mayer Lord
177 Russell, John Francis Stanley Earl
19 Rutland, John James Robert Duke of

S

479 Sackville, Lionel Sackville Lord
14 St. Albans, Charles Victor Albert Aubrey De Vere Duke of
253 St. Albans, Edgar, Bishop of
246 St. Asaph, Alfred George Bishop of
255 St. Davids, John Bishop of
147 Saint Germans, Henry Cornwallis Earl of
275 St. John of Bletso, Beauchamp Moubray Lord
422 Saint Leonards, Edward Burtenshaw Lord
525 Saint Levan, John Lord
508 Saint Oswald, Rowland Lord
217 St. Vincent, Carnegie Parker Viscount
8 & 34 Salisbury, James Edward Hubert Marquess of. (*Lord Privy Seal*)
243 Salisbury, John Bishop of
326 Saltersford, James George Henry Lord. (*Earl of Courtown*)
288 Saltoun, Alexander William Fredk. Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)
463 Sandhurst, William Lord
68 Sandwich, Edward George Henry Earl of
348 Sandys, Michael Edwin Marcus Lord
531 Savile, John Savile Lord
278 Saye and Sele, John Fiennes Lord
75 Scarbrough, Aldred Fredk. George Beresford Earl of
298 Scarsdale, Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord
415 Seaton, John Reginald Upton Lord
383 Sefton, Osbert Cecil Lord. (*Earl of Sefton*)
187 Selborne, William Waldegrave Earl of
72 Shaftesbury, Anthony Earl of
349 Sheffield, Henry North Lord. (*Earl of Sheffield*)
313 Sherborne, Edward Lennox Lord
56 Shrewsbury, Charles Henry John Earl of
481 Shute, Walter Bulkeley Lord. (*Viscount Barrington*)
588 Shuttleworth, Ughtred James Lord
209 Sidmouth, William Wells Viscount
365 Silchester, Thomas Lord. (*Earl of Longford*)
289 Sinclair, Charles William Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)
372 Somerhill, Hubert George Lord. (*Marquess of Clanricarde*)
311 Somers, Arthur Herbert Tennyson Lord
10 Somerset, Algernon Duke of
465 Somerton, Sidney James Lord. (*Earl of Normanton*)
186 Sondes, George Edward Earl
308 Southampton, Charles Henry Lord
109 Spencer, John Poyntz Earl
282 Stafford, Fitzherbert Lord
516 Stalbridge, Richard de Aquila Lord
65 Stamford, William Earl of
94 Stanhope, Arthur Philip Earl
410 Stanley of Alderley, Edward Lyulph Lord
550 Stanmore, Arthur Lord
325 Stewart of Garlies, Randolph Henry Lord. (*Earl of Galloway*)
153 Stradbroke, George Edward John Mowbray Earl of
172 Strafford, Francis Edmund Cecil Earl of
114 Strange, John James Hugh Henry Earl. (*Duke of Atholl*)
571 Strathcona and Mount Royal, Donald Alexander Lord
399 Stratheden, Hallyburton George Lord
496 Strathspey, James Lord. (*Earl of Seafield*)
324 Stuart of Castle Stuart, Francis James Lord. (*Earl of Moray*)
408 Sudeley, Charles Douglas Richard Lord

499 Sudley, Arthur Jocelyn Charles Lord. (*Earl of Arran*)

316 Suffield, Charles Lord

61 Suffolk and Berkshire, Henry Molyneux Paget Earl of

27 Sutherland, Cromartie Duke of

546 Swansea, Ernest Ambrose Lord

T

426 Talbot de Malahide, Richard Wogan Lord

91 Tankerville, George Montagu Earl of

154 Temple of Stowe, Algernon William Stephen Earl

390 Templemore, Henry Spencer Lord

210 Templetown, Henry Edward Montagu Dorington Clotworthy Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)

495 Tennyson, Hallam Lord

375 Tenterden, Charles Stuart Henry Lord

281 Teynham, Henry John Philip Sidney Lord

521 Thring, Henry Lord

321 Thurlow, Thomas John Lord

477 Tollemache, Bentley Lyonel John Lord

290 Torphichen, James Walter Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)

203 Torrington, George Master Viscount

33 Townshend, John James Dudley Stuart Marquess

432 Tredegar, Godfrey Charles Lord

486 Trevor, Arthur William Lord

247 Truro, John Bishop of

489 Tweeddale, William Montagu Lord. (*Marquess of Tweeddale*)

494 Tweedmouth, Edward Lord

314 Tyrone, Henry De La Poer Lord. (*Marquess of Waterford*)

V

7 & 156 Vane, Charles Stewart Earl. (*Marquess of Londonderry*) (*Lord President of the Council*)

270 Vaux of Harrowden, Hubert George Charles Lord

342 Ventry, Dayrolles Blakeney Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

301 Vernon, George Francis Augustus Lord

145 Verulam, James Walter Earl of

417 Vivian, George Crespigny Brabazon Lord

W

257 Wakefield, George Rodney Bishop of

97 Waldegrave, William Frederick Earl

1 Wales, His Royal Highness The Prince of

306 Walsingham, Thomas Lord

555 Wandsworth, Sydney James Lord

552 Welby, Reginald Earle Lord

26 Wellington, Arthur Charles Duke of

364 Wemyss, Francis Richard Lord. (*Earl of Wemyss*)

412 Wenlock, Beilby Lord

271 Wentworth, Ralph Gordon Lord (*In another place as Earl of Lovelace*)

436 Westbury, Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord

120 Westmeath, Anthony Francis Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

28 Westminster, Hugh Richard Arthur Duke of

63 Westmorland, Anthony Mildmay Julian Earl of

181 Wharncliffe, Francis John Earl of

373 Wigan, James Ludovic Lord. (*Earl of Crawford*)

269 Willoughby de Broke, Richard Greville Lord

133 Wilton, Arthur George Earl of

483 Wimborne, Ivor Bertie Lord

31 Winchester, Henry William Montagu Marquess of

238 Winchester, Herbert Edward Bishop of

66 Winchilsea and Nottingham, Henry Stormont Earl of

273 Windsor, Robert George Lord

175 Winton, George Arnulph Earl of. (*Earl of Eglintoun*)

224 Wolseley, Garnet Joseph Viscount

460 Wolverton, Frederick Lord

398 Worlingham, Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord. (*Earl of Gosford*)

407 Wrottesley, Arthur Lord

380 Wynford, Philip George Lord

Y

166 Yarborough, Chas. Alfred Worsley Earl of

6 York, William Dalrymple Archbishop of

Z

52 Zetland, Lawrence Marquess of

265 Zouche of Haryngworth, Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord

The following Lords have Two Numbers, being Twice named in the Roll :

Earl of Halsbury, as Lord High Chancellor, and as Earl of Halsbury. (Nos. 5 and 195.)

Earl Vane (Marquess of Londonderry), as Lord President, and as Earl Vane (Marquess of Londonderry). (Nos. 7 and 156.)

Marquess of Salisbury, as Lord Privy Seal, and as Marquess of Salisbury. (Nos. 8 and 34.)

Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, as Lord Steward, and as Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. (Nos. 54 and 59.)

Earl of Clarendon, as Lord Chamberlain, and as Earl of Clarendon. (Nos. 55 and 112.)

Earl of Lovelace, as Earl of Lovelace, and as Lord Wentworth. (Nos. 169 and 271.)

ROLL

OF THE

LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

IN THE

SIXTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

5 EDWARD VII. 1905.

MEM.—*According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose, within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.*

1 His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

2 His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn

3 His Royal Highness Leopold Charles Edward George Albert Duke of Albany

4 Randall Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury

5 Hardinge Stanley Earl of Halsbury *Lord High Chancellor*

6 William Dalrymple Archbishop of York

7 Charles Steward Earl VANE. (*Marquess of Londonderry*). *Lord President of the Council.*

8 James Edward Hubert Marquess of Salisbury, *Lord Privy Seal.*

9 Henry Duke of Norfolk, *Earl Marshal of England*

10 Algernon Duke of Somerset

11 Charles Henry Duke of Richmond

12 Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of Grafton

13 Henry Adelbert Wellington Fitzroy Duke of Beaufort

14 Charles Victor Albert Aubrey de Vere Duke of St. Albans

15 George Godolphin Duke of Leeds

16 Herbrand Arthur Duke of Bedford

17 Spencer Compton Duke of Devonshire.

18 Charles Richard John Duke of Marlborough

19 John James Robert Duke of Rutland

20 Alfred Douglas Duke of Brandon

21 William John Arthur Charles James Duke of Portland

22 William Angus Drogo Duke of Manchester

23 Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of Newcastle

24 Henry George Duke of Northumberland

25 His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale

26 Arthur Charles Duke of Wellington

27 Cromartie Duke of Sutherland

28 Hugh Richard Arthur Duke of Westminster

29 Alexander William George Duke of Fife

30 John Douglas Sutherland Duke of Argyll

31 Henry William Montagu Marquess of Winchester

32 Henry Charles Keith Marquess of Lansdowne

33 John James Dudley Stuart Marquess Townshend

34 James Edward Hubert Marquess Salisbury. (*In another place as Lord Privy Seal.*)

35 Thomas Henry Marquess of Bath

36 James Marquess of Abercorn (*Duke of Abercorn*)

37 Hugh de Grey Marquess of Hertford

38 John Marquess of Bute

39 William Thomas Brownlow Marquess of Exeter

40 William George Spencer Scott Marquess of Northampton

41 John Charles Marquess Camden

42 Henry Cyril Marquess of Anglesey

43 George Henry Hugh Marquess of Cholmondeley.

44 Henry Augustus Marquess of Ailesbury

45 Frederick William John Marquess of Bristol

46 Archibald Marquess of Ailsa

47 Constantine Charles Henry Marquess of Normanby

48 George Frederick Samuel Marquess of Ripon

49 William Marquess of Abergavenny

50 Gavin Marquess of Breadalbane

51 Terence John Temple Marquess of Dufferin and Ava

52 Lawrence Marquess of Zetland

53 John Adrian Louis Marquess of Linlithgow

54 Sidney Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, *Lord Steward of the Household*

55 Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon, *Lord Chamberlain of the Household*

56 Charles Henry John Earl of Shrewsbury

57 Frederick Arthur Earl of Derby

58 Warner Francis John Plantagenet Earl of Huntingdon

59 Sidney Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. (*In another place as Lord Steward of the Household*)

60 Charles Pepys Earl of Devon

61 Henry Molyneux Paget Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire

62 Rudolph Robert Basil Aloysius Augustine Earl of Denbigh

63 Anthony Mildmay Julian Earl of Westmorland

64 Montague Peregrine Albemarle Earl of Lindsey

65 William Earl of Stamford

66 Henry Stormont Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham

67 Edwyn Francis Earl of Chesterfield

68 Edward George Henry Earl of Sandwich

69 George Devereux de Vere Earl of Essex

70 George James Earl of Carlisle

71 William Henry Walter Earl of Doncaster. (*Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*)

72 Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury
73 Randal Mowbray Thomas Earl of Berkeley
74 Montagu Arthur Earl of Abingdon
75 Aldred Frederick George Beresford Earl of Scarborough
76 Arnold Allan Cecil Earl of Albemarle
77 George William Earl of Coventry
78 Victor Albert George Earl of Jersey
79 William John Lydston Earl Poulett
80 John Francis Erskine Earl of Mar. (*Elected for Scotland*)
81 Sholto George Watson Earl of Morton. (*Elected for Scotland*)
82 Walter John Francis Earl of Mar and Kellie. (*Elected for Scotland*)
83 George Earl of Haddington. (*Elected for Scotland*)
84 Frederick Henry Earl of Lauderdale. (*Elected for Scotland*)
85 Robert Harris Carnwath Earl of Carnwath. (*Elected for Scotland*)
86 Ronald Ruthven Earl of Leven and Melville. (*Elected for Scotland*)
87 David John Earl of Northesk. (*Elected for Scotland*)
88 Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Earl of Dundonald. (*Elected for Scotland*)
89 Sewallis Edward Earl Ferrers
90 William Heneage Earl of Dartmouth
91 George Montagu Earl of Tankerville
92 Charles Wightwick Earl of Aylesford
93 Francis Thomas De Grey Earl Cowper
94 Arthur Philip Earl Stanhope
95 George Loveden William Henry Earl of Macclesfield
96 Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl Graham. (*Duke of Montrose*)
97 William Frederick Earl Waldegrave
98 Bertram Earl of Ashburnham
99 Charles Augustus Earl of Harrington
100 Newton Earl of Portsmouth
101 Francis Richard Charles Guy Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick
102 Sidney Carr Earl of Buckinghamshire
103 William Charles De Meuron Earl Fitzwilliam
104 Frederick George Earl of Guilford
105 John Manners Earl of Hardwicke
106 Henry Edward Earl of Ilchester
107 Gilbert George Reginald Earl De La Warr
108 Jacob Earl of Radnor
109 John Poyntz Earl Spencer
110 Seymour Henry Earl Bathurst
111 Arthur Wills John Wellington Trumbull Blundell Earl of Hillsborough. (*Marquess of Downshire*)
112 Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon. (*In another place as Lord Chamberlain of the Household*)
113 William David Earl of Mansfield
114 John James Hugh Henry Earl Strange. (*Duke of Atholl*)
115 William Henry Earl of Mount Edgcumbe
116 Hugh Earl Fortescue
117 George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Earl of Carnarvon
118 George Henry Earl Cadogan
119 James Edward Earl of Malmesbury
120 Anthony Francis Earl of Westmeath. (*Elected for Ireland*)
121 Ponsonby William Earl of Drogheda (*Elected for Ireland*)
122 John Vansittart Danvers Earl of Lanesborough. (*Elected for Ireland*)
123 Dermot Robert Wyndham Earl of Mayo. (*Elected for Ireland*)
124 Hugh Earl Annesley. (*Elected for Ireland*)
125 George Earl of Lucan. (*Elected for Ireland*)
126 Somerset Richard Earl of Belmore (*Elected for Ireland*)
127 James Francis Earl of Bandon (*Elected for Ireland*)
128 James Francis Harry Earl of Rosslyn
129 William George Robert Earl of Craven
130 William Hillier Earl of Onslow

131 Charles Earl of Romney

132 Francis Godolphin Earl of Chichester

133 Arthur George Earl of Wilton

134 George Charles Earl of Powis

135 Horatio Earl Nelson

136 Lawrence Earl of Rosse. (*Elected for Ireland*)

137 Charles William Sydney Earl Manvers

138 Robert Horace Earl of Orford

139 Albert Henry George Earl Grey

140 Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale

141 John Herbert Dudley Earl of Harrowby

142 Henry Ulick Earl of Harewood

143 Gilbert John Earl of Minto

144 Alan Frederick Earl Cathcart

145 James Walter Earl of Verulam

146 Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl Brownlow

147 Henry Cornwallis Earl of St Germans

148 Albert Edmund Earl of Morley

149 George Cecil Orlando Earl of Bradford

150 William Earl Beauchamp

151 John Earl of Eldon

152 Richard George Penn Earl Howe

153 George Edward John Mowbray Earl of Stradbroke

154 Algernon William Stephen Earl Temple of Stowe

155 Francis Charles Earl of Kilmorey (*Elected for Ireland*)

156 Charles Stewart Earl Vane. (*Marquess of Londonderry.*) *In another place as Lord President of the Council*).

157 William Archer Earl Amherst

158 Frederick Archibald Vaughan Earl Cawdor

159 Aubrey Earl of Munster

160 Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of Camperdown

161 Thomas Francis Earl of Lichfield

162 John George Earl of Durham

163 Granville George Earl Granville

164 Henry Alexander Gordon Earl of Effingham

165 Henry John Earl of Ducie

166 Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough

167 Henry John Earl Innes. (*Duke of Roxburghe*)

168 Thomas William Earl of Leicester

169 Ralph Gordon Earl of Lovelace

170 Charles William Francis Earl of Gainsborough

171 Francis Charles Granville Earl of Ellesmere

172 Francis Edmund Cecil Earl of Strafford

173 Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of Cottenham

174 Henry Arthur Mornington Earl Cowley

175 George Arnulph Earl of Winton (*Earl of Eglintoun*)

176 William Humble Earl of Dudley

177 John Francis Stanley Earl Russell

178 John Earl of Kimberley

179 Vesey Earl of Dartrey

180 William Ernest Earl of Feversham

181 Francis John Earl of Wharncliffe

182 Francis George Earl of Northbrook

183 Wilfrid Dallas Earl Cairns

184 Victor Alexander George Robert Earl of Lytton

185 Edward George Earl of Lathom

186 George Edward Earl Sondes

187 William Waldegrave Earl of Selborne

188 Walter Stafford Earl of Iddesleigh

189 William Francis Henry Earl of Londesborough

190 Gathorne Earl of Cranbrook

191 Gilbert Henry Earl of Ancaster

192 Charles Robert Earl Carrington

193 Robert Offley Ashburton Earl of Crewe

194 Wilbraham Earl Egerton

195 Hardinge Stanley Earl of Halsbury. (*In another place as Lord High Chancellor*)

196 Frederick Sleigh Earl Roberts

197 Evelyn Earl of Cromer

198 Robert Viscount Hereford

199 Byron Plantagenet Viscount Falkland. (*Elected for Scotland*)

200 ——— Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John

201 Charles George Viscount Cobham
202 Evelyn Edward Thomas Viscount Falmouth
203 George Master Viscount Torrington
204 Maurice Viscount Leinster. (*Duke of Leinster*)
205 Francis Wheler Viscount Hood
206 Henry William Crosbie Viscount Bangor. (*Elected for Ireland*)
207 Carnegie Parker Viscount St. Vincent
208 Charles Saunders Viscount Melville
209 William Wells Viscount Sidmouth
210 Henry Edward Montagu Dorington Clotworthy Viscount Templetown. (*Elected for Ireland*)
211 John Campbell Viscount Gordon (*Earl of Aberdeen*)
212 Edward Addington Hargreaves Viscount Exmouth
213 Richard Walter John Viscount Hutchinson. (*Earl of Donoughmore*)
214 William Frederick Viscount Clancarty. (*Earl of Clancarty*)
215 Francis Lynch Wellington Viscount Combermere
216 Henry Charles Viscount Canterbury
217 Rowland Richard Viscount Hill
218 Henry Charles Viscount Hardinge
219 Hugh Viscount Gough
220 Charles Lindley Viscount Halifax
221 Arthur Wellington Alexander Nelson Viscount Bridport
222 William Henry Berkeley Viscount Portman
223 Henry Robert Viscount Hampden
224 Garnet Joseph Viscount Wolseley
225 Richard Assheton Viscount Cross
226 Arthur Wellesley Viscount Peel
227 Henry Thurstan Viscount Knutsford
228 Henry Viscount Llandaff
229 Reginald Baliol Viscount Esher
230 George Joachim Viscount Goschen
231 Matthew White Viscount Ridley
232 Horatio Herbert Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum and of the Vaal
233 Charles Robert William Viscount Colville of Culross.
234 Victor Albert Francis Charles Viscount Churchill
235 Alfred Viscount Milner
236 Arthur Foley Bishop of London
237 Handley Carr Glyn Bishop of Durham
238 Herbert Edward Bishop of Winchester
239 Charles John Bishop of Gloucester
240 Ernest Roland Bishop of Chichester
241 William Boyd Bishop of Ripon
242 Edward Bishop of Lincoln
243 John Bishop of Salisbury
244 Alwyne Bishop of Ely
245 Francis John Bishop of Chester
246 Alfred George Bishop of St. Asaph
247 John Bishop of Truro
248 Augustus Bishop of Lichfield
249 John Bishop of Norwich
250 George Wyndham Bishop of Bath and Wells
251 John Bishop of Hereford
252 Edward Stuart Bishop of Rochester
253 Edgar Bishop of St. Albans
254 Edward Carr Bishop of Peterborough
255 John Bishop of St. David's
256 George Forrest Bishop of Bristol.
257 George Rodney Bishop of Wakefield
258 Watkin Herbert Bishop of Bangor
259 Francis James Bishop of Liverpool
260 Dudley Charles Lord de Ros.
261 Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Mowbray
262 Albert Edward Delaval Lord Hastings
263 Jack Southwell Lord de Clifford
264 Charles John Robert Lord Clinton
265 Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord Zouche of Haryngworth
266 Rawdon George Grey Lord Grey de Ruthyn
267 Charles Edward Hastings Lord Botreaux. (*Earl of Loudoun*)
268 Ralph Francis Julian Lord Camoys
269 Richard Greville Lord Willoughby de Broke

270 Hubert George Charles Lord Vaux of Harrowden
271 Ralph Gordon Lord Wentworth. (*In another place as Earl of Lovelace*)
272 Alfred Thomas Townshend Lord Braye
273 Robert George Lord Windsor
274 William Henry John Lord North
275 Beauchamp Moubray Lord St. John of Bletso
276 Thomas Evelyn Lord Howard de Walden
277 Bernard Henry Philip Lord Petre
278 John Fiennes Lord Saye and Sele
279 John Francis Lord Arundell of Wardour
280 Ronald John Lord Dormer
281 Henry John Philip Sidney Lord Teynham
282 Fitzherbert Lord Stafford
283 George Frederick William Lord Byron
284 Lewis Henry Hugh Lord Clifford of Chudleigh
285 Henry John Brinsley Lord Manners of Haddon. (*Marquess of Granby*)
286 Henry de Vere Lord Barnard
287 Horace Courtenay Gammell Lord Forbes. (*Elected for Scotland*)
288 Alexander William Frederick Lord Saltoun. (*Elected for Scotland*)
289 Charles William Lord Sinclair. (*Elected for Scotland*)
290 James Walter Lord Torphichen. (*Elected for Scotland*)
291 Alexander Hugh Lord Balfour of Burley. (*Elected for Scotland*)
292 Alexander Charles Lord Belhaven and Stenton. (*Elected for Scotland*)
293 Charles Spencer Canning Lord Boyle. (*Earl of Cork and Orrery*)
294 Archibald Fitzroy George Lord Hay. (*Earl of Kinnoul*)
295 Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord Middleton
296 Augustus Debonnaire John Lord Monson
297 Walter William Brabazon Lord Ponsonby. (*Earl of Bessborough*)
298 Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord Scarsdale
299 George Florance Lord Boston
300 Augustus Arthur Lord Lovel and Holland. (*Earl of Egmont*)
301 George Francis Augustus Lord Vernon
302 Edward Henry Trafalgar Lord Digby
303 Martin Bladen Lord Hawke
304 Henry Thomas Lord Foley
305 Arthur de Cardonnel Lord Dinevor
306 Thomas Lord Walsingham
307 William Lord Bagot
308 Charles Henry Lord Southampton
309 John Richard Brinsley Lord Grantley
310 George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord Rodney
311 Arthur Herbert Tennyson Lord Somers
312 Richard Henry Lord Berwick
313 Edward Lennox Lord Sherborne
314 Henry De La Poer Lord Tyrone (*Marquess of Waterford*)
315 Richard Henry Lord Carleton. (*Earl of Shannon*)
316 Charles Lord Suffield
317 Lloyd Lord Kenyon
318 Henry Lord Braybrooke
319 Edward Arthur Donald St. George Lord Fisherwick. (*Marquess of Donegall*)
320 Henry Charles Lord Gage. (*Viscount Gage*)
321 Thomas John Lord Thurlow
322 William Morton Lord Auckland
323 Thomas Charles Lord Mendip, (*Viscount Clifden*)
324 Francis James Lord Stuart of Castle Stuart. (*Earl of Moray*)
325 Randolph Henry Lord Stewart of Garlies. (*Earl of Galloway*)
326 James George Henry Lord Saltersford. (*Earl of Courtown*)
327 William Lord Brodrick. (*Viscount Midleton*)
328 Augustus Cholmondeley Lord Calthorpe
329 Peter Robert Lord Gwydir
330 William Thomas Lord Bolton

331 John Lord Lilford
332 Thomas Lord Ribblesdale
333 Robert St. John FitzWalter Lord Dunboyne. (*Elected for Ireland*)
334 Lucius William Lord Inchiquin. (*Elected for Ireland*)
335 John Thomas William Lord Massy. (*Elected for Ireland*)
336 Hamilton Matthew Fitzmaurice Lord Muskerry. (*Elected for Ireland*)
337 Francis William Lord Kilmaine. (*Elected for Ireland*)
338 Luke Gerald Lord Clonbrock (*Elected for Ireland*)
339 Charles Mark Lord Headley. (*Elected for Ireland*)
340 Edward Henry Churchill Lord Crofton. (*Elected for Ireland*)
341 Hercules Edward Lord Langford (*Elected for Ireland*)
342 Dayrolles Blakeney Lord Ventry (*Elected for Ireland*)
343 Henry O'Callaghan Lord Dunalley. (*Elected for Ireland*)
344 John Henry Lord Loftus. (*Marquess of Ely*)
345 William Lord Carysfort. (*Earl of Carysfort*)
346 George Ralph Lord Abercromby
347 Edward Downes Lord Ellenborough
348 Michael Edwin Marcus Lord Sandys
349 Henry North Lord Sheffield. (*Earl of Sheffield*)
350 William Macnaghten Lord Erskine
351 Henry Ulick Lord Monteagle (*Marquess of Sligo*)
352 Bernard Arthur William Patrick Hastings Lord Granard. (*Earl of Granard*)
353 ———————— Lord Gardner
354 John Thomas Lord Manners
355 Albert Edward Lord Castlemaine (*Elected for Ireland*)
356 Charles Lord Meldrum. (*Marquess of Huntly*)
357. Lowry Egerton Lord Grinstead. (*Earl of Enniskillen*)
358 William Henry Edmond de Vere Sheaffe Lord Foxford. (*Earl of Limerick*)
359 George Robert Canning Lord Harris
360 Reginald Charles Edward Lord Colchester
361 Robert Schomberg Lord Ker. (*Marquess of Lothian*)
362 Victor George Henry Francis Lord Minster. (*Marquess Conyngham*)
363 James Edward William Theobald Lord Ormonde. (*Marquess of Ormonde*)
364 Francis Richard Lord Wemyss. (*Earl of Wemyss*)
365 Thomas Lord Silchester. (*Earl of Longford*)
366 Clotworthy John Eyre Lord Oriel. (*Viscount Massereene*)
367 Arthur Thomas Lord Ravensworth
368 Hugh Lord Delamere
369 Cecil Theodore Lord Forester
370 John William Lord Rayleigh
371 Edric Frederic Lord Gifford
372 Hubert George Lord Somerhill (*Marquess of Clanricarde*)
373 James Ludovic Lord Wigan. (*Earl of Crawford*)
374 Uchter John Mark Lord Ranfurly. (*Earl of Ranfurly*)
375 Charles Stuart Henry Lord Tenterden
376 William Lee Lord Plunket
377 Leonard Lord Heytesbury
378 Archibald Philip Lord Rosebery. (*Earl of Rosebery*)
379 Richard James Lord Clanwilliam. (*Earl of Clanwilliam*)
380 Philip George Lord Wynford
381 Charles Gore Lord Kilmarnock. (*Earl of Erroll*)
382 Arthur James Francis Lord Fingall. (*Earl of Fingall*)
383 Osbert Cecil Lord Sefton. (*Earl of Sefton*)
384 Charles Lord Clements. (*Earl of Leitrim*)
385 Geoffrey Thomas Lord Kenlis. (*Marquess of Headfort*)
386 Reginald Lord Chaworth. (*Earl of Meath*)
387 Charles Adolphus Lord Dunmore. (*Earl of Dunmore*)

388 Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord Poltimore

389 Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord Mostyn

390 Henry Spencer Lord Templemore

391 Valentine Frederick Lord Cloncurry

392 James St. Vincent Lord de Saumarez

393 Thomas Lord Denman

394 Shelley Leopold Laurence Lord Abinger

395 Philip Lord De L'Isle and Dudley

396 Francis Denzil Edward Lord Ashburton

397 Edward George Percy Lord Hatherton

398 Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord Worlingham. (*Earl of Gosford*)

399 Hallyburton George Lord Stratheden

400 Geoffrey Henry Browne Lord Oranmore and Browne. (*Elected for Ireland*).

401 Simon Joseph Lord Lovat

402 William Spencer Lord Bateman

403 Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord Kintore. (*Earl of Kintore*)

404 Derrick Warner William Lord Rossmore

405 Robert Shapland George Julian Lord Carew

406 William Ashley Webb Lord De Mauley

407 Arthur Lord Wrottesley

408 Charles Douglas Richard Lord Sudeley

409 Paul Sanford Lord Methuen

410 Edward Lyulph Lord Stanley of Alderley

411 William Henry Lord Leigh

412 Beilby Lord Wenlock

413 William Lord Lurgan

414 Thomas Spring Lord Monteagle of Brandon

415 John Reginald Upton Lord Seaton

416 John Hew North Gustave Henry Lord Oxenfoord. (*Earl of Stair*)

417 George Crespigny Brabazon Lord Vivian

418 Henry Lord Congleton

419 Charles Bertram Lord Bellew. (*Elected for Ireland*)

420 Victor Alexander Lord Elgin (*Earl of Elgin and Kincardine*)

421 Arthur Lord de Freyne

422 Edward Burtenshaw Lord Saint Leonards

423 George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord Raglan

424 Valentine Charles Lord Kenmare. (*Earl of Kenmare*)

425 Henry Lord Belper

426 Richard Wogan Lord Talbot de Malahide

427 Robert Wellesley Lord Ebury

428 Charles Compton William Lord Chesham

429 Frederic Augustus Lord Chelmsford

430 John Lord Churston

431 Charles Henry Lord Leconfield

432 Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar

433 Courtenay Robert Percy Lord Lyveden

434 Henry Charles Lord Brougham and Vaux

435 Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord Kinnaird

436 Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord Westbury

437 Charles Paget Fitzhardinge Lord Fitzhardinge

438 Luke Lord Annaly

439 John Gaspard Le Marchant Lord Romilly

440 James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord Meredyth. (*Lord Athlumney*)

441 Windham Thomas Lord Kenry. (*Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl*)

442 Henry Power Charles Stanley Lord Monck. (*Viscount Monck*)

443 Charles Henry Chandos Lord Hartismere. (*Lord Henniker*)

444 Hylton George Hylton Lord Hylton

445 George Sholto Gordon Lord Penrhyn

446 Gustavus Russell Lord Brancepeth. (*Viscount Boyne*)

447 John Henry Lord Kesteven

448 Arthur Lord Ormathwaite

449 Edward Lord O'Neill

450 Robert William Lord Napier
451 Jenico William Joseph Lord Gormanston. (*Viscount Gormanston*)
452 Thomas Kane Lord Rathdonnell. (*Elected for Ireland*)
453 John Hamilton Lord Lawrence
454 John Lord Dunning. (*Lord Rollo*)
455 James Lord Balinhard. (*Earl of Southesk*)
456 William Lord Hare. (*Earl of Listowel*)
457 Francis Edward Lord Howard of Glossop
458 Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord Castletown
459 Richard Maximilian Lord Acton
460 Frederick Lord Wolverton
461 Algernon William Fulke Lord Greville
462 Maurice Herbert Ignatius Towneley Lord O'Hagan
463 William Lord Sandhurst
464 William John George Lord Ettrick. (*Lord Napier*)
465 Sidney James Lord Somerton. (*Earl of Normanton*)
466 Henry Campbell Lord Aberdare
467 Henry James Lord Moncrieff
468 Bernard John Seymour Lord Coleridge
469 Thomas William Gaston Lord Emly
470 Thomas Francis Lord Cottesloe
471 Herbert Perrott Murray Lord Hampton
472 Charles Alexander Lord Douglas (*Earl of Home*)
473 Arthur George Maule Lord Ramsay (*Earl of Dalhousie*)
474 John Henry Lord Fermanagh. (*Earl Erne*)
475 George Ralph Charles Lord Harlech
476 Humphrey Napier Lord Alington
477 Bentley Lyonel John Lord Tollemache
478 Frederic John Lord Gerard
479 Lionel Sackville Lord Sackville
480 Charles Bowyer Lord Norton
481 Walter Bulkeley Lord Shute. (*Viscount Barrington*)
482 Lawrence William Lord Haldon
483 Ivor Bertie Lord Wimborne
484 Arthur Edward Lord Ardilaun
485 Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Lord Lamington
486 Arthur William Lord Trevor
487 Edward Lord Brabourne
488 Arthur Oliver Villiers Lord Ampthill
489 William Montagu Lord Tweeddale. (*Marquess of Tweeddale*)
490 William Ulick Tristram Lord Howth. (*Earl of Howth*)
491 Donald James Lord Reay
492 Harcourt Lord Derwent
493 Henry James Lord Hothfield
494 Edward Lord Tweedmouth
495 Hallam Lord Tennyson
496 James Lord Strathspey. (*Earl of Seafield*)
497 John William Lord Monk Bretton
498 Walter Henry Lord Northbourne
499 Arthur Jocelyn Charles Lord Sudley. (*Earl of Arran*)
500 Marmaduke Francis Lord Herries
501 Mervyn Richard Lord Powerscourt
502 Frederick Lord Northington. (*Lord Henley*)
503 Nathaniel Mayer Lord Rothschild
504 John Lord Revelstoke
505 Robert Lord Monkswell
506 Ralph Robert Wheeler Lord Lingen
507 Edward Lord Ashbourne
508 Rowland Lord Saint Oswald
509 Robert Wilfrid Lord Deramore
510 Henry John Lord Montagu of Beaulieu
511 Sidney Herbert Lord Elphinstone
512 Richard Farrer Lord Herschell
513 Charles William Lord Hillingdon
514 Charles Lord Hindlip
515 Edmund Lord Grimthorpe
516 Richard de Aquila Lord Stalbridge
517 Hugh Lord Kensington
518 Michael Arthur Lord Burton
519 Gavin George Lord Hamilton of Dalzell
520 Thomas Lord Brassey

521 Henry Lord Thring

522 Edward Lord Macnaghten. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

523 Claude George Lord Bowes. (*Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn*)

524 George Edmund Milnes Lord Monckton. (*Viscount Galway*)

525 John Lord Saint Levan

526 Dudley Stuart Lord Magheramorne

527 George Limbrey Lord Basing

528 William Henry Lord de Ramsey

529 Herbert Francis Lord Cheylesmore

530 Egerton Lord Addington

531 John Savile Lord Savile

532 William Ventris Lord Field

533 Edward Cecil Lord Iveagh

534 George Lord Mount Stephen

535 Samuel Lord Masham

536 William Lord Kelvin

537 George Lord Ashcombe

538 Archibald Campbell Lord Blythswood

539 Thomas Lord Crawshaw

540 William Amhurst Lord Amherst of Hackney

541 Thomas Wodehouse Lord Newton

542 Henry Lyle Lord Dunleath

543 John Allan Lord Llangattock

544 George James Lord Playfair

545 Cyril Lord Battersea

546 Ernest Ambrose Lord Swansea

547 Thomas Cecil Lord Farrer

548 John Campbell Lord Overtoun

549 Cecil George Savile Lord Hawkesbury

550 Arthur Lord Stanmore

551 Stuart Lord Rendel

552 Reginald Earle Lord Welby

553 Horace Lord Davey. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

554 Edward Douglas Lord Loch

555 Sydney James Lord Wandsworth

556 James Lord Ashton

557 Herbert Coulstoun Lord Burghclere

558 Henry Lord James

559 David Robert Lord Rathmore

560 Algernon Lord Glenesk

561 Henry Hucks Lord Aldenham

562 Edward Lord Heneage

563 Hercules Arthur Temple Lord Rosmead

564 Alexander Smith Lord Kinnear

565 Joseph Lord Lister

566 David Lord Fairlie. (*Earl of Glasgow*)

567 Hugh Richard Lord Dawnay. (*Viscount Downe*)

568 Henry Ludlow Lord Ludlow

569 Hans Wellesley Lord Holm Patrick

570 George Arbuthnot Lord Inverclyde

571 Donald Alexander Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal

572 William Wallace Lord Newlands

573 Horace Brand Lord Farquhar

574 Josslyn Francis Lord Muncaster

575 Arthur Lawrence Lord Haliburton

576 Philip Henry Wodehouse Lord Currie

577 Joseph Russell Lord Glanusk

578 Henry Lord Brampton

579 Bertram Francis Lord Cranworth

580 James Patrick Bannerman Lord Robertson. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

581 Henry Stafford Lord Northcote

582 John Lord Avebury

583 Nathaniel Lord Lindley. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)

584 Martin Henry Lord Killanin.

585 Peter Lord O'Brien

586 Richard Everard Lord Alverstone

587 Patrick Lord Kinross

588 Ughtred James Lord Shuttleworth

589 William Lawies Lord Allerton

590 Arthur Hugh Lord Barrymore

591 Francis Wallace Lord Grenfell

592 Francis Lord Knollys

593 Algernon Bertram Lord Redesdale

594 Edward Levy Lord Burnham.

595 Michael Lord Biddulph.

596 George Thomas John Lord Estcourt

597* William Henry Armstrong Fitz-Patrick Lord Armstrong.

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* This number is in excess of the total Number of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Discrepancy being caused by the following Lords being twice named in the Roll :

Earl of Halsbury as Lord High Chancellor and as Earl of Halsbury (Nos. 5 and 195)

Earl Vane (Marquess of Londonderry) as Lord President and as Earl Vane (Marquess of Londonderry). (Nos. 7 and 156.)

Marquess of Salisbury as Lord Privy Seal and as Marquess of Salisbury. (Nos. 8 and 34.)

Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery as Lord Steward and as Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (Nos. 54 and 59)

Earl of Clarendon as Lord Chamberlain and as Earl of Clarendon (Nos. 55 and 112)

Earl of Lovelace as Earl of Lovelace and as Lord Wentworth (Nos. 169 and 271)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS

IN THE

SIXTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND THE FIFTH OF KING EDWARD VII.

(*Compiled at the Opening of the Session.*)

A

Abraham, William (Glamorgan, Rhondda)
Abraham, William (Cork Co., N.E.)
Acland-Hood, Captain Sir A., Bt. (Somerset, Wellington)
Agg-Gardner, James T. (Cheltenham)
Agnew, Sir Andrew N., Bt. (Edinburgh, South)
Ainsworth, John S. (Argyll)
Aird, Sir John (Paddington, N.)
Allen, Charles P. (Gloucester, Stroud)
Allhusen, Aug. Henry E. (Hackney, Central)
Allsopp, Hon. George H. (Worcester)
Ambrose, Robert (Mayo, West)
Anson, Sir William R., Bt. (Oxford University)
Arkwright, John S. (Hereford)
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O. (Belfast, West)
Arrol, Sir William (Ayrshire, South)
Asher, Alexander (Elgin Burghs)
Ashton, Thomas Gair (Beds., Luton)
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H. (Fife, East)
Atherley-Jones, Llewellyn (Durham, N.W.)
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John (Londonderry, North)
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H. (Sussex, Lewes)
Austin, Sir John, Bt. (York, W.R., Osgoldcross)

B

Bagot, Captain Josceline F. (Westmoreland, Kendal)
Bailey, James (Newington, Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert (Cumberland, Egremont)
Baird, John G. A. (Glasgow, Central)
Balcarres, Lord (Lancashire, Chorley)
Baldwin, Alfred (Worcester, Bewdley)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Arthur J. (Manchester, East)
Balfour, Captain Charles B. (Middlesex, Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald William (Leeds, Central)
Balfour, K. R. (Christchurch)
Banbury, Sir Fred. George (Camberwell, Peckham)
Banes, Major George E. (West Ham, South)
Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset, Frome)
Barran, Rowland Hirst (Leeds, North)
Barry, Edward (Cork Co., South)
Barry, Sir Francis Tress, Bt. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T. (Islington, N.)
Bathurst, Hon. Allen B. (Gloucester, Cirencester)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire, Chesterfield)
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. Hicks, Bt. (Bristol, W.)

Beaumont, Wentworth C.B. (Northumberland, Hexham)

Beckett, Ernest W. (York, N.R., Whitby)

Bell, Richard (Derby)

Benn, John Williams (Devonport)

Bentinck, Lord Henry C. (Nottingham, S.)

Bhownaggree, Sir M. M. (Bethnal Green, N.E.)

Bignold, A. (Wick Burghs)

Bigwood, James (Middlesex, Brentford)

Bill, Charles (Staffordshire, Leek)

Bingham, Lord (Surrey, Chertsey)

Black, Alexander W. (Banffshire)

Blake, Edward (Longford, S.)

Blundell, Colonel H. B. H. (Lancashire, Ince)

Boland, John (Kerry, South)

Bolton, Thomas Dolling (Derbyshire, N. East)

Bond, Edward (Nottingham, E.)

Boscawen, Capt. A. S. T. Griffith (Kent, Tunbridge)

Boulnois, Edmund (Marylebone, E.)

Bousfield, William R. (Hackney, N.)

Bowles, Colonel Henry F. (Middlesex, Enfield)

Bowles, Thomas Gibson (King's Lynn)

Brand, Hon. Arthur G. (Cambridge, Wisbech)

Brassey, Albert (Oxon, Banbury)

Brigg, John (York, W.R., Keighley)

Bright, Allan Heywood (Shropshire, Oswestry)

Broadhurst, Henry (Leicester)

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. W. St. John F. (Surrey, Guildford)

Brotherton, Edward Allen (Wakefield)

Brown, Sir Alex. Hargreaves (Shropshire, Wellington)

Brown, George M. (Edinburgh, Central)

Brunner, Sir John T., Bt. (Cheshire, Northwich)

Bryce, Rt. Hon. James (Aberdeen, South)

Brymer, Col. W. Ernest (Dorset, South)

Buchanan, Thomas R. (Perthshire, E.)

Bull, William James (Hammersmith)

Burdett-Coutts, W. L. A. B. (Westminster)

Burke, E. Haviland (King's County, Tullamore)

Burns, John (Battersea)

Burt, Thomas (Morpeth)

Butcher, John George (York)

Buxton, Sydney Charles (Tower Hamlets, Poplar)

C

Caldwell, James (Lanark, Mid.)

Cameron, Robert (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring)

Campbell, Rt. Hon. James A. (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities)

Campbell, J. (Armagh, South)

Campbell, James H.M. (Dublin University)

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H. (Stirling Burghs)

Carlile, William Walter (Bucks, N.)

Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward H. (Dublin University)

Carvill, Patrick G. H. (Newry)

Causton, Richard Knight (Southwark, West)

Cautley, Henry S. (Leeds, East)

Cavendish, Richard F. (Lancashire, North Lonsdale)

Cavendish, Victor C. W. (Derbyshire, West)

Cawley, Frederick (Lancs, Prestwich)

Cayzer, Sir Charles W. (Barrow-in-Furness)

Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)

Cecil, Lord Hugh Richard H. (Greenwich)

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birmingham, W.)

Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. Austen (Worcestershire, East)

Chamberlayne, T. (Southampton)

Channing, Francis A. (Northampton, East)

Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry (Lincolnshire, Sleaford)

Chapman, Edward (Cheshire, Hyde)

Cheetham, John Frederick (Stalybridge)

Churchill, Winston L. S. (Oldham)

Clancy, John J. (Dublin Co., North)

Clare, Octavius Leigh (Lancashire, Eccles)

Clive, Capt. Percy Archer (Herefordshire, Ross)

Coates, Major E. F. (Lewisham)

Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. (Ayrshire, North)

Coddington, Sir William, Bt. (Blackburn)

Cogan, Denis J. (Wicklow, East)

Coghill, Douglas H. (Stoke-upon-Trent)

Cohen, Benjamin L. (Islington, E.)
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse (Birmingham, Bordesley)
Colomb, Sir John C. R. (Great Yarmouth)
Colston, Charles Edward H. A. (Gloucester, Thornbury)
Compton, Lord Alwyne F. (Beds, Biggleswade)
Condon, Thomas J. (Tipperary, E.)
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas, Bt. (Lambeth, Kennington)
Corbett, Arch. Cameron (Glasgow, Tradeston)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward B. (Middlesex, Harrow)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, South)
Craig, R. Hunter (Lanark, Govan)
Crean, Eugene (Cork, S.E.)
Cremer, William R. (Shoreditch, Haggerston)
Cripps, Charles A. (Lancashire, Stretford)
Crombie, John William (Kincardineshire)
Crooks, William (Woolwich)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow, Camlachie)
Cross, Herbert Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Sir Savile B., Bt. (Halifax)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry (Surrey, Reigate)
Cullinan, J. (Tipperary, South)
Cust, Henry J. C. (Southwark, Bermondsey)

D

Dalkeith, Earl of (Roxburgh)
Dalrymple, Sir Charles, Bt. (Ipswich)
Dalziel, James H. (Kirkcaldy Burghs)
Davenport, William Bromley (Cheshire, Macclesfield)
Davies, A. (Carmarthen Boroughs)
Davies, Col. Sir Horatio David (Chatham)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William (Queen's Co., Ossory)
Denny, Colonel John M. (Kilmarnock Burghs)
Delvin, Charles R. (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, North)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness)
Dewar, Sir Thomas R. (Tower Hamlets, St. George's)
Dickinson, Robert E. (Somerset, Wells)
Dickson, Charles Scott (Glasgow, Bridgton)
Dickson-Poynder, Sir J., Bt. (Wilts, Chippenham)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bt. (Gloucester, Forest of Dean)
Dillon, John (Mayo, East)
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C. (London)
Disraeli, Coningsby R. (Cheshire, Altrincham)
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D., Bt. (Middlesex, Uxbridge)
Dobbie, John (Ayr Burghs)
Donelan, Captain A. J. C. (Cork, East)
Doogan, P. C. (Tyrone, East)
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E., Bt. (Gloucester, Tewkesbury)
Doughty, Sir George (Great Grimsby)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. Aretas Akers (Kent, St. Augustine's)
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark, North-West)
Doxford, Sir William T. (Sunderland)
Duffy, William J. (Galway, South)
Duke, H. E. (Plymouth)
Duncan, James H. (Yorks, W.R., Otley)
Dunn, Sir William, Bt. (Paisley)
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin, Bt. (Cornwall, Truro)
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H., Bt. (Kent, Dartford)

E

Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Egerton, Hon. Alan de Tatton (Cheshire, Knutsford)
Elibank, Master of (Edinburgh, Midlothian)
Ellice, Captain Edward C. (St. Andrews Burghs)
Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D. (Durham)
Ellis, John Edward (Nottingham, Rushcliffe)
Emmott, Alfred (Oldham)
Esmonde, Sir T. Grattan, Bt. (Wexford, North)
Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone)
Evans, Samuel Thomas (Glamorgan, Mid)
Eve, H. Trelawney (Devon, Ashburton)

F

Faber, E. Beckett (Hants, Andover)
Faber, G. Denison (York)
Fardell, Sir T. George (Paddington, S.)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert (Aberdeenshire, West)
Farrell, James P. (Longford, North)
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E. (Hunts, Ramsey)
Fenwick, Charles (Northumberland, Wansbeck)
Ferguson, Ronald C. Munro (Leith Burghs)
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J., Bt. (Manchester, N.E.)
Ffrench, Peter (Wexford, South)
Field, William (Dublin, St. Patrick)
Fielden, Edward B. (Lancashire, Middleton)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H. (Rutland)
Findlay, Alexander (Lanarkshire, N.E.)
Finlay, Sir Robert B. (Inverness Burghs)
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas (Hull, East)
Fisher, William Hayes (Fulham)
Fison, Frederick William (York, W.R., Doncaster)
FitzGerald, Sir Robert U. P., Bt. (Cambridge)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund G. Petty (Wilts, Cricklade)
Fitzroy, Hon. E. Algernon (Northants, South)
Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue (Yorkshire, Shipley)
Flavin, Michael Joseph (Kerry, North)
Flower, Sir Ernest F. S. (Bradford, W.)
Flynn, James C. (Cork, North)
Forster, Henry W. (Kent, Sevenoaks)
Foster, Sir Michael (London University)
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon)
Foster, Sir B. Walter (Derby, Ilkeston)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. (Wolverhampton, East)
Freeman-Thomas, F. (Hastings)
Fuller, J. M. F. (Wilts, Westbury)
Furness, Sir Christopher, Bt. (Hartlepool)

G

Galloway, William Johnson (Manchester, S.W.)
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, Wokingham)
Garfit, William (Boston)
Gibbs, Hon. Alban George H. (London)
Gilhooly, James (Cork Co., West)
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J. (Leeds, West)
Goddard, Daniel Ford (Ipswich)
Godson, Sir Augustus F. (Kidderminster)
Gordon, Hon. John Edwin (Elgin and Nairn)
Gordon, John (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Major W. E. (Tower Hamlets, Stepney)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby- (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon (Cambridge University)
Goschen, Hon. George J. (Sussex, East Grinstead)
Goulding, Edward A. (Wilts, Devizes)
Graham, Henry R. (St. Pancras, West)
Grant, Corrie (Warwickshire, Rugby)
Gray, Ernest (West Ham, North)
Green, Walford Davis (Wednesbury)
Greene, Sir E. Walter, Bt. (Bury St. Edmunds)
Greene, Henry David (Shrewsbury)
Greene, Walter Raymond (Cambs., Chesterton)
Grenfell, Major William H. (Bucks, Wycombe)
Gretton, John (Derbyshire, South)
Greville, Capt. Hon. Ronald H. F. (Bradford, East)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward, Bt. (Northumberland, Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J. (Anglesey)
Groves, James G. (Salford, South)
Guest, Hon. Ivor C. (Plymouth)
Gully, Rt. Hon. W. C. (Carlisle)
Gunter, Col. Sir Robert, Bt. (York, W.R., Barkstone Ash)
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton (Norfolk, North)
Guthrie, Walter Murray (Tower Hamlets, Bow, etc.)

H

Hain, Edward (Cornwall, St. Ives)

Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B. (Haddington)

Hall, E. Marshall (Lancashire, Southport)

Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F. (Herts, Watford)

Hambro, C. Eric (Surrey, Wimbledon)

Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George (Middlesex, Ealing)

Hamilton, Marquess of (Londonderry)

Hammond, John (Carlow)

Harcourt, Lewis Vernon (Lancashire, Rossendale)

Hardie, James Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)

Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)

Hare, Thomas L. (Norfolk, S.W.)

Harmsworth, R. Leicester (Caithness)

Harrington, Timothy (Dublin, Harbour)

Harris, Frederick L. (Tynemouth)

Harris, Dr. F. Rutherfoord (Camberwell, Dulwich)

Harwood, George (Bolton)

Haslam, Sir Alfred Seale (Newcastle-under-Lyme)

Haslett, Sir James H. (Belfast, North)

Hatch, Ernest F. George (Lancashire, Gorton)

Hay, Hon. Claude G. D. (Shoreditch, Hoxton)

Hayden, John P. (Roscommon, South)

Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D., Bt. (Walsall)

Healy, Timothy M. (Louth, North)

Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)

Heath, James (Staffordshire, N.W.)

Heaton, J. Henniker (Canterbury)

Helder, Augustus (Whitehaven)

Helme, Norval W. (Lancashire, Lancaster)

Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. Hare (Tyrone, North)

Henderson, Sir Alexander (Staffordshire, West)

Henderson, Arthur (Durham, Barnard Castle)

Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T. (Oxon, Henley)

Hickman, Sir Alfred (Wolverhampton, West)

Higham, John Sharp (Yorkshire, W.R., Sowerby)

Hill, Capt. Arthur (Down, West)

Hoare, Sir Samuel, Bt. (Norwich)

Hobhouse, Charles E. H. (Bristol, East)

Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. Henry (Somerset, East)

Hogg, Lindsay (Sussex, Eastbourne)

Holland, Sir William H. (York, W.R., Rotherham)

Hope, J. D. (Fife, West)

Hope, J. Fitzalan (Sheffield, Brightside)

Hornby, Sir William Henry, Bt. (Blackburn)

Horner, Frederick W. (Lambeth, North)

Horniman, Frederick John (Penryn and Falmouth)

Houldsworth, Sir W. Henry, Bt. (Manchester, N.W.)

Hoult, Joseph (Cheshire, Wirral)

Houston, Robert P. (Liverpool, West Toxteth)

Howard, Capt. J. (Kent, Faversham)

Howard, Joseph (Middlesex, Tottenham)

Hozier, Hon. James H. C. (Lanark, South)

Hudson, George B. (Herts, Hitchin)

Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C. (Montgomery)

Hunt, Rowland (Shropshire, Ludlow)

Hutchinson, Dr. Charles F. (Sussex, Rye)

Hutton, Alfred E. (York, W.R., Morley)

Hutton, John (Yorkshire, Richmond)

I

Isaacs, Rufus Daniel (Reading)

J

Jacoby, James Alfred (Derbyshire, Mid)

Jameson, Major J. Eustace (Clare, West)

Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse (Cambridge University)

Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur F. (Hants, North)

Jessel, Captain Herbert M. (St. Pancras, South)

Johnson, John (Gateshead)

Joicey, Sir James, Bt. (Durham, Chester-le-street)

Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea District)

Jones, William (Carnarvon, Arfon)

Jordan, Jeremiah (Fermanagh, South)

Joyce, Michael (Limerick)

K

Kearley, Hudson E. (Devonport)

Kemp, George (Lancashire, Heywood)

Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bt. (Devon, Honiton)

Kennedy, Patrick J. (Westmeath, North)

Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.)

Kenyon, Hon. G. T. (Denbigh)

Kenyon-Slaney, Colonel Wm. (Shropshire, Newport)

Kerr, John (Preston)

Keswick, William (Surrey, Epsom)

Kilbride, Dennis (Kildare, S.)

Kimber, Henry (Wandsworth)

King, Sir H. Seymour (Hull, Central)

Kitson, Sir James, Bt. (York, W.R., Colne Valley)

Knowles, Sir Lees (Salford, West)

L

Labouchere, Henry (Northampton)

Lambert, George (Devon, South Molton)

Lambton, Hon. F. W. (Durham, South East)

Langley, Batty (Sheffield, Attercliffe)

Laurie, Lieut.-Gen. John W. (Pembroke and Haverfordwest)

Law, Andrew B. (Glasgow, Blackfriars)

Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, West)

Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monmouth Boroughs)

Lawrence, William F. (Liverpool, Abercromby)

Lawson, Hon. Harry L. W. (Tower Hamlets, Mile End)

Lawson, John Grant (York, N.R., Thirsk)

Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bt. (Cornwall, Camborne)

Layland-Barratt, F. (Devon, Torquay)

Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham)

Lees, Sir Elliott, Bt. (Birkenhead)

Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Lancashire, Accrington)

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage (St. George's, Hanover Square)

Leigh, Sir Joseph (Stockport)

Leng, Sir John (Dundee)

Leveson-Gower, F. S. (Sutherland)

Levy, M. (Leicestershire, Loughborough)

Lewis, John Herbert (Flint Boroughs)

Llewellyn, Evan Henry (Somerset, North)

Lloyd-George, David (Carnarvon, etc.)

Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. Amelius (Essex, Epping)

Loder, Gerald W. E. (Brighton)

Long, Col. Charles W. (Worcestershire, Evesham)

Long, Rt. Hon. Walter H. (Bristol, South)

Lonsdale, John B. (Armagh, Mid.)

Lough, Thomas (Islington, W.)

Lowe, Francis W. (Birmingham, Edgbaston)

Lowther, Claude N. W. (Cumberland, Eskdale)

Lowther, Rt. Hon. James William (Cumberland, Penrith)

Loyd, Archie Kirkman (Berks, Abingdon)

Lucas, Col. Francis A. (Suffolk, Lowestoft)

Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)

Lundon, W. (Limerick, East)

Lyell, Chas. Henry (Dorset, E.)

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred (Warwick and Leamington)

M

Macdona, J. Cumming (Southwark, Rotherhithe)

MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A. (Queen's County, Leix)

MacIver, David (Liverpool, Kirkdale)

Macnamara, Thomas J. (Camberwell, North)

MacNeill, J. G. Swift (Donegal, South)

Maconochie, A. W. (Aberdeenshire, East)

MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, South)

McArthur, Charles (Liverpool, Exchange)

McArthur, William A. (Cornwall, St Austell)

McCalmont, Colonel James (Antrim, East)

McCann, J. (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green)

McCrae, George (Edinburgh, East)

McFadden, Edward (Donegal, East)

M'Hugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim, North)

McIver, Sir Lewis, Bt. (Edinburgh, West)

M'Kean, John (Monaghan, South)

McKenna, Reginald (Monmouth, North)

M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)

McKillop, W. (Sligo, North)

McLaren, Sir C. B. Bright (Leicester, Bosworth)

Majendie, James H. A. (Portsmouth)

Malcolm, Ian Z. (Suffolk, Stowmarket)

Manners, Lord Cecil R. J. (Leicestershire, Melton)

Mansfield, H. (Lincoln, Spalding)

Mappin, Sir Frederick T., Bt. (York, W.R., Hallamshire)

Markham, A. B. (Notts., Mansfield)

Martin, Richard Biddulph (Worcester, Droitwich)

Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F. B. (Finsbury, Central)

Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert E., Bt. (Wigton)

Maxwell, William Jardine (Dumfriesshire)

Melville, Beresford Valentine (Stockport)

Meysey-Thompson, Sir H., Bt. (Stafford, Handsworth)

Middlemore, John T. (Birmingham, North)

Mildmay, Francis B. (Devon, Totnes)

Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Fred. G., Bt. (Notts., Bassetlaw)

Milvain, Thomas (Hampstead)

Mitchell, Edward (Fermanagh, N.)

Mitchell, William (Burnley)

Molesworth, Sir Lewis W., Bt. (Cornwall, Bodmin)

Montagu, George C. (Hunts., Huntingdon)

Montagu, Hon. John Scott- (Hants., New Forest)

Moon, Edward Robert P. (St. Pancras, North)

Mooney, John J. (Dublin Co., South)

Moore, William (Antrim, North)

Morgan, David John (Essex, Walthamstow)

Morgan, Col. Hon. Fred. C. (Monmouthshire, South)

Morgan, John Lloyd (Carmarthenshire, West)

Morley, Charles (Brecknock)

Morley, Rt. Hon John (Montrose, etc.)

Morrell, George Herbert (Oxon., Woodstock)

Morrison, Lieut. James A. (Wiltshire, Wilton)

Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford)

Moss, Samuel (Denbighshire, East)

Moulton, John Fletcher (Cornwall, Launceston)

Mount, William A. (Berks., Newbury)

Mowbray, Sir Robert G. C., Bt. (Lambeth, Brixton)

Muntz, Sir Philip Albert (Warwickshire, Tamworth)

Murnaghan, George (Tyrone, Mid.)

Murphy, John (Kerry, East)

Murray, Charles James (Coventry)

Murray, Colonel C. Wyndham (Bath)

Myers, William Henry (Winchester)

N

Nannetti, Joseph P. (Dublin, College Green)

Newdigate, Francis Alex. (Warwickshire, Nuneaton)

Newnes, Sir George, Bt. (Swansea Town)

Nicholson, William G. (Hants., Petersfield)

Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, North)

Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)

Norman, Henry (Wolverhampton, S.)

Norton, Captain Cecil W. (Newington, West)

Nussey, Thomas Willans (Pontefract)

O

O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)

O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)

O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)

O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, North)

O'Brien, Wm. (Cork)

O'Connor, James (Wicklow, West)

O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)

O'Connor, Thomas P. (Liverpool, Scotland)

O'Doherty, William (Donegal, North)

O'Donnell, John (Mayo, South)

O'Donnell, Thomas (Kerry, West)

O'Dowd, John (Sligo, South)

O'Kelly, C. (Mayo, North)

O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, North)

O'Malley, William (Galway, Connemara)

O'Mara, James (Kilkenny, South)

O'Neill, Hon. R. Torrens (Antrim, Mid.)

O'Shaughnessy, P. J. (Limerick, West)

O'Shee, James John (Waterford, West)

P

Palmer, Sir Charles M., Bt. (Durham, Jarrow)

Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)

Parker, H. Gilbert G. (Gravesend)

Parkes, Ebenezer (Birmingham, Central)

Parrott, William (Yorks, W.R., Normanton)

Partington, O. (Derbyshire, High Peak)

Paulton, James M. (Durham, Bishop Auckland)

Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bt. (Colchester)

Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)

Pease, J. A. (Essex, Saffron Walden)

Peel, Hon. William R. W. (Manchester, South)

Pemberton, John S. G. (Sunderland)

Percy, Earl (Kensington, South)

Perks, Robert W. (Lincolnshire, South)

Philipps, John W. (Pembrokeshire)

Pierpoint, Robert (Warrington)

Pilkington, Lieut.-Col. Richard (Lancashire, Newton)

Pirie, Duncan Vernon (Aberdeen, North)

Platt-Higgins, Frederick (Salford, North)

Plummer, Sir Walter R. (Newcastle-on-Tyne)

Powell, Sir Francis Sharp, Bt. (Wigan)

Power, Patrick J. (Waterford, East)

Pretyman, Capt. Ernest George (Suffolk, Woodbridge)

Price, Robert John (Norfolk, East)

Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)

Pryce-Jones, Lieut.-Col. Edward (Montgomery Boroughs)

Purvis, Robert (Peterborough)

Pym, C. Guy (Bedford)

Q

Quilter, Sir W. Cuthbert, Bt. (Suffolk, Sudbury)

R

Randles, John S. (Cumberland, Cockermouth)

Rankin, Sir James, Bt. (Herefordshire, Leominster)

Rasch, Major Fred. C. (Essex, Chelmsford)

Ratcliff, R. F. (Staffordshire, Burton)

Rea, Russell (Gloucester)

Reckitt, Harold James (Lincolnshire, Brigg)

Reddy, M. (King's County, Birr)

Redmond, John E. (Waterford)

Redmond, William H. K. (Clare, East)

Reed, Sir Edward J. (Cardiff)

Reid, James (Greenock)

Reid, Sir Robert T. (Dumfries Burghs)

Remnant, James F. (Finsbury, Holborn)

Renshaw, Sir Charles B. (Renfrew, West)

Renwick, George (Newcastle-on-Tyne)

Richards, Henry Charles (Finsbury, East)

Richards, Thomas (Monmouthshire, W.)

Rickett, J. Compton (Scarborough)

Ridley, Samuel F. (Bethnal Green, South-West)

Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Charles T. (Croydon)

Roberts, John Bryn (Carnarvonshire, Eifion)

Roberts, John Herbert (Denbighshire, West)

Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield, Ecclesall)

Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)

Robertson, T. Herbert (Hackney, South)

Robinson, Brooke (Dudley)

Robson, William Snowdon (South Shields)

Roche, John (Galway, East)

Roe, Sir Thomas (Derby)

Rolleston, Sir John F. L. (Leicester)

Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye (Islington, South)

Ropner, Colonel Sir E. H. O. Robert (Stockton)

Rose, Charles Day (Cambridge, Newmarket)

Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W. (Bucks, Aylesbury)

Round, Rt. Hon. James (Essex, Harwich)

Royds, Col. Clement M. (Rochdale)

Runciman, Walter (Dewsbury)

Russell, Thomas W. (Tyrone, South)

Rutherford, John (Lancashire, Darwen)

Rutherford, William W. (Liverpool, West Derby)

S

Sackville, Colonel S. G. Stopford (Northants, North)

Sadler, Colonel Samuel A. (Middlesbrough)

Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse)

Samuel, Herbert Louis (Yorkshire, Cleveland)

Samuel, Stuart M. (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel)

Sandys, Col. Thomas M. (Lancashire, Bootle)

Sassoon, Sir Edward A., Bt. (Hythe)

Saunderson, Colonel Rt. Hon. E. J. (Armagh, North)

Schwann, Charles E. (Manchester, North)

Scott, Charles Prestwich (Lancashire, Leigh)

Scott, Sir Samuel E., Bt. (Marylebone, West)

Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)

Seely, Major John E. B. (Isle of Wight)

Seton-Karr, Sir Henry (St. Helens)

Shackleton, David James (Lancashire, Clitheroe)

Sharpe, W. E. Thompson (Kensington, North)

Shaw, T. F. Charles Edward (Stafford)

Shaw, Thomas (Hawick Burghs)

Shaw-Stewart, M. Hugh (Renfrew, East)

Sheehan, Daniel D. (Cork Co., Mid.)

Sheehy, David (Meath, S.)

Shipman, Dr. John G. (Northampton)

Simeon, Sir J. S. Barrington, Bt. (Southampton)

Sinclair, Captain John (Forfar)

Sinclair, Louis (Essex, Romford)

Skewes-Cox, Thomas (Surrey, Kingston)

Sloan, Thomas Henry (Belfast, South)

Slack, John Bamford (Herts, St. Albans)

Smith, Abel Henry (Herts, Hertford)

Smith, Hugh C. (Northumberland, Tyneside)

Smith, James Parker (Lanark, Partick)

Smith, Samuel (Flintshire)

Smith, Hon. W. Fred. D. (Strand, Westminster)

Soames, Arthur W. (Norfolk, South)

Soares, Ernest J. (Devon, Barnstaple)

Spear, John W. (Devon, Tavistock)

Spencer, Rt. Hon. Charles R. (Northants, Mid)

Spencer, Sir Ernest (West Bromwich)

Stanhope, Hon. Philip James (Leicestershire, Market Harborough)

Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Lancashire, Ormskirk)

Stanley, Edward (Somerset, Bridgwater)

Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancashire, Westhoughton)

Stevenson, Francis S. (Suffolk, E.)

Stewart, Sir Mark J. McTaggart, Bt. (Kirkcudbright)

Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M., Bt. (Glasgow, College)

Stock, James Henry (Liverpool, Walton)

Stone, Sir John Benjamin (Birmingham, East)

Strachey, Sir Edward (Somerset, South)

Stroyan, John (Perthshire, West)

Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley (Essex, Maldon)

Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath, South)

T

Talbot, Lord Edmund (Sussex, Chichester)

Talbot, Rt. Hon. John G. (Oxford University)

Taylor, Austin (Liverpool, East Toxteth)

Taylor, Theodore C. (Lancashire, Radcliffe)

Tennant, Harold John (Berwickshire)

Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)

Thomas, Sir Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)

Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr Tydvil)

Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower)

Thompson, Dr. E. C. (Monaghan, N.)

Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R., Skipton)

Thorburn, Sir Walter (Peebles and Selkirk)

Thornton, Percy M. (Clapham)

Tillett, Louis J. (Norwich)

Tollemache, Henry J. (Cheshire, Eddisbury)

Tomkinson, James (Cheshire, Crewe)

Tomlinson, Sir William E. M. (Preston)

Toulmin, George (Bury, Lancashire)

Trevelyan, Charles P. (York, W.R., Elland,

Tritton, Charles E. (Lambeth, Norwood)

Tuff, Charles (Rochester)

Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward (Essex, South-East)

Tuke, Sir John Batty (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities)

Tully, Jasper (Leitrim, South)

Turnour, Viscount (Sussex, Horsham)

U

Ure, Alexander (Linlithgowshire)

V

Valentia, Viscount (Oxford)

Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard (Sheffield, Central)

Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)

W

Waldron, Laurence Ambrose (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green)

Walker, Col. William H. (Widnes)

Wallace, Robert (Perth)

Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H., Bt. (Devon, Tiverton)

Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, South)

Walton, Joseph (York, W.R. Barnsley),

Wanklyn, J. Leslie (Bradford, Central)

Warde, Colonel Charles E. (Kent, Medway)

Warner, T. Courtenay T. (Stafford, Lichfield)

Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan and Kinross)

Wason, John C. (Orkney and Shetland)

Webb, Colonel William G. (Staffordshire, Kingswinford)

Weir, James Galloway (Ross and Cromarty)

Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. Earle (Taunton)

Welby, Sir Charles G. E., Bt. (Notts, Newark)

Wentworth, Capt. B. C. Vernon- (Brighton)

Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd (York, W.R., Ripon)

White, George (Norfolk, North-West)

White, L. (York, E.R., Buckrose)

White, Patrick (Meath, North)

Whiteley, George (York, W.R., Pudsey)

Whiteley, Herbert (Ashton-under-Lyne)

Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)

Whitmore, Charles A. (Chelsea)

Whittaker, Thomas P. (York, W.R., Spen Valley)

Williams, Rt. Hon. Joseph Powell- (Birmingham, South)

Williams, Arthur O. (Merionethshire)

Williams, Colonel Robert (Dorset, West)

Willoughby de Eresby, Lord (Lincolnshire, Horncastle)

Wills, Arthur Walters (Dorsetshire, N.)

Wills, Sir Frederick (Bristol, North)

Wilson, Arthur S. (York, E.R., Holderness)

Wilson, Charles H. (Hull, West)

Wilson, Frederick W. (Norfolk, Mid)

Wilson, Henry Joseph (York, W.R., Holmfirth)

Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)

Wilson, John (Falkirk Burghs)

Wilson, J. (Glasgow, St. Rollox)

Wilson, John William (Worcestershire, North)

Wilson-Todd, Sir William H., Bt. (York, E.R., Howdenshire)

Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. Edmond R. (Bath)

Wolff, Gustavus Wilhelm (Belfast, East)

Wood, James (Down, East)

Woodhouse, Sir James T. (Huddersfield)

Worsley-Taylor, H. W. (Lancashire, Blackpool)

Wortley, Rt. Hon. Charles B. Stuart- (Sheffield, Hallam)

Wrightson, Sir Thomas, Bt. (St. Pancras, East)

Wylie, Alexander (Dumbartonshire)

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George (Dover)

Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H. (Glamorgan, South)

Y

Yerburgh, Robert A. (Chester)

Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

Younger, William (Lincolnshire, Stamford)

Yoxall, James Henry (Nottingham, West)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES,

WITH

NAMES OF MEMBERS.

(Compiled at the opening of the Session.)

ENGLAND—COUNTIES (234 Members).

BEDFORDSHIRE (2)

North, or Biggleswade	Compton, Lord Alwyne F.
South, or Luton	Ashton, T. Gair.

BERKSHIRE (3)

East, or Wokingham	Gardner, Ernest.
North, or Abingdon	Loyd, A. K.
South, or Newbury	Mount, W. A.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (3)

Mid, or Aylesbury	Rothschild, Hon. L. W.
North, or Buckingham	Carlile, W. W.
South, or Wycombe	Grenfell, Major W. H.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE (3)

East, or Newmarket	Rose, C. D.
North, or Wisbech	Brand, Hon. A. G.
West, or Chesterton	Greene, W. R.

CHESHIRE (8)

Altrincham	Disraeli, Coningsby R.
Crewe	Tomkinson, J.
Eddisbury	Tollemache, H. J.
Hyde	Chapman, E.
Knutsford	Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton.
Macclesfield	Davenport, W. Bromley.
Northwich	Brunner, Sir J. T.
Wirral	Hoult, J.

CORNWALL (6)

Mid, or St. Austell	M'Arthur, W. A.
North-East, or Launceston	Moulton, J. F.
North-West, or Camborne	Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bt.
South-East, or Bodmin	Molesworth, Sir L., Bt.
Truro	Durning-Lawrence, Sir E., Bt.
West, or St. Ives	Hain, E.

CUMBERLAND (4)

Cockermouth	Randles, J. S.
Mid, or Penrith	Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W.
North, or Eskdale	Lowther, C. W. H.
West, or Egremont	Bain, J. R.

DERBYSHIRE (7)

Chesterfield	Bayley, Thomas.
High Peak	Partington, O.
Ilkeston	Foster, Sir B. W.
Mid	Jacoby, J. A.
North-East	Bolton, T. D.
South	Gretton, J.
West	Cavendish, Victor C. W.

DEVONSHIRE (8)

East, or Honiton	Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bt.
Mid, or Ashburton	Eve, Harry T.
North-East, or Tiverton	Walrond, Col. Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
North, or South Molton	Lambert, G.
North-West, or Barnstaple	Soares, E. J.
South, or Totnes	Mildmay, F. Bingham.
Torquay	Barratt, F. L.
West, or Tavistock	Spear, J. W.

DORSETSHIRE (4)

East	Lyell, Chas. H.
North	Wills, A. W.
South	Brymer, W. E.
West	Williams, Col. R.

DURHAM (8)

Barnard Castle	Henderson, Arthur.
Bishop Auckland	Paulton, J. M.
Chester-le-Street	Joicey, Sir James, Bt.
Houghton-le-Spring	Cameron, Robert.
Jarrow	Palmer, Sir C. Mark, Bt.
Mid	Wilson, John.
North-West	Atherley-Jones, L.
South-East	Lambton, Hon. F. W.

ESSEX (8)

East, or Maldon	Strutt, Hon. C. H.
Mid, or Chelmsford	Rasch, Major F. C.
North-East, or Harwich	Round, J.
North, or Saffron Walden	Pease, J. A.
South-East	Tufnell, Col. E.
South, or Romford	Sinclair, Louis.
South-West, or Walthamstow	Morgan, D. J.
West, or Epping	Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R. M.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE (5)

East, or Cirencester	Bathurst, Hon. A. B.
Forest of Dean	Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bt.
Mid, or Stroud	Allen, C. P.
North, or Tewkesbury	Dorington, Sir J. E., Bt.
South, or Thornbury	Colston, C. E. H. A.

HAMPSHIRE (5)

East, or Petersfield	Nicholson, W. G.
New Forest	Montagu, Hon. J. W. E. D. Scott-

HAMPSHIRE (5)—*cont.*

North, or Basingstoke	Jeffreys, A. F.
South, or Fareham	Lee, Lt.-Col. A. H.
West, or Andover	Faber, E. B.

HEREFORDSHIRE (2)

North, or Leominster	Rankin, Sir Jas., Bart.
South, or Ross	Clive, Capt. P. A.

HERTFORDSHIRE (4)

East, or Hertford	Smith, A. H.
Mid, or St. Albans	Slack, J. Bamford
North, or Hitchin	Hudson, G. B.
West, or Watford	Halsey, Rt. Hon. T. F.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE (2)

North, or Ramsey	Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E.
South, or Huntingdon	Montagu, G. C.

ISLE OF WIGHT (1)	Seely, Capt. J. E. B.

KENT (8)

East, or St. Augustine's	Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Isle of Thanet	Marks, H. H.
Mid, or Medway	Warde, Lt.-Col. C. E.
North-East, or Faversham	Howard, Capt. J.
North-West, or Dartford	Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Hart, B
South, or Ashford	Hardy, Laurence.
South-West, or Tunbridge	Boscawen, A. Griffith.
West, or Sevenoaks	Forster, H. W.

LANCASHIRE, NORTH (4)

Blackpool	Worsley-Taylor, H. W.
Chorley	Balcarres, Lord.
Lancaster	Helme, N. W.
North Lonsdale	Cavendish, Richd. F.

LANCASHIRE, NORTH-EAST (4)

Accrington	Leese, Sir J. F.
Clitheroe	Shackleton, D. J.
Darwen	Rutherford, John.
Rossendale	Harcourt, Lewis.

LANCASHIRE, SOUTH-EAST (8)

Eccles	Clare, O. L.
Gorton	Hatch, E. F. G.
Heywood	Kemp, G.
Middleton	Fielden, E. B.
Prestwich	Cawley, F.
Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth	Taylor, T. C.
Stretford	Cripps, C. A.
Westhoughton	Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord.

LANCASHIRE, SOUTH-WEST (7)

Bootle	Sandys, Col. T. M.
Ince	Blundell, Col. H. B. Hollinshed
Leigh	Scott, C. P.
Newton	Pilkington, Lt.-Col. R.
Ormskirk	Stanley, Hon. Arthur.
Southport	Hall, E. Marshall.
Widnes	Walker, Col. W. H.

LEICESTERSHIRE (4)

East, or Melton	Manners, Lord C. R. J.
Mid, or Loughborough	Levy, M.
South, or Harborough	Stanhope, Hon. Philip.
West, or Bosworth	M‘Laren, Sir C. B. B., Bt.

LINCOLNSHIRE (7)

East Lindsey, or Louth	Perks, R. W.
Holland, or Spalding	Mansfield, H. R.
North Kesteven, or Sleaford	Chaplin, Rt. Hon. H.
North Lindsey, or Brigg	Reckitt, H. J.
South Kesteven, or Stamford	Younger, W.
South Lindsey, or Horncastle	Willoughby de Eresby, Lord.
West Lindsey, or Gainsborough	Ormsby-Gore, Hon. S. F.

MIDDLESEX (7)

Brentford	Bigwood, J.
Ealing	Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George.
Enfield	Bowles, Lt. Col. H. F.
Harrow	Cox, J. E. Bainbridge.
Hornsey	Balfour, Capt. C. B.
Tottenham	Howard, J.
Uxbridge	Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D., Bt.

MONMOUTHSHIRE (3)

North	M‘Kenna, R.
South	Morgan, Col. Hon. F. C.
West	Richards, Tom.

NORFOLK (6)

East	Price, R. J.
Mid	Wilson, F. W.
North	Gurdon, Sir W. B.
North-West	White, G.
South	Soames, A. W.
South-West	Hare, T. L.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (4)

East	Channing, F. A.
Mid	Spencer, Hon. C. R.
North	Sackville, S. G. S.
South	Fitzroy, Hon. J. G.

NORTHUMBERLAND (4)

Berwick-upon-Tweed	Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward, Bt
Hexham	Beaumont, Wentworth C B.
Tyneside	Smith, H. C.
Wansbeck	Fenwick, C.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (4)

Bassetlaw	Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir F. G., Bt.
Mansfield	Markham, A. B.
Newark	Welby, Sir C. G. E., Bt.
Rushcliffe	Ellis, J. E.

OXFORDSHIRE (3)

Mid, or Woodstock	Morrell, G. H.
North, or Banbury	Brassey, Albert.
South, or Henley	Hermon-Hodge, Sir R. T., Bt.

RUTLAND (1)	Finch, Rt. Hon. G. H.

SHROPSHIRE (4)	
Mid, or Wellington	Brown, Sir Alexander, Bt.
North, or Newport	Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.
South, or Ludlow	Hunt, Rowland.
West, or Oswestry	Bright, Allan H.
SOMERSETSHIRE (7)	
Bridgwater	Stanley, E. J.
East	Hobhouse, Henry.
Frome	Barlow, J. E.
North	Llewellyn, Evan H.
South	Strachey, Sir Edward.
Wells	Dickinson, R. E.
West, or Wellington	Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F., Bt.
STAFFORDSHIRE (7)	
Burton	Ratcliffe, R. F.
Handsworth	Meysey-Thompson, Sir H., Bt.
Kingswinford	Webb, Col. W. G.
Leek	Bill, Charles.
Lichfield	Warner, T. Courtenay T.
North-West	Heath, James.
West	Henderson, Sir Alexander, Bt.
SUFFOLK (5)	
North-East, or Eye	Stevenson, F. S.
North, or Lowestoft	Lucas, Col. F. A.
North-West, or Stowmarket	Malcolm, Ian.
South-East, or Woodbridge	Pretyman, Capt. E. G.
South, or Sudbury	Quilter, Sir Cuthbert, Bt.
SURREY (6)	
Kingston	Skewes-Cox, T.
Mid, or Epsom	Keswick, W.
North-East, or Wimbledon	Hambro, C. E.
North-West, or Chertsey	Bingham, Lord.
South-East, or Reigate	Cubitt, Hon. Henry.
South-West, or Guildford	Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John.
SUSSEX (6)	
East, or Rye	Hutchinson, Dr. Chas. Fredk.
Mid, or Lewes	Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir Hy., Bt.
North, or East Grinstead	Goschen, G. J., jun.
North-West, or Horsham	Turnour, Viscount.
South, or Eastbourne	Hogg, L.
South-West, or Chichester	Talbot, Lord Edmund.
WARWICKSHIRE (4)	
North-East, or Nuneaton	Newdigate, F. A.
North, or Tamworth	Muntz, Sir Philip, Bt.
South-East, or Rugby	Grant, Corrie.
South-West, or Stratford-on-Avon	Foster, P. S.
WESTMORELAND (2)	
North, or Appleby	Rigg, R.
South, or Kendal	Bagot, Capt. J. F.
WILTSHIRE (5)	
East, or Devizes	Goulding, E. A.
North, or Cricklade	Fitzmaurice, Lord E. G. Petty.
North-West, or Chippenham	Dickson-Poynder, Sir J. P., Bt.
South, or Wilton	Morrison, Lt. J. A.
West or Westbury	Fuller, J. M. F.

WORCESTERSHIRE (5)	
East	Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. Austen.
Mid, or Droitwich	Martin, R. Biddulph.
North	Wilson, J. W.
South, or Evesham	Long, Col. C. Wigram.
West, or Bewdley	Baldwin, Alfred.
YORKSHIRE, EAST RIDING (3)	
Buckrose	White, L.
Holderness	Wilson, A. S.
Howdenshire	Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H., Bt.
YORKSHIRE, NORTH RIDING (4)	
Cleveland	Samuel, H. L.
Richmond	Hutton, John.
Thirsk and Malton	Lawson, J. Grant.
Whitby	Beckett, E. W.
YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (N.) (5)	
Elland	Trevelyan, C. P.
Keighley	Brigg, John.
Shipley	Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue
Skipton	Thomson, F. W.
Sowerby	Higham, John Sharp.
YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (S.) (8)	
Barnsley	Walton, Joseph.
Colne Valley	Kitson, Sir J. B., Bt.
Doncaster	Fison, F. W.
Hallamshire	Mappin, Sir F. T., Bt.
Holmfirth	Wilson, H. J.
Morley	Hutton, A. E.
Normanton	Parrott, Wm.
Rotherham	Holland, Sir H. W.
YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (E.) (6)	
Barkston Ash	Gunter, Col. Sir Robert, Bt.
Osgoldcross	Austin, Sir John, Bt.
Otley	Duncan, J. H.
Pudsey	Whiteley, G.
Ripon	Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd.
Spen Valley	Whittaker, T. P.

ENGLAND—METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS (62 Members).

BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM (2)	
Battersea	Burns, John.
Clapham	Thornton, Percy M.
BETHNAL GREEN (2)	
North-East	Bhownaggree, Sir M M.
South-West	Ridley, S. F.
CAMBERWELL (3)	
Dulwich	Harris, Dr. F. Rutherfoord.
North	Macnamara, T. J.
Peckham	Banbury, Sir Frederick, Bt.
CHELSEA (1)	Whitmore, C. A

Croydon (1)	Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. T.
Deptford (1)	Morton, A. H. A.
Finsbury (3)	
Central	Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F. B.
East	Richards, H. C.
Holborn	Remnant, J. R.
Fulham (1)	Fisher, W. Hayes.
Greenwich (1)	Cecil, Lord Hugh R. H.
Hackney (3)	
Central	Allhusen, A. H. E.
North	Bousfield, W. R.
South	Robertson, T. H.
Hammersmith (1)	Bull, W. J.
Hampstead (1)	Milvain, Thomas.
Islington (4)	
East	Cohen, B. L.
North	Bartley, Sir George.
South	Rollit, Sir A. K.
West	Lough, Thomas.
Kensington (2)	
North	Sharpe, W. E. T.
South	Percy, Earl.
Lambeth (4)	
Brixton	Mowbray, Sir R. G., Bt.
Kennington	Cook, F. L.
North	Horner, F. W.
Norwood	Tritton, C. E.
Lewisham (1)	Coates, Major Ed. F.
London, City (2)	Dimsdale, Sir J. C. Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Marylebone (2)	
East	Boulnois, Edmund.
West	Scott, Sir S. E., Bt.
Newington (2)	
Walworth	Bailey, Jas.
West	Norton, Capt. C. W.
Paddington (2)	
North	Aird, Sir John.
South	Fardell, Sir T. G.
St. George's, Hanover Square (1)	Legge, Col. Hon. H.
St. Pancras (4)	
East	Wrightson, Sir Thos., Bt.
North	Moon, E. R. P.
South	Jessel, Capt. H. M.
West	Graham, H. R.
Shoreditch (2)	
Haggerston	Cremer, W. R.
Hoxton	Hay, Hon. C. G. D.

Southwark (3)	
Bermondsey	Cust, H. J. C.
Rotherhithe	Macdona, J. Cumming.
West	Causton, R. K.
Strand (1)	Smith, Hon. W. F. D.
Tower Hamlets (7)	
Bow and Bromley	Guthrie, W. M.
Limehouse	Samuel, Harry S.
Mile End	Lawson, Hon. H.
Poplar	Buxton, Sydney C.
St. George's	Dewar, Sir Thomas.
Stepney	Gordon, Major W. E. E.
Whitechapel	Samuel, S. M.
Wandsworth (1)	Kimber, Hy.
West Ham (2)	
North	Gray, Ernest.
South	Banes, Major G. E.
Westminster (1)	Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ashmead B.
Woolwich (1)	Crooks, Wm.

ENGLAND—PROVINCIAL CITIES AND BOROUGHS (164 Members).

Ashton-under-Lyne (1)	Whiteley, H. J.
Aston Manor (1)	Cecil, E.
Barrow-in-Furness (1)	Cayzer, Sir C. W.
Bath, City (2)	Murray, Col. C. Wyndham. Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R.
Bedford (1)	Pym, C. Guy.
Birkenhead (1)	Lees, Sir Elliott, Bt.
Birmingham, City (7)	
Bordesley	Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse.
Central	Parkes, Ebenezer.
East	Stone, Sir J. Benjamin.
Edgbaston	Lowe, F. W.
North	Middlemore, J. T.
South	Williams, J. Powell-
West	Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph.
Blackburn (2)	Hornby, Sir W. H., Bt. Coddington, Sir W., Bt.
Bolton (2)	Cross, H. S. Harwood, G.
Boston (1)	Garfit, W.
Bradford, City (3)	
Central	Wanklyn, J. L.
East	Greville, Capt. Hon. R. H. Fulke.
West	Flower, Ernest S. F.
Brighton (2)	Loder, Gerald W. E. Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-

Bristol, City (4)	
East	Hobhouse, C. E. H.
North	Wills, Sir F.
South	Long, Rt. Hon. W. H.
West	Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H., Bt.
Burnley (1)	Mitchell, W.
Bury (1)	Toulmin, G.
Bury St. Edmunds (1)	Greene, Sir E. W., Bt.
Cambridge (1)	FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose-, Bt.
Canterbury, City (1)	Heaton, J. Henniker.
Carlisle, City (1)	Gully, Rt. Hon. W. C. (Speaker).
Chatham (1)	Davies, Sir Horatio D.
Cheltenham (1)	Agg-Gardner, J. T.
Chester, City (1)	Yerburgh, R. A.
Christchurch (1)	Balfour, Major K. R.
Colchester (1)	Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bt.
Coventry (1)	Murray, C. J.
Darlington (1)	Pease, Herbt. P.
Derby (2)	Roe, Sir T. Bell, R.
Devonport (2)	Kearley, H. E. Benn, J. Williams.
Dewsbury (1)	Runciman, W.
Dover (1)	Wyndham, George.
Dudley (1)	Robinson, Brooke.
Durham, City (1)	Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D.
Exeter, City (1)	Vincent, Sir E.
Gateshead (1)	Johnson, John.
Gloucester, City (1)	Rea, R.
Grantham (1)	Priestley, A.
Gravesend (1)	Parker, Sir Gilbert.
Grimsby, Great (1)	Doughty, Sir G.
Halifax (2)	Crossley, Sir S. B. Whitley, J. H.
Hanley (1)	Heath, A. H.
Hartlepool (1)	Furness, Sir C.
Hastings (1)	Thomas, Capt. F. F.
Hereford, City (1)	Arkwright, J. S.
Huddersfield (1)	Woodhouse, Sir J. T

Hull, City (3)	
Central	King, Sir H. Seymour.
East	Firbank, Sir Joseph.
West	Wilson, C. H.
Hythe (1)	Sassoon, Sir Edward A. Bt.
Ipswich (2)	Goddard, D. F. Dalrymple, Sir Chas., Bt.
Kidderminster (1)	Godson, Sir Augustus F.
Leeds, City (5)	
Central	Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.
East	Cautley, H. S.
North	Barran, R. H.
South	Walton, John Lawson
West	Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J
Leicester (2)	Broadhurst, Henry. Rolleston, Sir J. F. L.
Lincoln, City (1)	Seely, C. H.
Liverpool, City (9)	
Abercromby	Lawrence, W. F.
East Toxteth	Taylor, Austin.
Everton	
Exchange	M'Arthur, Charles.
Kirkdale	MacIver, David.
Scotland	O'Connor, T. P.
Walton	Stock, J. H.
West Derby	Rutherford, W. W.
West Toxteth	Houston, R. P.
Lynn Regis (1)	Bowles, T. Gibson.
Maidstone (1)	Evans, Sir F. H.
Manchester, City (6)	
East	Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.
North	Schwann, C. E.
North-East	Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J., Bt.
North-West	Houldsworth, Sir W. H., Bt.
South	Peel, Hon. W. R. W.
South-West	Galloway, W. J.
Middlesbrough (1)	Sadler, Col. S. A.
Monmouth District (1)	Lawrence, Sir Joseph.
Morpeth (1)	Burt, Thomas.
Newcastle-under-Lyme (1)	Haslam, Sir A. S.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, City (2)	Plummer, Sir W. R. Renwick, G.
Northampton (2)	Labouchere, Henry. Shipman, Dr. J. G.
Norwich, City (2)	Hoare, Sir Samuel, Bt. Tillett, Louis John.

Nottingham, City (3)	
East	Bond, Edward.
South	Bentinck, Lord H. C.
West	Yoxall, J. H.
Oldham (2)	Emmott, Alfred. Churchill, W. L. S.
Oxford, City (1)	Valentia, Viscount.
Penryn and Falmouth (1)	Horniman, F. J.
Plymouth (2)	Duke, H. E. Guest, Hon. I. C.
Pontefract (1)	Nussey, T. Willans.
Portsmouth (2)	Majendie, J. H. A. Lucas, R. J.
Preston (2)	Kerr, John. Tomlinson, Sir William.
Reading (1)	Isaacs, Rufus D.
Rochdale (1)	Royds, Col. C. M.
Rochester, City (1)	Tuff, Charles
St. Helens (1)	Seton-Karr, Sir Henry.
Salford (3)	
North	Platt-Higgins, F.
South	Groves, J. G.
West	Knowles, Lees.
Salisbury, City (1)	Palmer, W.
Scarborough (1)	Rickett, J. Compton.
Sheffield, City (5)	
Attercliffe	Langley, Batty.
Brightside	Hope, J. Fitzalan.
Central	Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard.
Ecclesall	Roberts, S.
Hallam	Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-.
Shrewsbury (1)	Greene, H. D.
Southampton (2)	Simeon, Sir J. S. Barrington, Bt. Chamberlayne, T.
South Shields (1)	Robson, W. S.
Stafford (1)	Shaw, T. F. C. E.
Stalybridge (1)	Cheetham, J. F.
Stockport (2)	Leigh, Sir Joseph. Melville, B. V.
Stockton (1)	Ropner, Col. Sir E. H. O. R.
Stoke-upon-Trent (1)	Coghill, D. H.
Sunderland (2)	Doxford, Sir W. T. Pemberton, J. S. G.

TAUNTON (1)	Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E.
TYNEMOUTH (1)	Harris, F. L.
WAKEFIELD, CITY (1)	Brotherton, E. A.
WALSALL (1)	Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir A. D., Bt.
WARRINGTON (1)	Pierpoint, Robert.
WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON (1)	Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred.
WEDNESBURY (1)	Green, W. D.
WEST BROMWICH (1)	Spencer, Sir Ernest.
WHITEHAVEN (1)	Helder, Augustus.
WIGAN (1)	Powell, Sir F. S., Bt.
WINCHESTER, CITY (1)	Myers, W. H.
WINDSOR (1)	Barry, Sir F. T., Bt.
WOLVERHAMPTON (3)	
East	Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H.
South	Norman, H.
West	Hickman, Sir Alfred.
WORCESTER, CITY (1)	Allsopp, Hon. G. H.
YARMOUTH, GREAT (1)	Colomb, Sir John C. R.
YORK, CITY (2)	Butcher, J. G. Faber, G. D.

WALES—COUNTIES (19 Members).

ANGLESEY (1)	Griffith, Ellis J.
BRECKNOCKSHIRE (1)	Morley, Charles.
CARDIGANSHIRE (1)	Davies, M. L. Vaughan.
CARMARTHENSHIRE (2)	
East	Thomas, Abel.
West	Morgan, J. Lloyd.
CARNARVONSHIRE (2)	
North or Arfon	Jones, William.
South or Eifion	Roberts, J. Bryn.
DENBIGHSHIRE (2)	
East	Moss, Samuel.
West	Roberts, J. H.
FLINTSHIRE (1)	Smith, Samuel.
GLAMORGANSHIRE (5)	
East	Thomas, Sir Alfred.
Mid	Evans, S. T.
Rhondda	Abraham, William.
South	Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.
West, or Gower	Thomas, J. A.
MERIONETHSHIRE (1)	Williams, A. O.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE (1)	Humphreys-Owen, A. C.
PEMBROKESHIRE (1)	Philipps, J. Wynford.
RADNORSHIRE (1)	Edwards, F.

WALES—BOROUGHS (11 Members).

CARDIFF DISTRICT (1)	Reed, Sir E. J.
CARMARTHEN DISTRICT (1)	Davies, Alfred.
CARNARVON DISTRICT (1)	Lloyd-George, David.
DENBIGH DISTRICT (1)	Kenyon, Hon. G. T.
FLINT DISTRICT (1)	Lewis, J. H.
MERTHYR TYDVIL (2)	Thomas, D. A. Hardie, J. Keir.
MONTGOMERY DISTRICT (1)	Pryce-Jones, Lieut.-Col. E.
PEMBROKE AND HAVERFORDWEST DISTRICT (1)	Laurie, Lieut.-Col. J. W.
SWANSEA (2)	
District	Jones, D. Brynmor.
Town	Newnes, Sir G.

SCOTLAND—COUNTIES (39 Members).

ABERDEENSHIRE (2)	
East	Maconachie, A. W.
West	Farquharson, Dr. R.
ARGYLLSHIRE (1)	Ainsworth, J. S.
AYRSHIRE (2)	
North	Cochrane, Hon. T. H.
South	Arrol, Sir William.
BANFFSHIRE (1)	Black, A. W.
BERWICKSHIRE (1)	Tennant, H. J.
BUTESHIRE (1)	
CAITHNESS-SHIRE (1)	Harmsworth, R. L.
CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS (1)	Wason, Eugene.
DUMBARTONSHIRE (1)	Wylie, Alexander.
DUMFRIESSHIRE (1)	Maxwell, W. J. H.
EDINBURGH (MIDLOTHIAN) (1)	The Master of Elibank.
ELGIN AND NAIRN (1)	Gordon, Hon. J. E
FIFESHIRE (2)	
East	Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H.
West	Hope, J. D.
FORFARSHIRE (1)	Sinclair, Capt. J.

Haddingtonshire (1)	Haldane, R. B.
Inverness-shire (1)	Dewar, J. A.
Kincardineshire (1)	Crombie, J. W.
Kirkcudbrightshire (1)	Stewart, Sir Mark J. McT., Bt.
Lanarkshire (6)	
Govan	Craig, R. H.
Mid	Caldwell, J.
North-East	Findlay, Alexander.
North-West	Douglas, C. M.
Partick	Smith, J. Parker.
South	Hozier, Hon. J. H. C.
Linlithgowshire (1)	Ure, Alex.
Orkney and Shetland (1)	Wason, J. C.
Peebles and Selkirk (1)	Thorburn, Sir Walter.
Perthshire (2)	
East	Buchanan, T. R.
West	Stroyan, J.
Renfrewshire (2)	
East	Shaw-Stewart, M. H.
West	Renshaw, Sir Charles.
Ross and Cromarty (1)	Weir, J. G.
Roxburghshire (1)	Dalkeith, Earl of.
Stirlingshire (1)	McKillop, J.
Sutherlandshire (1)	Leveson-Gower, F. S.
Wigtonshire (1)	Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E., Bt.

SCOTLAND—CITIES AND BURGHS (31 Members).

Aberdeen, City (2)	
North	Pirie, D. V.
South	Bryce, Rt. Hon. James.
Ayr District (1)	Dobbie, Joseph.
Dumfries District (1)	Reid, Sir R. T.
Dundee (2)	Robertson, Edmund. Leng, Sir John
Edinburgh, City (4)	
Central	Brown, G. M.
East	McCrae, George.
South	Agnew, Sir A. N., Bt.
West	McIver, Sir Lewis, Bt.
Elgin District (1)	Asher, Alexander.
Falkirk District (1)	Wilson, John.

Glasgow, City (7)	
Blackfriars and Hutchesontown	Law, A. B.
Bridgeton	Dickson, C. Scott.
Camlachie	Cross, Alexander.
Central	Baird, J. G. A.
College	Stirling-Maxwell, Sir J. M., Bt.
St. Rollox	Wilson, John.
Tradeston	Corbett, A. Cameron.
Greenock (1)	Reid, James.
Hawick District (1)	Shaw, Thomas.
Inverness District (1)	Finlay, Sir R. B.
Kilmarnock District (1)	Denny, Col. J. McA.
Kirkcaldy District (1)	Dalziel, J. H.
Leith District (1)	Ferguson, R. C. Munro.
Montrose District (1)	Morley, Rt. Hon. J.
Paisley (1)	Dunn, Sir Wm., Bt.
Perth City (1)	Wallace, Robert.
St. Andrews District (1)	Ellice, Capt. Ed. Chas.
Stirling District (1)	Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Wick District (1)	Bignold, Arthur.

IRELAND—COUNTIES (85 Members).

Antrim (4)	
East	McCalmont, Col. J.
Mid	O'Neill, Hon. R. T.
North	Moore, William.
South	Craig, C. C.
Armagh County (3)	
Mid	Lonsdale, J. B.
North	Saunderson, Col. Rt. Hon. E. J.
South	Campbell, J.
Carlow County (1)	Hammond, John.
Cavan (2)	
East	Young, Samuel.
West	Kennedy, V. P.
Clare (2)	
East	Redmond, W. H. K.
West	Jameson, Major J. E.
Cork, County (7)	
East	Donelan, Captain A. J. C.
Mid	Sheehan, D. D.
North	Flynn, J. C.
North-East	Abraham, Wm.
South	Barry, Edward.
South-East	Crean, Eugene.
West	Gilhooly, J.

DONEGAL (4)	
East	McFadden, E.
North	O'Doherty, W.
South	MacNeill, J. G. Swift.
West	Law, Hugh A.
DOWN (4)	
East	Wood, James.
North	Corbett, T. L.
South	MacVeagh, J.
West	Hill, Captain Arthur.
DUBLIN, COUNTY (2)	
North	Clancy, J. J.
South	Mooney, J. J.
FERMANAGH (2)	
North	Mitchell, Ed.
South	Jordan, Jeremiah.
GALWAY, COUNTY (4)	
Connemara	O'Malley, William.
East	Roche, John.
North	Nolan, Col. J. P.
South	Duffy, W. J.
KERRY (4)	
East	Murphy, J.
North	Flavin, M. J.
South	Boland, J. P.
West	O'Donnell, Thos.
KILDARE (2)	
North	
South	Kilbride, Dennis.
KILKENNY COUNTY (2)	
North	Devlin, Joseph.
South	O'Mara, James.
KING'S COUNTY (2)	
Birr	Reddy, Michael.
Tullamore	Burke, E. H.
LEITRIM (2)	
North	McHugh, Patrick A.
South	Tully, Jasper.
LIMERICK, COUNTY (2)	
East	Lundon, Wm.
West	O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
LONDONDERRY, COUNTY (2)	
North	Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John.
South	Gordon, J.
LONGFORD, COUNTY (2)	
North	Farrell, J. P.
South	Blake, Edward.
LOUTH (2)	
North	Healy, T. M.
South	Nolan, Joseph.

MAYO (4)	
East	Dillon, John.
North	O'Kelly, Conor.
South	O'Donnell, John.
West	Ambrose, Robert.
MEATH (2)	
North	White, Patrick.
South	Sheehy, David.
MONAGHAN (2)	
North	Thompson, Dr. E. C.
South	McKean, J.
QUEEN'S COUNTY (2)	
Leix	MacDonnell, Dr. M. A.
Ossory	Delany, William.
ROSCOMMON (2)	
North	O'Kelly, Jas.
South	Hayden, J. P.
SLIGO, COUNTY (2)	
North	McKillop, W.
South	O'Dowd, John.
TIPPERARY (4)	
East	Condon, T. J.
Mid	O'Brien, K. E.
North	O'Brien, P. J.
South	Cullinan, John.
TYRONE (4)	
East	Doogan, P. C.
Mid	Murnaghan, George.
North	Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. H.
South	Russell, T. W.
WATERFORD, COUNTY (2)	
East	Power, P. J.
West	O'Shee, J. J.
WESTMEATH (2)	
North	Kennedy, P. J.
South	Sullivan, Donal.
WEXFORD (2)	
North	Esmonde, Sir T. H. G.
South	Ffrench, Peter.
WICKLOW (2)	
East	Cogan, Denis J.
West	O'Connor, James.

IRELAND—CITIES AND BOROUGHS (16 Members).

BELFAST, CITY (4)	
East	Wolff, G. W.
North	Haslett, Sir Jas. H.
South	Sloan, T. H.
West	Arnold-Forster, H. O.
CORK, CITY (2)	O'Brien, J. F. X. O'Brien, Wm.

Dublin, City (4)	
College Green	Nannetti, J. P.
Dublin Harbour	Harrington, T.
St. Patrick's	Field, William.
St. Stephen's Green	Waldron, L. A.
Galway, Town (1)	Devlin, Chas. R.
Kilkenny (1)	O'Brien, Patrick.
Limerick, City (1)	Joyce, Michael.
Londonderry, City (1)	Hamilton, Capt. the Marquess of.
Newry (1)	Carvill, P. G. H.
Waterford (1)	Redmond, J. E.

UNIVERSITIES (9 Members).

England :—	
Cambridge University (2)	Jebb, Sir R. C. Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E.
London University (1)	Foster, Sir Michael.
Oxford University (2)	Anson, Sir W. R., Bart. Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G.
Scotland :—	
Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities (1)	Tuke, Sir J. Batty.
Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities (1) ...	Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A.
Ireland :—	
Dublin University (2)	Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir E. H. Campbell, J. H. M.

SUMMARY.

	No. of Members	
England		
Counties	234	
Metropolitan Boroughs	62	
Provincial Cities and Boroughs	164	
		460
Wales		
Counties	19	
Boroughs	11	
		30
Scotland		
Counties	39	
Cities and Burghs	31	
		70
Ireland		
Counties	85	
Cities and Boroughs	16	
		101
Universities		
England	5	
Scotland	2	
Ireland	2	
		9
Total number of Members		670

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FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION, 1905.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

BLACK ROD.

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The LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN acquainted the House, "That His Majesty had appointed Admiral Sir Henry Frederick Stephenson, K.C.B., G.C.V.O., to be Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in the room of General Sir Michael Antony Shrapnel Biddulph, G.C.B., deceased, and that he was at the door ready to receive their Lordships' commands"; whereupon the House directed he should be called in; accordingly he was called in and officiated in his place 1

THE KING'S SPEECH.

The KING, being seated on the Throne, and the Commons being at the Bar with their Speaker, His Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, and then retired 1

SAT FIRST.

The EARL of HARDWICKE sat first in Parliament after the death of his nephew.

The VISCOUNT RIDLEY sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

The LORD RANFURLY (*E. Ranfurly*) took the oath.

WATKIN HERBERT, LORD BISHOP of BANGOR, was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The LORD CLINTON sat first in Parliament after the death of his father 5

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The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by His Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to Standing Order No. CXI., viz. :—

TRADE REPORTS. I. ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3256. Brazil (Bahia). (August 16.)
No. 3257. Greece (Ionian Islands).
No. 3258. Chile. (August 23.)
No. 3259. Costa Rica. (August 26.)
No. 3260. Austria-Hungary (Fiume).
No. 3261. Morocco (Dar-al-Baida). (August 27.)
No. 3262. Mexico (Vera Cruz).
No. 3263. Zanzibar (Zanzibar and Pemba). (August 30.)
No. 3264. Portugal (Laurenço Marques). (August 31.)
No. 3265. Italy (Lombardy). (September 3.)
No. 3266. Turkey (Damascus). (September 7.)
No. 3267. Persia (Khorassan and Sistan).
No. 3268. Italy (Sardinia).
No. 3269. Japan (Nagasaki).
No. 3270. China (Canton). (September 9.)
No. 3271. Portugal (Angola).
No. 3272. Russia (Consular District of Riga, 1903).
No. 3273. Portugal (Madeira, 1903).
No. 3274. Egypt (Alexandria, 1903). (September 14.)
No. 3275. Belgium, 1903. (September 20.)
No. 3276. Japan (Consular District of Tainan (S. Formosa, 1903). (September 17.)
No. 3277. Russia (Odessa). (September 21.)

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No. 3279. United States of America. (September 22.)
No. 3280. China.
No. 3281. Peru. (September 27.)
No. 3282. Turkey (Crete). (September 29.)
No. 3283. Brazil (Rio de Janeiro). (October 4.)
No. 3284. Colombia (Barranguilla).
No. 3285. Mexico (Mexico).
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No. 3288. Portugal (Goa). (October 6.)
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No. 3317. China (Foochow). (December 16.)
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II. Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to inquire into and report upon the working in Great Britain of the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1893—
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No. 441. British Guiana (Report for 1903–1904). (December 20.)
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II. Alice Robinson, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley.

III. Sarah Wildman, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney, E.

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II. Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, specifying new fees to be taken in respect of the verification and stamping by inspectors of weights and measures, and weighing and measuring instruments 63

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COPYRIGHT ACTS, 1844 TO 1886.—Order in Council of the 12th December, 1904, giving effect to the accession of Sweden to the International Copyright Convention, 1886 63

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BISHOPRICS ACT, 1878, AND BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM ACT, 1904.—Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, for the foundation of the Bishopric of Birmingham 63

EXPLOSIVES ACT, 1875.—Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, prohibiting, except under certain conditions, certain fireworks of a dangerous nature .. 63

LEEWARD ISLANDS.—Amended prison rule relating to the employment of female prisoners.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 63

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.

I. Statute made by the Governing body of Magdalen College, Oxford, on 11th May, 1904, amending the existing Statutes of the College.

II. Two Statutes made by the Governing Body of Balliol College, Oxford, on 26th May, 1904, amending (i) Statute III., and (ii) Statute IV. and Schedule B. of the College Statutes.

III. Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on the the 15th June, 1904, amending Statute XV. (Pension Fund) of the Statutes of the College.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 1) .. 64

COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES.—Appointed 64

COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNALS.—Appointed 64

STOPPAGES IN THE STREETS.—Order to prevent, renewed 64

APPEAL COMMITTEE.—Appointed 64

MARGATE PIER AND HARBOUR COMPANY.—Report and statement of accounts, for the year ended 5th April, 1904 64

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD.—Accounts for the year ended 1st July, 1904.

Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 64

ALIEN IMMIGRATION FROM THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.—Return in (part) respecting. Laid before the House (pursuant to Order of this day), and to be printed. (No. 2.) 64

House adjourned at ten minutes before Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

Message to attend His Majesty.

The House went; and, being returned—

MR. SPEAKER informed the House, That he had issued Warrants for New Writs during the Recess, for County of Kent (Isle of Thanet Division), in the room of the Right Hon. James Lowther, deceased; County of Monmouth (Western Division), The Right Hon. Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon Harcourt, deceased; County of Sussex (West or Horsham Division), John Heywood Johnstone, esquire, deceased; Borough of Stalybridge, The Hon. Matthew White Ridley, called to the House of Peers; Borough of Tower Hamlets (Mile End Division), Spencer Charrington, esquire, deceased; County of Dorset (Northern Division), John Kenelm Digby Wingfield-Digby, esquire, deceased; County of Kildare (Northern Division), Edmund Leamy, esquire, deceased 65

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.—John Frederick Cheetham, Esquire, for Borough of Stalybridge; Edward Turnour, Esquire, commonly called Viscount Turnour, County of Sussex (North-Western or Horsham Division); Thomas Richards, Esquire, County of Monmouth (Western Division); Colonel Harry Lawson Webster Lawson, commonly called The hon. Harry Lawson Webster Lawson; Parliamentary Borough of the Tower Hamlets (Mile End Division); Arthur Walters Wills, Esquire, County of Dorset (Northern Division); Harry Hananel Marks, Esquire, County of Kent (Isle of Thanet Division) 65

ELECTIONS.—Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their Election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the Return for that place; and if anything shall come in question touching the Return or Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate; and that all Members returned upon double Returns do withdraw till their Returns are determined.

Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament or other Peer or Prelate not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough, of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such Elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord-Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the Election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament."—(*Sir Alexander Acland-Hood.*)

Sir Wilfrid Lawson (*Cornwall, Camborne*) 66
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 67

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 345 ; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 1.)

PRIVILEGE.

Mr. Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*) 71

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Lord Alington, a Peer of Parliament, has, by his action in connection with the recent Election in North Dorset, been guilty of a breach of the Privileges of this House."—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

Mr. A. J. Balfour 74

Question put, "That the Question be not now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 257 ; Noes, 191. (Division List No. 2.)

ELECTIONS.—Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices.

WITNESSES.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime or misdemeanour ; and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender 79

METROPOLITAN POLICE.—Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the Sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts ; and that the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid 79

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VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS.—Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker; and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same 80

PRIVILEGES.—Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed 80

OUTLAWRIES BILL.—" For the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time 80

JOURNAL.

Ordered, That the Journal of this House, from the end of the last session to the end of the present session, with an Index thereto, be printed.

Ordered, That 500 copies of the said Journal and Index be printed by the appointment and under the direction of Sir Courtenay Peregrine Ilbert, K.S.C.I., C.I.E., the Clerk of this House.

Ordered, That the said Journal and Index be printed by such person as shall be licensed by Mr. Speaker, and that no other person do presume to print the same 80

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by His Majesty's Command during the Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1896 :—

1. Explosions (Newcastle Emlyn).—Copy of Report by Captain J. H. Thomson, His Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an Explosion which occurred in an ironmonger's shop at Newcastle Emlyn, Carmarthenshire, on the 25th November, 1904.

2. Beck (Adolf) (Committee of Inquiry).—Copy of Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the case of Mr. Adolf Beck, together with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and facsimiles of various Documents.

3. Coal Supplies (Royal Commission).—Copy of Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the Coal Resources of the United Kingdom. Parts I. to XIII.

4. Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Vol. I.

5. Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Lothian, preserved at Blickling Hall, Norfolk.

6. Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report on the Manuscripts of Lady du Cane.

7. Mines and Quarries.—Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1903; Part II., Labour; General Report and Statistics relating to persons employed and Accidents at Mines and Quarries in the United Kingdom, and to the enforcement of the Mines and Quarries Acts,

8. Mines and Quarries.—Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1903 Part III., Output; General Report and Statistics relating to the Output and Value of the Minerals raised in the United Kingdom, the amount and value of the metals produced, and the exports and imports of Minerals.

9. Prisons (England and Wales).—Copy of Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons, with Appendices, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

10. Factories and Workshops.—Copy of Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for 1903. Part II. Tables.

11. Factory and Workshop (Draft Regulations—Docks, Wharves, and Quays).—Copy of Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Chester Jones, esquire, on the Draft Regulations for Docks, Wharves, and Quays.

12. Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Great Britain).—Copy of Forty-seventh Report of His Majesty's Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools for 1903. Part II. General Report and Appendices III. to XI.

13. Police (Metropolis).—Copy of Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1903.

14. Inebriates Acts (Inspector's Report).—Copy of Report of the Inspector under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1900, for the year 1903.

15. Workmen's Compensation.—Copy of Statistics of Proceedings under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, 1897 and 1900, and the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, during the year 1903.

16. Workmen's Compensation.—Copy of Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the Law relating to Compensation for Injuries to Workmen. Vol. II., Minutes of Evidence, with Index.

17. Judicial Statistics (England and Wales).—Copy of Judicial Statistics, Part I., relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Criminal Lunatics, for England and Wales for 1903.

18. East India (Trade).—Copy of Review of Trade of India for 1903–4.

19. East India (Statistical Abstract).—Copy of Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1893–4 to 1902–3, Thirty-eighth Number.

20. East India (Sanitary Measures).—Copy of Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1902–3 (Vol. XXXVI.).

21. Imperial Institute (Indian Section).—Copy of Annual Report of the Imperial Institute (Indian Section) for the year 1903–4.

22. East India (Tibet).—Copy of Further Papers relating to Tibet (No. III.).

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23. East India (Excise).—Copy of Papers relating to the Excise Administration in Assam.

24. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of an additional Light Railway, in the county of Gloucester, in the borough of Cheltenham, and the abandonment of the construction of part of another Light Railway already authorised in the same borough (Cheltenham and District Light Railway (Extension No. 3) Order, 1904).

25. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of East Suffolk from Melton to Bromeswell, Sutton Shottisham, Hollesley, Alderton, and Bawdsey (Woodbridge and Bawdsey Light Railway Order, 1904).

26. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending The Brackenhill Light Railway Order, 1901 (Brackenhill Light Railway (Extension of Time) Order, 1904.

27. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending The Tickhill Light Railway Order, 1901 (Tickhill Light Railway (Extension of time) Order, 1904).

28. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending The Maidstone and Faversham Junction Light Railway Order, 1901 (Maidstone and Faversham Junction Light Railway (Extension of Time) Order, 1904.

29. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Essex from Southend by way of Rochford, Creeksea, Burnham, Southminster, Asheldham, Dengie, Tillingham, Bradwell-juxta-Mare, and West Mersea, to Colchester (Southend and Colchester Light Railways Order, 1904.)

30. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending the Axminster and Lyme Regis Light Railway Order, 1899 (Axminster and Lyme Regis Light Railway (Further Capital Powers) Order, 1904).

31. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the parish of Northam and the parish and borough of Bideford, in the county of Devon, in extension of the Bideford, Westward Ho! and Appledore Railway, and the working of that Railway as a Light Railway under The Light Railways Act, 1896 (Bideford, Westward Ho! and Appledore Light Railway Order, 1904).

32. Railway Accidents.—Copy of Returns of Accidents and Casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several Railway Companies in United Kingdom during the three months ending 30th June, 1904, together with Reports of the Inspecting Officers of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain Accidents which were inquired into,

33. Railway Accidents.—Copy of Returns of Accidents and Casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several Railway Companies in the United Kingdom during the three months ending 30th September, 1904, together with Reports of the Inspecting Officers of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain Accidents which were inquired into.

34. Railway Servants (Hours of Labour).—Copy of Return, in pursuance of Section 4 of the Regulation of Railways Act, 1889, of Railway Servants of certain classes who were on one or more occasions during the month of October, 1903, on duty on the railways of the United Kingdom for more than twelve hours at a time; or who, after being on duty more than twelve hours were allowed to resume work with less than nine hours' rest.

35. Foreign Import Duties.—Copy of Statement of the Rates of Import duties levied in European Countries, in the United States, in Japan, China, and Persia, upon the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom in 1904.

36. British and Foreign Trade and Industry.—Copy of Second Series of Memoranda, Statistical Tables, and Charts, prepared in the Board of Trade, with reference to various matters bearing on British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions.

37. Muscat Region (Trade).—Copy of Report on the condition and prospects of British Trade in Oman, Bahrein, and the Arab Ports in the Persian Gulf by H. W. Maclean, Special Commissioner of the Commercial Intelligence Committee of the Board of Trade.

38. Unemployed in Foreign Countries.—Copy of Report to the Board of Trade on Agencies and Methods for dealing with the Unemployed in certain Foreign Countries by Mr. David F. Schloss.

39. Earnings of Agricultural Labourers.—Copy of Second Report by Mr. Wilson Fox on the Wages, Earnings, and Conditions of Employment of Agricultural Labourers in the United Kingdom, with Statistical Tables and Charts.

40. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings during the months of March, April, May, June, July, August, and September, 1904.

41. National Education (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to the Seventieth Report of the Commissioners, being for the year, 1903. Section I.

42. National Education (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to the Seventieth Report of the Commissioners, being for the year 1903. Section II.

43. National Education (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to the Seventieth Report of the Commissioners, being for the year 1903. Section III.

44. National Education (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to the Seventieth Report of the Commissioners, being for the year 1903. Section IV.

45. Agricultural Statistics (Ireland).—Copy of Tables showing the extent in statute acres and the produce of the Crops for the year 1904.

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46. Agricultural Statistics (Ireland).—Copy of Abstracts showing the Acreage under Crops and the number of Live Stock in each county and province of Ireland, for the year 1903–4.

47. Agricultural Statistics (Ireland) (Migratory Labourers).—Copy of Report and Tables relating to Irish Migratory Agricultural and other Labourers for the year 1904.

48. Evictions (Ireland).—Copy of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th September 1904.

49. Evictions (Ireland).—Copy of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1904.

50. Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887 (Eviction Notices).—Copy of Return of Eviction Notices filed during the quarter ended 30th September, 1904.

51. Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887 (Eviction Notices).—Copy of Return of Eviction Notices filed during the quarter 31st December, 1904.

52. Banking, Railway, and Canal Statistics (Ireland).—Copy of Report on the Banking, Railway, and Canal Statistics of Ireland for the half-year ended 30th June, 1904.

53. Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Ireland).—Copy of Forty-second Report of the Inspector for the year 1903.

54. Lunacy (Ireland).—Copy of Fifty-third Report, with Appendices, of Inspectors of Lunatics (Ireland) for the year 1903.

55. Congested Districts Board (Ireland).—Copy of Thirteenth Report of the Board, being for the year ending 31st March, 1904.

56. Royal University of Ireland.—Copy of Twenty-second Report of the Royal University of Ireland, being for the year 1903.

57. Local Government Board (Ireland).—Copy of Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Ireland, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

58. Ireland Development Grant Act, 1903.—Copy of Report of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of all his Proceedings under the Act, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

59. Fisheries (Ireland) Acts.—Copy of Manual prepared for the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Ireland, on the Fisheries (Ireland) Acts.

60. Army (Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances).—Copy of List of Exceptions to the Army Regulations as to Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances sanctioned during the year 1903–4.

61. Military Prisons.—Copy of Report on the Discipline and Management of Military Prisons in 1903.

62. Army.—Copy of Amendments in the Rules of Procedure under the Army Act.

63. Army.—Copy of Approximate Estimate of Expenditure under the Military Works Acts of 1897, 1899, and 1901.

64. Army.—Copy of Order in Council defining the duties of the Army Council.

65. Army.—Copy of Order in Council defining the duties of the Inspector-General of the Forces.

66. Army.—Copy of Order in Council defining the duties of the Director of Army Finance.

67. Army.—Copy of Report on the trial of the Short Rifle by the Army and Navy.

68. Somaliland (Despatches).—Copy of Despatches, etc., regarding the Military Operations in Somaliland from the 18th January, 1902, to the 31st May, 1904.

69. Board of Education (Special Reports).—Copy of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 12. Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, including Reports on the Training of Native Races. Part I. West Indies and Central America, St. Helena, Cyprus, and Gibraltar.

70.—Board of Education (Special Reports).—Copy of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 13. Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, including Reports on the Training of Native Races. Part II. West Africa, Basutoland, Southern Rhodesia, East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, Mauritius, Seychelles.

71. Board of Education (Special Reports).—Copy of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 14. Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, including Reports on the Training of Native Races. Part III. Federated Malay States, Hong Kong, Straits Settlements, Fiji, Falkland Islands.

72. Board of Education.—Copy of Regulations relating to the Royal College of Science, the Royal College of Art, and to Museums under the Board of Education from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905

73. Board of Education.—Copy of Reports from University Colleges, 1904.

74. Board of Education.—Copy of (1) Grants paid in respect of School Boards under Section 97 of Elementary Education Act, 1870 (2) School Board Accounts, (3) List of Loans, for 1903–4.

75. Board of Education.—Copy of Report on the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Royal College of Science and Art, the Geological Survey and Museum, and on the work of the Solar Physics Committee for the year 1903

76. Board of Education.—Copy of Lists of Secondary Schools, Science and Art Classes, and Evening Schools and Schools of Art, under the administration of the Board of Education, for the school year 1902–3.

77. Board of Education.—Copy of Report of the Board of Education for the year 1903–4.

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78. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Distribution of Grants).—Copy of Annual Report on the Distribution of Grants for Agricultural Education and Research in the year 1903–4, etc.

79. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to investigate experimentally and to report upon certain questions connected with the Dipping and Treatment of Sheep.

80. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, to investigate experimentally and to Report upon certain questions connected with the Dipping and Treatment of Sheep, with Appendices.

81. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to inquire into and Report upon the working in Great Britain of The Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1893.

82. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to inquire into and report upon the working in Great Britain of the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1893, with Appendices and Index.

83. Judicial Statistics (Scotland).—Copy of Report on the Judicial Statistics of Scotland for the year 1903.

84. Births, Deaths, and Marriages (Scotland).—Copy of Forty-eighth Detailed Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Scotland (Abstracts of 1902).

85. Sheriff Court Procedure (Scotland) (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Report of a Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary for Scotland to inquire into Sheriff Court Procedure, with Minutes of Evidence Appendix, and Index.

86. Navy.—Copy of Memorandum relating to the Distribution and Mobilisation of the Fleet.

87. Peterhead Harbour.—Copy of Reports respecting Peterhead Harbour Works.

88. Meteorology.—Copy of Report of the Meteorological Council to the Royal Society for the year ended 31st March 1904.

89. Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copies of Reports Nos. 423 (Sierra Leone Annual Report for 1903), 424 (Gambia, Annual Report for 1903), 425 (Ceylon, Annual Report for 1903), 426 (Gold Coast, Annual Report for 1903), 427 (Lagos, Annual Report for 1903), 428 (Bahamas, Report for 1903–4), 429 (Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, Annual Report for 1903), 430 (Mauritius, Annual Report for 1903), 431 (Seychelles, Annual Report for 1903), 432 (Barbados, Report for 1903–4), 433 (Southern Nigeria, Annual Report for 1903), 434 (Fiji, Annual Report for 1903), 435 (Straits Settlements, Annual Report for 1903), 436 (Grenada, Annual Report for 1903), 437 (Northern Nigeria, Annual Report for 1903), 438 (Jamaica, Report for 1903–4, 439 (Malta, Report for 1903–4), 440 (Bechuanaland Protectorate, Report for 1902–3 and 1903–4), 441 (British Guiana, Report for 1903–4), 442 (Trinidad and Tobago, Report for 1903–4), 443 (St. Lucia, Annual Report for 1903), 444 (Basutoland), Report for 1903–4).

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90. Colonial Reports (Miscellaneous).—Copies of Reports Nos. 28 (Reports on Rubber in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone), 29 (Ceylon, Reports on the Results of the Mineral Survey in 1903–4 by Professor W. R. Dunstan, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.).

91. Straits Settlements.—Copy of Reports on the Federated Malay States for 1903.

92. Transvaal (British Indians).—Copy of Correspondence relating to the position of British Indians in the Transvaal.

93. Cyprus.—Copy of Annual Report on Cyprus for 1903–4.

94. Cancer Research (Colonies).—Copy of Correspondence relating to Cancer Research in the Colonies.

95. Fiji.—Copy of Correspondence relating to Native Taxation and the Communal System in Fiji.

96. Colonies (Preferential Trade).—Copy of Papers relating to Resolutions passed by Colonial Legislatures since 1890 in favour of Preferential Trade Relations with the United Kingdom.

97. West Africa.—Copy of Correspondence relating to the construction of Railways in Sierra Leone, Lagos, and the Gold Coast.

98. Crown Agents.—Copy of Accounts of the Crown Agents' Office Funds for the years 1900, 1901, and 1902.

99. British Central Africa.—Copy of Report on the Trade and general condition of the British Central Africa Protectorate for 1903-4.

100. Treaty Series (No. 6, 1904).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Germany, providing for the settlement by Arbitration of certain classes of Questions which may arise between the two Governments. Signed at London, 12th July, 1904.

101. Treaty Series (No. 7, 1904).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and China, respecting the employment of Chinese Labour in British Colonies and Protectorates. Signed at London, 13th May, 1904.

102. Treaty Series (No. 8, 1904).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and Sweden and Norway, providing for the Settlement by Arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between, the respective Governments. Signed at London, 11th August 1904.

103. Treaty Series (No. 9, 1904).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Switzerland, providing for the Settlement by Arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the two Governments. Signed at London, 16th November, 1904.

104. Treaty Series (No. 10, 1904).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Portugal, providing for the Settlement by Arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the two Governments. Signed at Windsor, 16th November, 1904.

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105. Treaty Series (No. 11, 1904).—Copy of Accession of Sweden to the International Copyright Convention, 9th September, 1886, and the Declaration of 4th May, 1896. 1st August, 1904.

106. Treaty Series (No. 12, 1904).—Copy of Accession of Cuba, to the Industrial Property Convention, 1883, &c., 17th November, 1904.

107. Treaty Series (No. 13, 1904).—Copy of Declaration between the United Kingdom and Russia, relating to the Constitution of an International Commission of Inquiry on the subject of the North Sea Incident. Signed at St. Petersburg, 25th (12th) November, 1904.

108. Treaty Series (No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Accession of Cuba to Arrangements respecting False Indications of Origin on Goods, and the International Registration of Trade Marks (Industrial Property Union) 1st January, 1905.

109. Treaty Series (No. 2, 1905.)—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Russia, respecting Joint Stock Companies and other Commercial, Industrial, and Financial Associations. Signed at St. Petersburg, 29th (16th) December, 1904.

110. Africa (No. 12, 1904).—Copy of General Report on the Uganda Protectorate for the year ending 31st March, 1904.

111. Africa (No. 13, 1904).—Copy of Report by Mr. A. E. Butter, on the Survey of the Proposed Frontier between British East Africa and Abyssinia, with a map.

112. Africa (No. 14, 1904).—Copy of Correspondence respecting Slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

113. Africa (No. 15, 1904).—Copy of Report on the East Africa Protectorate for the year 1903–4.

114. Africa (No. 16, 1904).—Copy of Report on the Construction and Working of the Mombasa-Victoria (Uganda) Railway and Steamboat Service on Lake Victoria, 1903–4.

115. Africa (No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Further Correspondence respecting the Administration of the Independent State of the Congo.

116. Turkey (No. 3, 1904).—Copy of Correspondence respecting the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey.

117. Turkey (No. 4, 1904).—Copy of Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Eastern Europe.

118. China (No. 5, 1904).—Copy of Report, by Consul-General Hosie, on the Province of Ssuch'uan, with two Maps.

119. Russia (No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Correspondence respecting Contraband of War in connection with Hostilities between Russia and Japan.

120. Russia (No. 2, 1905).—Copy of Correspondence relating to the North Sea Incident.

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121. Sugar Convention (Commercial, No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Further Findings of the Permanent Commission established under the Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902, Report of the British Delegate, and Appeal of His Majesty's Government against certain of those Findings.

122. Detention of the "Captain W. Menzell" (Miscellaneous, No. 2, 1904).—Copy of a Warrant issued by the Secretary of State on 4th December, 1904, authorising the detention of the ship "Captain W. Menzell" at Cardiff.

123. Emission of Smoke (Foreign Regulations) (Miscellaneous, No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Reports on the Laws in Force in certain Foreign Countries in regard to the Emission of Smoke from Chimneys.

124. Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3256 to 3323.

125. Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 619 to 628.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table 81

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).—Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings during the months of October, November, and December, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 94

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 7th July, 1904; *Mr. Joyce*]; to lie upon the Table 94

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899.—Copy presented, of Fifty-five Minutes by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland sanctioning Forms of Instruction for certain County Boroughs, Counties, and Urban Districts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table .. 94

PHARMACY ACTS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Order in Council, dated 2nd November, 1904, approving of a Regulation made by the Pharmaceutical Society of Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 94

MILITIA ACT, 1882 (DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS, IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Return of descriptions of qualifications of Deputy Lieutenants lodged during 1904, as furnished to the Chief Secretary for Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 94

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND).—Copies presented, of Four Orders in Council, dated 2nd November, 1904, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 94

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Time Table of Examinations for 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 94

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Additional rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, making an addition to Rule 9 (a) of the Rules and Programme for 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table. 94

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INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the Examination in Music [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Additional Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland as to the French Course [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Two Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland with respect to the Urban County Districts of Ballymena and Omagh [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

PRISONS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Order closing the Prison at Wexford under The General Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

LEEWARD ISLANDS.—Copy presented of Amended Prison Rule relating to the employment of female prisoners [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

POSTAL AGREEMENT (MEXICO).—Copy presented, of Agreement between the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Post Office of the United States of Mexico for the Exchange of Money Orders dated 4th February–18th March, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 95

POSTAL CONVENTION (NETHERLANDS).—Copy presented, of Additional Articles relating to increase of maximum to the Money Order Convention of the 7th–14th October, 1871, between the General Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the General Post Office of the Netherlands [by Command]; to lie upon the Table. 95

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS).—Copy presented, of the Postal Order (Colonial) Regulations, 1904, dated 29th September, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 95

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS).—Copy presented, of the Postal Order (Colonial) Amendment (No. 1) Regulations, 1904, dated 28th December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS SPECIAL EXCEPTION—OVERTIME.—Copy presented, of Order, dated 15th November, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 49 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception under that section to non-textile factories and workshops, or parts thereof, in which the making-up of any article of table linen, bed linen, or other household linen is carried on [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (SPECIAL EXCEPTION—NIGHTWORK).—Copy presented, of Order, dated 9th August, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards, employed on the system of three shifts of not more than eight hours each in the processes of pressing and reeling cordite and nitrating and moulding guncotton carried on in non-textile factories [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

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Page

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (DANGEROUS AND UNHEALTHY INDUSTRIES).—Copy presented, of Regulations, dated 24th October, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 79 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, in respect of the processes of loading, unloading, moving and handling goods in, on, or at any dock, wharf, or quay, and the processes of loading, unloading, or coaling any ship in any dock, harbour, or canal [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS).—Copy presented, of Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the certified Inebriate Reformatory at East Hasling, Norfolk [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 96

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF SALFORD).—Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Salford, altering certain Polling Districts in the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 97

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Lancaster altering certain Polling Districts in the Middleton, Stretford and Widnes Parliamentary Divisions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 97

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Southampton altering certain Polling Districts in the Andover, New Forest, and Fareham Parliamentary Divisions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 97

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF DURHAM).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Durham altering certain Polling Districts in the county [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 97

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Lancaster altering certain Polling Districts in the Ince, Lancaster, and Westhoughton Parliamentary Divisions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 97

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF DEVONPORT).—Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the borough altering certain Polling Districts in the borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 97

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF BERKS).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Berks altering certain Polling Districts for the several Parliamentary Divisions of the County [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 97

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of licence granted to Mary Ann Murray, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 98

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of Licence granted to Ada Hanson, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 98

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PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of a Licence to be at large granted to Elizabeth Ann Holden, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney, E. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 98

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of a Licence to be at large granted to Lucy Gould, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Home of St. John the Baptist, Pimlico, S.W. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table .. 98

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of a Licence granted to Kate Ellen Shoesmith, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Home of Compassion, 63, Sutherland Street, Pimlico, S.W. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 98

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of Licence granted to Alice Robinson, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 98

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).—Copy presented, of a Licence granted to Sarah Wildman, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney, E. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 99

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE AUTHORITIES, ETC.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 11th August, 1904; *Mr. Charles M'Arthur*]; to lie upon the Table 99

LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES.—Copy presented, of Statements of Accounts, and of Life Assurance and Annuity Business and Abstracts of Actuarial Reports, deposited with the Board of Trade during the year ended 31st December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 1.) 99

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) ACT 1904 (RULE).—Copy presented, of Rule made by the Railway and Canal Commissioners in relation to applications made under Section 3 of the Railway (Private Sidings) Act, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 99

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE FUND.—Account presented, of the General Lighthouse Fund showing the income and expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 2.) 99

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.—Copy presented of Regulations to be observed by the Admirals, Masters, and Crews of Fishing Vessels and Carriers forming the fleets belonging to the Port of Kingston-upon-Hull under Section 417 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 99

WEST HIGHLAND RAILWAY (EXTENSION FROM BANAVIE TO MALLAIG).—Copy presented, of Third Annual Report by the Board of Trade as to the condition and working of the Banavie and Mallaig Railway, the rates and charges for traffic, and the receipts and expenditure of any Company in working the Railway, for the year 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 3) 99

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East India Examinations.—Copy presented, of Regulations for Examinations for the Civil Service of India [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 100

East India (Loans Raised in India).—Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending 30th September, 1904, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 4) 100

East India (Loans Raised in England).—Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in England, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 30th September, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 5) 100

Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Act, 1904.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, for the foundation of the Bishopric of Birmingham [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 100

Copyright Acts 1844 to 1886.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th December, 1904, giving effect to the Accession of Sweden to the International Convention, 1886 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 100

Dockyard Ports Regulation Act, 1865.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 24th October, 1904, amending the Regulations affecting the Dockyard Port of Plymouth [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 100

Explosives Act, 1875.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, prohibiting, except under certain conditions, certain Firework of a dangerous nature [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 100

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford).—Copy presented, of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Magdalen College, Oxford, on 11th May, 1904, amending the existing Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 6) 101

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford).—Copy presented of Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on 15th June, 1904, amending Statute XV.(Pension Fund) of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 7].. .. 101

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford).—Copy presented, of Statutes made by the Governing Body af Balliol College, Oxford, on 26th May, 1904, amending (1) Statute III., and (2) Statute IV., and Schedule B. of the College Statutes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 8) 101

Weights and Measures Acts, 1878 to 1904.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, specifying New Fees to be taken in respect of the Verification and Stamping by Inspectors of Weights and Measures, of Weights, Measures, and Weighing and Measuring Instruments [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 101

Weights and Measures Act, 1878, and Weights and Measures (Metric System) Act, 1897.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th December, 1903, approving a New Denomination of Standard Measure of length of Twenty Metres [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 101

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FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.—Copy presented, of Orders in Council of 24th October, 1904, entitled The Protectorates Neutrality Order in Council, 1904, The Foreign Jurisdiction Neutrality Order in Council, 1904, The China and Corea Order in Council, 1904, The Southern Nigeria Order in Council, 1904, and The Cyprus Telegraphs Order, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 101

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 10th February, 1905, entitled The East Africa and Uganda (Currency) Order in Council 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.. 102

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890 —Copy presented, of Order in Council of the 14th November, 1904, entitled the British Protectorates Neutrality (Amendment) Order in Council, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 102

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858 —Copy presented, of Order in Council of 14th December, 1904, approving a statement of proposed new and revised appointments and alterations of salaries in the establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 102

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894 —Copy presented, of Order in Council of 24th October, 1904, directing that Registries of Sea Fishing Boats be kept at Port Talbot and Methil [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 102

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894 —Copy presented, of Order in Council of 10th February, 1905, confirming certain Bye-laws made by the Trinity House of Kingston-upon Hull fixing the Rates of Pilotage between the ports of Hull and Goole [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 102

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—Copy presented, of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland dated 30th January, 1905, providing for the establishment of Committees for the Training of Teachers [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 102

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY PENSIONS.—Copy presented, of Return showing the names of all Constabulary Officers now in receipt of Pensions, of all Head Constables, Sergeants and Constables, and of all Widows and Children to whom Pensions have been granted since the Constabulary Estimate for 1904–5 was prepared, with the amount and date of pension in each case [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 102

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1855.—Copy presented, of Account for the year 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 103

BANK OF ENGLAND.—Copy presented, of Return of the amount of Notes issued more than 40 years which have not been presented for payment, and which have been written off on the 8th December, 1904, from the total amount of Notes issued from the Issue Department of the Bank of England [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 103

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.—Account presented, for the year ended 31st March 1904, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 9.] 130

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SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.—Account presented, of Receipts and Expenditure of the Paymaster General on behalf of the Supreme Court of Judicature in respect of the Funds of Suitors of the Court in the year ended 29th February 1904, and of Account of the National Debt Commissioners for the same period in respect of Fund, held by them on behalf of the Supreme Court of Judicature, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 10.] .. 103

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.—Account presented, showing the gross amount received and expended on account of the Telegraph Service during the year ended 31st March 1904, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 11.] 103

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.—Account presented, of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Duchy of Cornwall for the year ended 31st December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 12.] 103

LAND REGISTRY (NEW BUILDINGS) ACT, 1900.—Account presented, showing the Money issued from the Consolidated Fund, under the provisions of The Land Registry (New Buildings) Act, 1900, and of the Expenditure; the Money expended and borrowed and the Securities created under the said Act, for the period ended 31st March 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 13.] 104

PUBLIC OFFICES SITE (DUBLIN) ACT, 1903.—Account presented, showing the Money issued from the Consolidated Fund under the provisions of The Public Offices Site (Dublin) Act, 1903, and of the Expenditure; the Money expended and borrowed and the Securities created under the said Act for the period ended 31st March 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 104

CONSOLIDATED FUND.—Abstract Account presented, showing the Issues made from the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom in the financial year ended 31st March 1904 for the Interest and Management of the Debt, for the Civil List, and for all other Issues in the financial year for services charged directly on the said Fund; with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 14.].. 104

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 28th November 1904, granting to Tom F. Dickinson, Sorting Clerk and Telegraphist, Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 104

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 21st November 1904, granting to Joseph Livingstone, Engineer, 1st Class, Engineer in Chief's Department, Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 104

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute dated 17th January 1905, granting to Charles F. Williams, Second Division Clerk, Admiralty, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 105

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 6th September 1904, granting to Alfred Webster, Clerk, Derby Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 105

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SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 2nd September 1904, granting to Robert Henderson, Lineman, Engineer-in-Chief's Department, Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 105

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 11th January 1905, granting to John Still, Inspector, Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 105

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 6th September 1904, granting to Samuel J. Morton, Assistant Superintendent, Boston Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 105

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 6th January 1905, granting to Alfred H. Beaumont, Town Postman, Leeds Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 105

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 17th January 1905, granting to Henry G. Bartlett, 2nd Division Clerk (Higher Grade), Admiralty, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 105

SUPERANNUATIONS.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated August 26th, 1904, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Professor of Zoology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired on the Public Service are required [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 106

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1859.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 5th October 1904, awarding a Special Pension to Sir Augustus W. L. Hemming, G.C.M.G., late Governor of Jamaica [by Act]; to lie upon the Table .. 106

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 3rd September 1904, declaring that Richard Leamy, Labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 106

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 14th October 1904, declaring that John W. Ginno, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table .. 106

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 21st October 1904, declaring that Benjamin Banks, Royal Small Arms Factory, Enfield, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 106

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 4th March, 1904, declaring that Frederick George Postans, Postmaster of Newmarket Post Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate, through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 106

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SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 29th October 1904, declaring that William Gregory, Carpenter, Royal Carriage Department, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 107

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 21st October 1904, declaring that John Foster, Boy Labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 107

COUNTY COURTS ACTS, 1888, AND SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (OFFICERS) ACT, 1879.—Copy of Order made by the Lord Chancellor, dated 25th August, 1904, directing that the Registrar of the County Court of Lancashire, held at Salford, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Registrar of the said County Court [by Act] 107

SUPREME COURT (RULES).—Copy of Rules of the Supreme Court, dated 1st October, 1904 [by Act] 107

DEEDS OF ARRANGEMENT ACT, 1887 (RULE).—Copy of Rule under the Act, dated 1st October, 1904 [by Act] 107

LUNACY.—Copy of Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of Patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the Visitors of Lunatics between 1st April, 1904, and 30th September, 1904 [by Act] 107

LUNACY.—Copy of Return to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made and the number of Patients seen by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ending on the 31st December, 1904 [by Act] 107

BANK OF ENGLAND.—Accounts of Exchequer Bills and other Government Securities purchased, and of the amount of Balances of Sums issued for the Payment of Dividends, etc., for the year ending 5th January, 1905 [by Act]; to be printed 108

COUNTY COURT RULES.—Copy of County Court Rules, 1904 [by Act] 108

LUNACY.—Copy of Return of all sums received by the Visitors of Lunatics for travelling expenses, or upon any other account, from 1st January to 31st December, 1904 [by Act] 108

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD.—Copy of Accounts of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board for the year ending 1st July, 1904 [by Act] 108

POSTMASTER-GENERAL AND NATIONAL TELEPHONE COMPANY.—Copy ordered "of Memorandum of the Postmaster-General dated the 14th February, 1905, setting forth an Agreement dated 2nd February, 1905, between the Postmaster-General and the National Telephone Company, Limited."—(*Lord Stanley.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed .. 108

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KING'S SPEECH.

Mr. SPEAKER reported His Majesty's Speech, and read it in the House, as followeth:—

King's Speech (Motion for an Address in Reply).

Mr. Mount (*Berkshire, Newbury*) 108
Mr. Samuel Roberts (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 114

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 120
Sir Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*) 138

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge University*) 141
Colonel Pilkington (*Lancashire, Newton*) 145
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 147
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 153

Motion made, and Question, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Asquith*) ; put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

ADJOURNMENT.—Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*) put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 15TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the Borough of Liverpool (Everton Division), in the room of Sir John Archibald Willox (Chiltern Hundreds).—(*Sir Alexander Acland-Hood.*) 169

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS reported, That, in accordance with Standing Order 79, he had conferred with the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords, for the purpose of determining in which House of Parliament the respective Private Bills should be first considered, and they had determined that the Bills contained in the following List should originate in the House of Lords, viz. :—

Abertillery Urban District Water.
Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company.
Alexandra Park and Palace.
Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement.
Barry Railway.
Blackpool Improvement.
Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways.
Bridgewater Canals.
Bristol Blind Asylum.
Buenos Ayres Grand National Tramways.
Cardiff Railway.
Central Electric Supply.
Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation.
City of London Electric Lighting Company.
Clacton Improvement.
Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners.
Commercial Union Assurance.
Cordoba and Rosario Railway.
County of London Electric Supply Company.
Dearne Valley Railway.
East Cowes Gas.
East London and Lower Thames Electric Power.
Entre Rios Railways.
Formby Township.
Gosport and Fareham Tramways.
Great Central Railway.
Great Central Railway (Pension Fund).
Hastings Harbour.
Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment)

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Hastings Tramways.
Hessle Gas.
Hessle Urban District Council.
Humber Conservancy.
Hythe Corporation.
Leeds and Liverpool Canal.
Littlehampton Urban District Council.
Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council.
London and India Docks Company.
London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation).
Mansfield Corporation.
Marylebone Chapels.
Matlock Bath Improvement.
Medway and Thames Canal.
Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies.
Metropolitan District Railway.
Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District).
Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers).
Metropolitan Railway.
Mexborough and Swinton Tramways (Extension of Time).
Mortgage Insurance Corporation.
Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site).
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation.
Nine Mile Point Railway.
North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply.
Nottingham Corporation.
Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation.
Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways.
Orphan Working School and Alexander Orphanage.
Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation).
Rhymney Railway.
Sandgate Urban District Council.
Sheffield University.
Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting).
South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.
Southend and Colchester Light Railways.
South Lancashire Tramways.
Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board.
Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation).
Tees Valley Water Board.
Torpoint Urban District Water.
Tralee Urban District Council.

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Truro Water.
Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.
University College, London (Transfer).
Weaver Navigation.
Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply.
West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time).
Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas.
West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers.
Whitby Urban District Council.
Workington Harbour and Dock. 169

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES CONGESTED DISTRICT AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.—Petition from Wester Ross, for continuance; to lie upon the Table 171

MACRAE, JOHN JACOB ANDREW.—Petition of John Jacob Andrew MacRae, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table 172

REDDI, ARJANA.—Petition of Arjana Reddi, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table 172

SUGAR TAX.—Petitions for repeal; from Blackburn; Glasgow (two); Halifax (two); London; and, Peterborough; to lie upon the Table 172

VARATHANUNTHAJEE, VIJAGA, SAHIB.—Petition of Vijaga Varathanunthajee, Sahib, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table 172

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS ACTS, 1883 TO 1902.—Copy presented, of the Patent Rules, 1905, dated 20th October, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 172

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.—Copy presented, of Report on the state of the Finances of the University, made by the University Court, for the year 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 17.] .. 172

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.—Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh for the year 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 18.] 172

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.—Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow for 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 19.] 172

PRISONS (SCOTLAND).—Copy presented, of Regulations, dated 20th August, 1904, made by the Secretary for Scotland for the Measuring and Photographing of Prisoners [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 172

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.—Copy presented, of the Heavy Motor Car (Scotland) Order, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 173

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Greenwich Hospital and Travers' Foundation.—Accounts presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1904, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed [No. 20.] 173

Diseases of Animals Acts, 1894 to 1903.—Copy presented, of an Order, entitled, The Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing Place Revocation Order of 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 173

Papers laid upon the Taple by the Clerk of the House.

Loan Societies.—Abstract of Accounts for Loan Societies in England and Wales to 31st December, 1903, furnished to the Central Office for the Registry of Friendly Societies [by Act].

Intermediate Education (Ireland).—Account of Receipts and Expenditure for 1903, with Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 21.]

Royal University of Ireland.—Copy of Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure of the Royal University of Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 22.] 173

Parliamentary Constituencies (Electors, etc.) (United Kingdom).—Address for "Return showing, with regard to each Parliamentary Constituency in the United Kingdom, the total number and, as far as possible, the number in each class of Electors on the register now in force; and also showing the Population and Inhabited Houses in each Constituency (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 69, of Session 1904)."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*) 173

Sanitary Inspectors and Inspectors of Workshops.—Return ordered, "showing what local authorities in the year 1904 had appointed (1) in London (*a*) female Sanitary Inspectors, distinguishing those whose duties consist entirely or principally of duties under the Factory and Workshops Act, and (*b*) male Sanitary Inspectors whose duties are solely duties under that Act; and (2) in the rest of England and Wales (*a*) female Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors of Nuisances, and (*c*) male and female inspectors of Workshops who are not also Inspectors of Nuisances; the number and salaries of the officers appointed to be shown in each case."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*) 173

Brewers' Licences.—Return ordered, "of Accounts of the number of persons in each of the several Collections of the United Kingdom licensed as Brewers for sale, *i.e.*, Common Brewers, Victuallers, Retailers of beer to be drunk on the premises, Retailers of beer not to be drunk on the premises, and Brewers of beer not for sale, particularising each class in each Collection; and of the number of Licences issued to Victuallers and Retailers of beer to be drunk on the premises and not to be drunk on the premises; and stating also the quantities of malt, unmalted corn, rice, etc., sugar, including its equivalent of syrups, etc., hops and hop substitutes, used by Brewers of beer for sale, and of malt and sugar used by Brewers not for sale, from the 1st day of October, 1903, to the 30th day of September, 1904."

"Of the amount of Licence Duty paid and Beer Duty charged from the 1st day of October, 1903, to the 30th day of September, 1904, distinguishing Brewers for sale from other Brewers," "Of the number of Brewers for sale (i.) who use malt and hops, or hop substitutes only, and (ii.) who use malt with substitutes for same and hops or hop substitutes paying for Licences, from the 1st day of October, 1903, to the 30th day of September, 1904, separating them into classes, according to the number of barrels of beer charged with duty calculated at 1·055 degrees gravity, viz.: under 1,000 barrels; 1,000 and under 10,000; 10,000 and under 20,000; 20,000 and under 30,000; 30,000 and under 50,000; 50,000 and under 100,000; 100,000 and under 150,000; 150,000 and under 200,000; 200,000 and under 250,000; 250,000 and under 300,000; 300,000 and under 350,000; 350,000 and under 400,000; 400,000 and under 450,000; 450,000 and under 500,000; 500,000 and under 600,000; 600,000 and under 700,000; 700,000 and under 800,000; 800,000 and under 900,000; 900,000 and under 1,000,000; 1,000,000 and under 1,500,000; 1,500,000 and under 2,000,000; 2,000,000 barrels and over; showing separately, in each class, the quantities of malt, unmalted corn, rice, etc., sugar, including its equivalent of syrups, etc., hops and hop substitutes used; and stating also the number of bulk barrels of beer produced, and the amount of Licence Duty paid and Beer Duty charged in each class."

"And, of the number of barrels of beer exported from the United Kingdom, and the declared value thereof, and where exported to, from the first day of October, 1903, to the 30th day of September, 1904, distinguishing England, Scotland, and Ireland (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 37, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) 174

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND).—Copy ordered, "of Account of the Receipts and Payments of the Accountant General of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, in respect of the Funds of Suitors in the said Court, including therein Funds to the credit of Lunacy Accounts, in the year to the 30th day of September, 1904; together with a Statement of Liabilities and Assets, and Particulars of Securities in Court, on the 30th day of September, 1904."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) 175

NATIONAL GALLERY (REPORT).—Copy ordered, "of the Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the year 1904, with Appendices."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) 175

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES FUND, 1903–4.—Copy ordered, "of Accounts of the Civil Contingencies Fund, 1903-4, showing (1) the receipts and payments in connection with the fund in the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904; (2) the distribution of the capital of the fund at the commencement and close of the year; together with Copy of the Correspondence with the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon."—(*Mr Victor Cavendish.*) 175

TRADE AND NAVIGATION.—Copy ordered, "of Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom for each month during the year 1905."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) 176

ALIEN IMMIGRATION FROM THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.—Return ordered, "of the number of Aliens that arrived from the Continent at Ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1905."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) 176

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.—Copy ordered, "of Account showing the gross amount received and the gross amount expended in respect of the Telegraph Service from the date of the transfer of the telegraphs to the State to the 31st day of March, 1904 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 49, of Session 1904)."—(*Lord Stanley.*) 176

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

THE UNFUNDED DEBT.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 176

LAND PURCHASE IN THE WEST OF IRELAND.—Question, Mr. James O'Kelly (Roscommon, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 177

CASE OF DE TIÉGE.—Question, Mr. Emmott (Oldham); Answer, Earl Percy .. 177

BALLOT FOR BILLS AND MOTION .—Ordered, "That no Bills, other than Government Bills, be introduced in anticipation of the ballot, and that all Members who desire to ballot, whether for Bills, or for Motions, for Tuesday, 21st February and Tuesday, 28th February, and Wednesday, 22nd February, and Wednesday, 1st March, do hand in their names at the Table during the sitting of the House on the first and second day of the session, and that a copy of such Notices be handed in, at the latest, during the sitting of the House on the third day of the session.

"That the ballot for the precedence of the said Bills and Motions be taken on the third day on which the House sits at a convenient time and place, to be appointed by Mr. Speaker, and that the presentation of Bills on the fourth sitting day to be taken as soon after Twelve o'clock as Mr. Speaker may deem convenient."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) 177

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.) 178

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question have now been fully discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay.'"—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 190
Mr. Elliot (Durham) 202
Mr. David MacIver (Liverpool, Kirkdale) 208
Mr. Emmott (Oldham) 216

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Mr. Purvis (Peterborough) 220
Mr. Lough (Islington, W.) 222
Mr. Cohen (Islington, E.). 226
Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland) 229
Mr. Evelyn Cecil (Aston Manor) 232
Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire) 234
Mr. Parkes (Birmingham, Central) 236
Sir William Holland (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham) 238

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till the Evening Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [15th February], to Main Question [14th February], " That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

" *Most Gracious Sovereign,*

" We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

" At the end of the Question, to add the words, ' And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question having now been fully discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay. ' "—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

Question again proposed, " That those words be there added."

Mr. Renwick (Newcastle-on-Tyne) 241
Major Seely (Isle of Wight) 246
Mr. Herbert Robertson (Hackney, S.) 248
Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) 252
Sir Thomas Wrightson (St. Pancras, E.) 257
Sir Edward Grey (Northumberland, Berwick) 258

Motion made and question proposed, " That the debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Ernest Gray.*)

Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) 274

Question put and negatived.

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. Ernest Gray 275

And, it being Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 16TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

SAT FIRST.

Bentley Lyonel John Lord Tollemache.—Sat first in Parliament after the death of his grandfather 277

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—

Aberdare Tramways.
Abertillery Urban District Council.
Accrington Corporation.
Accrington District Gas and Water Board.
Acton Sewage.
Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company.
Alexandra Park and Palace.
Andover Lighting and Power.
Aylesbury Gas.
Baker Street and Waterloo Railway.
Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement.
Barry Railway.
Birmingham Corporation.
Blackpool Improvement.
Blackpool St. Anne's and Lytham Tramways.
Bolton Corporation.
Bootle Corporation.
Brentwood Gas.
Bridgewater Canals.
Bristol Blind Asylum.
Bristol Corporation.
Brockenhurst Gas.
Bromley Corporation.
Brompton, Chatham, Gillingham and Rochester Water.
Buenos Ayres Grand National Tramways Company.
Cardiff Railway.
Central Electric Supply Company.
Central London Railway (New Lines).
Channel Ferry Railway and Quay (Dover).
Charing Cross Euston, and Hampstead Railway.
Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation (Power Supply).
Chelsea Electricity Supply Company.
City of London Electric Lighting Company (Extension of Powers).
City of London (Means of Escape from Fire).
Clacton Improvement.
Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners.
Clay Cross Railway (Abandonment).
Colne Corporation.
Commercial Union Assurance Company.
Cordoba and Rosario Railway Company.
Cork Junction Railways.
County of London Electric Supply Company.
Croydon Corporation.

Croydon Gas.
Dearne Valley Railway.
Dublin Corporation (Superannuation).
Dublin United Tramways.
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway.
Ealing Corporation.
East Cowes Gas.
East London and Lower Thames Electric Power.
Edgware and Hampstead Railway.
Entre Rios Railways Company.
Epping Gas.
Formby Township.
Gas Light and Coke, South Metropolitan, and Commercial Gas Companies.
Gosport and Fareham Tramways.
Great Berkhampstead Gas.
Great Central Railway.
Great Central Railway (Pension Fund).
Great Eastern Railway.
Great Northern Railway.
Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways.
Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1).
Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 2).
Great Western Railway (Additional Powers).
Great Western Railway (New Railways).
Halifax Corporation.
Hastings Harbour.
Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment).
Hessle Gas.
Hessle Urban District Council.
Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water.
Hitchin and District Gas.
Hull, Bransley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock.
Humber Conservancy.
Hythe Corporation.
Ilfracombe Harbour and Improvement.
Leeds and Liverpool Canal.
Littlehampton Urban District Council (Arun Bridge).
Liverpool Corporation (General Powers).
London Building Acts (Amendment).
London County Council (General Powers).
London County Council (Tramways).
London Gas.
London and India Docks.
London and North-Western Railway.
London Port and Docks Commission.
London Southern Tramways.
London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation).
London United Tramways.
Loughborough Corporation.
Mansfield Corporation.
Marylebone Chapels (Saint Paul's, Great Portland Street, and Saint Peter's, Vere Street).
Matlock Bath Improvement.
Medway and Thames Canal.
Metropolitan District Railway.

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Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District).
Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers).
Metropolitan Electric Tramways.
Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies.
Metropolitan Pneumatic Despatch Company.
Metropolitan Railway.
Mexborough and Swinton Tramways.
Midland Railway.
Morley Corporation.
Mortgage Insurance Corporation.
Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site).
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation.
Nine Mile Point Railway.
North-East London Railway.
North-Eastern Railway.
North-Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels).
North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply.
North Sussex Gas.
Norwich Union Life Insurance Society.
Nottingham Corporation.
Nottingham and Retford Railway.
Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation.
Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways.
Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage.
Otley Gas and Improvement.
Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation).
Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement.
Rhondda Urban District Council.
Rhymney Railway.
Rotherham, Maltby, and Loughton Railway.
Sale of Bread (London).
Sandgate Urban District Council (Sanitary Powers).
Seaham Gas.
Sheffield University.
Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting).
Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power.
Skegness Water.
South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.
South Lancashire Tramways.
South Metropolitan Gas.
South Oxfordshire Water and Gas.
South Suburban Gas.
South Wales Electrical Power Distribution.
Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway (Abandonment).
Southend and Colchester Light Railways.
Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board.
Staffordshire County Council.
Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation)
Stockport Corporation.
Sunderland and South Shields Water.
Swansea Corporation.
Tees Valley Water Board.
Thames Conservancy.
Thames Harbour.
Torpoint Water.

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Tralee Urban District Council.
Truro Water.
Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.
Ulster and Connaught Light Railways.
University College, London (Transfer).
Walker and Wallsend Union Gas (Additional Powers).
Weaver Navigation.
West Cumberland Electric Tramways.
West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers.
Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas.
Weybridge and Walton-upon-Thames Electric Supply.
Whitby Urban District Council.
Whitechapel and Bow Railway.
Woolwich Borough Council.
Workington Harbour and Dock.
Wrexham Gas.

And also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with :—

Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply.
Wigan Corporation.
Hastings Tramways.
Coventry Electric Tramways (Extension of Time).
Hammersmith City, and North-East London Railway.
Heckmondwike Improvement.
Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway.
Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 277

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill.—The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That, pursuant to the Resolutions of the 8th of August last) the Bill had been lodged in the Private Bill Office, together with the declaration of the agent ; Bill presented ; read 1a ; read 2a, and committed 282

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Education (Scotland).—Return showing the expenditure from the grant for public education in Scotland in the year 1904 ; with statistics.

Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated February 16, 1905, providing for the distribution of the General Aid Grant.

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table 282

Army (Military Savings Banks).—Statement of the amount due by the public to depositors in Military Savings Banks on the 31st March 1903, and of the receipts, interest, and disbursements in the said Military Savings Banks during the year next ensuing, ended the 31st March, 1904, etc. 282

Penal Servitude Act, 1891 (Prisons, Scotland).—Regulations, dated 20th August 1904, made by the Secretary for Scotland, under the Act for the measuring and photographing of prisoners 283

Locomotives on Highways Act, 1896, and Motor Car Act, 1903.—The Heavy Motor Car (Scotland) Order, 1905. 283

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UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.—Annual report on the state of the finances of the University of Edinburgh under the Act, for the year 1903–1904.

Annual statistical report by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh to the Secretary of Scotland under the Act, for the year 1903–1904.

Annual statistical report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow to the Secretary for Scotland under the Act, for the year 1903–1904 283

GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND TRAVERS' FOUNDATION (CAPITAL AND INCOME ACCOUNTS, 1903–1904).—Accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the capital and of the income derived from the lands and other property held for the benefit of Greenwich Hospital, and the Foundation of Samuel Travers, Esquire, for the year ended 31st March, 1904; together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon 283

PARKS REGULATION ACT, 1872.—Rules for Osborne 283

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) STATUTORY RULES AND ORDERS, 1904.

No. 1568. The Postal Order (Colonial) Regulations, 1904.

No. 1806. The Postal Order (Colonial) Amendment (No. 1) Regulations 1904 283

GREEK LOAN OF 1832.—Account for 1904. 283

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894–1903.—Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing Place Revocation Order of 1904 283

MOTOR CAR ACTS, 1896 AND 1903.—Regulations as to weight, conditions of use, construction and speed of heavy motor cars, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 12 of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to restriction of the driving of motor cars on certain highways or parts of highways situate with the borough of Beverley, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 8 of the Act of 1903.

(*a*) Regulations as to registration of motor cars made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 7 of the Act of 1903—

Blackpool and Tynemouth (County Boroughs). For assigning index marks distinguishing the councils of the county boroughs for the purposes of the regulations prescribed by the Motor Car (Registration and Licensing) Order, 1903.

(*b*) Regulations as to registration of motor cars made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 7 of the Act of 1896, and Section 7 of the Act of 1903—

Dorset (County). For changing the index marks assigned to the council of the county by the Motor Car (Registration and Licensing) Order, 1903 284

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PUBLIC RECORDS.—His Majesty's Stationery Office. Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents existing or accruing in His Majesty's Stationery Office which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office.

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. Second Schedule, containing a list and particulars of classes of documents existing or accruing in the office of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office .. 284

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS ACTS, 1883–1892.—Patents Rules, 1905 284

PRIVATE PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—Report by the Acting Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, under Section 2 of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899—

That, having regard to Section 16 (2) of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, the provisions of the Caledonian Railway Order, the Clyde Navigation Order, the Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution) Order, the Highland Railway Order, and the North British Railway (General Powers) Order are of such a character that they ought to be dealt with by Private Bills and not by Provisional Orders.

That, save as aforesaid, the Provisional Orders be allowed to proceed subject to such recommendations as may be hereafter made with respect to the several Orders.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 285

NEW BILLS.

Bishopric of Bristol Bill [H.L.].—A Bill for re-arranging the boundaries of the diocese of Bristol and Gloucester and Bath and Wells. Was presented by the Lord Bishop of Bristol; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Tuesday next. (No. 3.) 285

Reserve Forces Bill [H.L.] (No. 4).—A Bill to amend the law relating to the Reserve Forces; And— 285

Military Manœuvres Bill [H.L.] (No. 5).—A Bill to amend the Military Manœuvres Act, 1897. Were presented by the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2 on Friday the 24th inst. 285

Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the law relating to the falsification of seamen's and soldiers' certificates of service or discharge, and to false statements made, used, or given in connection with entry or enlistment into His Majesty's Naval, Military, or Marine Forces. Was presented by the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Tuesday next. (No. 6.) 285

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Ecclesiastical Commissioners Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to provide for the appointment of an additional Church Estates Commissioner. Was presented by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ; read 1^a ; and to be printed. (No. 7.) .. 286

Municipal Corporations (Merthyr Tydvil Scheme Confirmation) Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to confirm a scheme made by a Committee of the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council under the Municipal Corporation Acts, 1882 and 1885, relating to Merthyr Tydvil. Was presented by the Lord President (*E. Vane* [*M. Londonderry*]) ; read 1^a ; and to be printed. (No. 8.) .. 286

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 286

Moved, That the Earl of Onslow be appointed to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this session.

That the Earl of Onslow do take the Chair in all Committees of the Whole House unless where it shall have been otherwise directed by the House.

That the Earl of Onslow do also take the Chair in all Committees upon Private Bills and other matters, unless where it shall have been otherwise directed by the House.—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

Earl Spencer 289

On Question, Motion agreed to and ordered accordingly.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Lord James of Hereford 290

Moved, " For a Return, showing—(1) The dates upon which any Bills mentioned in the different Speeches from the Throne during the present Parliament were introduced into the House of Commons ; (2) the dates when such Bills were transmitted to this House ; (3) the dates when the different stages of such Bills were taken in this House ; (4) like dates in respect of Bills of an important character not mentioned in the Speeches from the Throne, but introduced by, or supported by, the Government ; (5) the dates of the Prorogation of Parliament in the different sessions of the present Parliament."—(*Lord James of Hereford.*)

The Marquess of Lansdowne 291

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 16TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS].—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following cases, viz. :—

Abertillery Urban District Water.
Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company.
Alexandra Park and Palace.
Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement.
Barry Railway.
Blackpool Improvement.
Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways.
Bridgewater Canals.
Bristol Blind Asylum.
Buenos Ayres Grand National Tramways.
Cardiff Railway.
Central Electric Supply.
Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation.
City of London Electric Lighting Company.
Clacton Improvements.
Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners.
Commercial Union Assurance.
Cordoba and Rosario Railway.
County of London Electric Supply Company
Dearne Valley Railway.
East Cowes Gas.
East London and Lower Thames Electric Power.
Entre Rios Railways.
Formby Township.
Gosport and Fareham Tramways.
Great Central Railway.
Great Central Railway (Pension Fund).
Hastings Harbour.
Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment)
Hessle Gas.
Hessle Urban District Council.
Humber Conservancy.
Hythe Corporation.
Leeds and Liverpool Canal.
Littlehampton Urban District Council.
London and India Docks Company.
London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation).
Mansfield Corporation.
Marylebone Chapels.
Matlock Bath Improvement.
Medway and Thames Canal.
Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies.
Metropolitan District Railway.
Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District).

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Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers).
Metropolitan Railway.
Mexborough and Swinton Tramways (Extension of Time).
Mortgage Insurance Corporation.
Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site).
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation.
Nine Mile Point Railway.
North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply.
Nottingham Corporation.
Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation.
Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways.
Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage.
Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation).
Rhymney Railway.
Sandgate Urban District Council.
Sheffield University.
Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting).
South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.
Southend and Colchester Light Railways.
South Lancashire Tramways.
Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board.
Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation).
Tees Valley Water Board.
Torpoint Urban District Water.
Tralee Urban District Council.
Truro Water.
Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.
University College, London (Transfer).
Weaver Navigation.
West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time).
Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas.
West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers.
Whitby Urban District Council.
Workington Harbour and Dock.

And they have certified that the Standing Orders have not been complied with in the following cases, viz. :—

Hastings Tramways.
Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council.
Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply. .. 292

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PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table, Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—Coventry Electric Tramways (Extension of Time); Hammersmith, City, and North-East London Railway; Heckmondwike Improvement; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway; Wigan Corporation. Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 295

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TRADE AND NAVIGATION.—Return (in part) presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 25.] 296

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CIVIL CONTINGENCIES FUND, 1903–4.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Victor Cavendish*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 27.] 296

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Victor Cavendish*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 28.] 297

NATIONAL GALLERY (REPORT).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Victor Cavendish*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 29.] 297

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Army (Military Savings Banks).—Copy presented, of Statement of the Amounts due by the Public to Depositors on 31st March 1903, and of the Receipts, Interests, and Disbursements during the year ended 31st March 1904, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 33.] 298

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KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [15th February] to Question [14th February], "That an humble Adress be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question having now been fully discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay.'"—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

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Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

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King's Speech (Motion for an Address).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [15th February] to Question [14th February],

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

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Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

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The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 410

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 248 ; Noes, 311. (Division List No. 3.)

Main Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)—put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at five Minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 17TH. FEBRUARY, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Abertillery Urban District Water Bill [H.L.].—Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company Bill [H.L.]; Alexandra Park and Palace Bill [H.L.]; Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Blackpool Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [H.L.]; Clacton Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners Bill [H.L.]; East London and Lower Thames Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Formby Township Bill [H.L.]; Hastings Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Humber Conservancy Bill [H.L.]; Hythe Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation) Bill [H.L.]; Mansfield Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Nine Mile Point Railway Bill [H.L.]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage Bill [H.L.]; Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation) Bill [H.L.]; Sandgate Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Sheffield University Bill [H.L.]; Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation) Bill [H.L.]; Tees Valley Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Torpoint Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Tralee Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; University College, London (Transfer) Bill [H.L.]; Weaver Navigation Bill [H.L.]; Whitby Urban District Council [H.L.]. Read 1ª 429

Barry Railway Bill [H.L.].—Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Bridgewater Canals Bills [H.L.]; Cardiff Railway Bill [H.L.]; Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation Bill [H.L.]; City of London Electric Lighting Company Bill [H.L.]; Commercial Union Assurance Bill [H.L.]; Cordoba and Rosario Railway Bill [H.L.]; East Cowes Gas Bill [H.L.]; Entre Rios Railway Bill [H.L.]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [H.L.]; Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment) Bill [H.L.]; Hastings Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Hessle Gas Bill [H.L.]; Leeds and Liverpool Canal Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan Railway Bill [H.L.]; Mexborough and Swinton Tramways (Extension of Time) Bill [H.L.]; Mortgage Insurance Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]; Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Rhymney Railway Bill [H.L.]; South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [H.L.]; Southend and Colchester Light Railways Bill [H.L.]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Truro Water Bill [H.L.]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [H.L.]; West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time) Bill [H.L.]; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas Bill [H.L.]; Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [H.L.]; Read 1ª; and referred to the Examiners 429

NEW BILL.

McConnell's Divorce Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to dissolve the marriage of Sir Robert John McConnell, Baronet, of Windsor Avenue, in the county of the City of Belfast, with Elsie George McConnell, his now wife, and to enable him to marry again; and for other purposes. Presented (on petition), and a copy of the proceedings in, and of the decree of divorce of the King's Bench Matrimonial Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland. Delivered (on oath); Bill read 1ª; and to be read 2 on Tuesday, 28th March The usual orders made 430

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Roll of the Lords.—The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table; the same was ordered to be printed. (No. 9) 430

Railway and Canal Traffic Acts, 1854 to 1894.—Sixteenth Annual Report of the Railway and Canal Commission; with Appendix 431

Trade Reports (Annual Series).

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Board of Education.—Draft Order in Council continuing certain provisions contained in the Order in Council of 6th March, 1902 431

Polling Districts (County of Lancaster).—Order made by the County Council of the County of Lancaster, re-dividing the Chorley Parliamentary Division into two convenient polling districts 431

Building Societies.—Tenth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies of the proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Acts; with an abstract of the annual accounts and statements of the societies, for the year 1904 431

Friendly Societies, Workmen's Compensation Schemes, Industrial and Provident Societies, and Trades Unions.—Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, for the year ended 31st December, 1904 431

Certified Inebriate Reformatories (Regulations for Management).—Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the Lancashire Certified Inebriate Reformatory 431

Duchy of Lancaster.—Account of the receipts and disbursements of the Duchy of Lancaster in the year ended 21st December, 1904; also, a separate account of the capital of the said Duchy to the same date .. 431

Locomotives on Highway Act, 1896, and Motor-car Act, 1903.

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On special roads in the county of Perth. (20th August, 1904).

On a road in the county of Perth. (3rd February, 1905).

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HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 17TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

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JUVENILE SMOKING.—Petition from Burnley, for legislation; to lie upon the Table 467

SUGAR TAX.—Petitions for repeal; from Newport (Mon.) (two); and Salford; to lie upon the Table 467

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).—Paper [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 34.] 467

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE AUTHORITIES, ETC.—Return [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 35.] 467

PUBLIC OFFICES SITE (DUBLIN) ACT, 1903.—Account [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 36.] 467

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACTS, 1854 TO 1894.—Copy presented, of Sixteenth Annual Report of the Railway and Canal Commission, with Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 467

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County Palatine of Lancaster, dividing the Chorley Parliamentary Division into two convenient Polling Districts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 467

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Inebriate Reformatories (Regulations).—Copy presented, of Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the Lancashire Certified Inebriate Reformatory [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 468

Civil Services and Revenue Departments (Appropriation Accounts).—Appropriation Accounts presented, for the year ending 31st March, 1904, together with the Reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon and certain Reports upon Store Accounts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 37.] 468

Duchy of Lancaster.—Accounts presented, for the year ended 31st December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 38.] .. 468

Board of Education.—Copy presented, of Draft Order in Council continuing certain provisions contained in the Order in Council of 6th March, 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 39.] 468

Pauperism (England and Wales) (Monthly Statements).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 16th February; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 40.] 468

Locomotives on Highways Act, 1896, and Motor Car Act, 1903.—Copy presented, of Order by the Secretary for Scotland prohibiting Motor Car Traffic on certain roads in the county of Midlothian [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 468

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Building Societies.—Copy of Tenth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies of the Proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Acts, etc. [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 42.]

Adjournment.—Resolved, "That this House, at the rising of the House this day, do adjourn till Monday next."—(*Sir A. Ackland-Hood.*)

New Writ.—For the county of Bute, in the room of the right hon. Andrew Graham Murray, Lord Justice-General and Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

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OVERTIME IN LINEN FACTORIES.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 470

COMPENSATION ALLOWANCE FOR INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE IN BURMAH.—Question, Mr. Hemphill (Tyrone N.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 471

INCREASE OF SALARY FOR STRABANE DISPENSARY DOCTOR.—Question, Mr. Hemphill; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 471

DISPOSAL OF SITE OF DUKE OF YORK'S SCHOOL.—Question, Mr. Whitmore (Chelsea); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 472

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.—Question, Mr. Labouchere (Northampton); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 472

NEW BILLS.

Shipowners' Negligence Remedies Bill.—"To enlarge the remedies of persons injured by the negligence of shipowners," presented by Sir Harry Samuel; supported by Mr. Brynmor Jones, Major Evans-Gordon, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Mr. Ernest Gray, Mr. Jacoby, Sir Ernest Flower, Mr. Marks, Sir Albert Rollit, and Mr. Harold Reckitt; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 3rd, and to be printed. [Bill 1.] 472

Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to Trades Unions and Trade Disputes," presented by Mr. Whittaker; supported by Mr. Henderson, Mr. Bell, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Johnson, Mr. John Burns, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Paulton, and Mr. Fenwick; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 10th, and to be printed. [Bill 2.] 473

Town Tenants (Ireland) Bill.—"To improve the position of Tenants in Towns of Ireland," presented by Mr. Patrick O'Brien; supported by Mr. John Redmond, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Joseph Devlin, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Field, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. Mooney, and Mr. Charles Devlin; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 24th, and to be printed. [Bill 3.] .. 473

Coal Mines Employment Bill.—"To amend the provisions of the Coal Mines Regulation Acts which relate to Employment," presented by Mr. Jacoby; supported by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Joseph Walton, Mr. Parrott, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Thomas Richards, Sir Joseph Leese, and Mr. Norman; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 17th, and to be printed. [Bill 4.] .. 473

Coal Mines (Weighing of Minerals) Bill.—"To amend the provisions of The Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, which relate to the Weighing of Minerals," presented by Mr. Compton Rickett; supported by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Haldane, Sir William Holland, Mr. Warner, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Hatch, and Mr. Parrott; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 31st, and to be printed. [Bill 5.] 473

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Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.—" To amend the Law relating to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister," presented by Colonel Lockwood; supported by Sir William Gurdon, Sir Gilbert Parker, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, Colonel Denny, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Mr. Hambro, Sir Joseph Leese, Mr. David MacIver, and Sir Barrington Simeon; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 7th, and to be printed. [Bill 6.] 474

Land Values (Assessment and Rating) Bill.—" To provide for the separate Assessment and Rating of Land Values," presented by Sir John Brunner; supported by Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Bell, Mr. Charles Douglas, Mr. William Jones, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. McCrae, Dr. Macnamara, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. J. H. Whitley, and Mr. Watson Rutherford; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 14th, and to be printed. [Bill 7.] 474

Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill.—" To give the ratepayers a direct veto on the Liquor Traffic in their respective areas in Scotland," presented by Mr. Hunter Craig; supported by Mr. Asher, Mr. Black, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Crombie, Sir William Dunn, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. John Hope, Mr. Robert Wallace, and Mr. Eugene Wason; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 5th, and to be printed. [Bill 8.] 474

Vehicles Lights Bill.—" To amend the Law relating to lights upon vehicles on highways," presented by Mr. Bigwood; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 12th, and to be printed. [Bill 9.] 474

Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill.—" To provide for the taxation for local purposes of Land Values in burghs in Scotland," presented by Mr. Ainsworth; supported by Mr. Black, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Hunter Craig, Mr. Dalziel, Mr. Findlay, and Mr. J. D. Hope; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 19th, and to be printed. [Bill 10.] 474

Canals Bill.—" To establish public trusts under one control, with power to acquire, develop, extend, and administer the Canals and inland navigations of the United Kingdom, and to exercise all powers and authorities conducive or ancillary thereto," presented by Mr. Barran; supported by Sir John Brunner, Sir William Tomlinson, Sir William Holland, Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. Channing, Mr. Platt-Higgins, Mr. Crombie, Mr. Kerr, Mr. Field, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. McArthur, and Mr. Alexander Cross; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 26th, and to be printed. [Bill 11.].. 475

Plural Voting Bill.—" To prevent Plural Voting at Parliamentary elections," presented by Mr. Soames; supported by Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Henderson, Dr. Hutchinson, Mr. J. A. Pease, Mr. Price, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Shackleton, and Sir Edward Strachey; to be read a second time upon Friday, June 2nd, and to be printed. [Bill 12.] 475

Women's Enfranchisement Bill.—" To enable women to vote at Parliamentary elections," presented by Mr. Slack; supported by Colonel Denny, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Emmott, Mr. Nannetti, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. George Whiteley, and Mr. Keir Hardie; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 12th, and to be printed. [Bill 13.] 475

Local Authorities (Qualification of Women) Bill.—" To enable women to be elected and act as members of county and borough councils and metropolitan borough councils," presented by Dr. Shipman; supported by Mr. Channing, Sir Richard Jebb, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Mr. Emmott, Captain Norton, Mr. Bousfield, Mr. Yerburgh, Mr. Crooks, Sir Henry Kimber, Mr. Lough, and Mr. John Burns; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 31st, and to be printed. [Bill 14.] 475

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Private Legislation Procedure (Wales) Bill.—"To provide for improving and extending the procedure for obtaining Parliamentary powers by way of Provisional Orders in matters relating to Wales," presented by Mr. Vaughan-Davies; supported by Sir Alfred Thomas, Mr. Brynmor-Jones, Mr. Osmond Williams, and Mr. Herbert Roberts; to be read a second time upon Friday, 5th May, and to be printed. [Bill 15.] 475

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Sunday) Bill.—"To prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday," presented by Mr. Perks; supported by Mr. Bell, Mr. Cameron, Sir Frederick Mappin, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Mr. John Wilson; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 26th, and to be printed. [Bill 16.] 476

Compensation for Damage to Crops Bill.—"To give compensation for damage by fires caused by sparks or cinders from railway engines," presented by Mr. Mount; supported by Sir Edward Strachey, Mr. Spear, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Courtenay Warner, and Mr. Gardner; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 3rd, and to be printed. [Bill 17.] 476

Dublin Police Acts Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Dublin Police Acts," presented by Mr. Clancy; supported by Mr. Harrington, Mr. Nannetti, Mr. Field, Mr. Mooney, and Mr. Waldron; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 19th, and to be printed. [Bill 18.] 476

Local Government (Ireland) Act Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Local Government (Ireland) Acts," presented by Mr. Mooney; supported by Mr. Clancy, Mr. Roche, Mr. M'Hugh, Mr. Kilbride, Mr. Hayden, Mr. J. P. Farrell and Mr. Conor O'Kelly; to be read a second time upon Friday, June 2nd, and to be printed. [Bill 19.] 476

Small Holdings Bill.—"To further facilitate the provision of Small Holdings," presented by Mr. Channing; supported by Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Herbert Samuel, Mr. Price, Mr. Bright, Mr. Lyell, Dr. Hutchinson, Mr. George White, and Mr. Slack; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 24th, and to be printed. [Bill 20.] 476

Land Drainage and Sewers Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to the drainage of Land for Agricultural Purposes and the Law of Sewers," presented by Mr. Harold Reckitt; supported by Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Perks; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 31st, and to be printed. [Bill 21.] 477

Catholics Disabilities Removal Bill—"To remove certain disabilities affecting Catholics," presented by Mr. MacVeagh; supported by Mr. Kilbride; Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Mooney, Mr. M'Kean, Mr. Vincent Kennedy, Mr. Waldron, Mr. Delany, and Mr. Boland; to be read a second time upon Friday, June 2nd, and to be printed. [Bill 22.] 477

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Saturdays (Ireland) Bill.—"To amend the the Law relating to the sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays, and for other purposes connected therewith," presented by Mr. Sloan; supported by Sir James Haslett, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. T. L. Corbett, Mr. Wood, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 7th, and to be printed. [Bill 23.] 477

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House Letting (Scotland) Bill.—"To amend the system of House-letting in the burghs of Scotland," presented by Mr. Alexander Cross; supported by Sir John Leng, Mr. Hunter Craig, Colonel Bain, and Mr. T. W. Russell; to be read a second time upon Friday next, and to be printed. [Bill 24.] 477

Church Discipline Bill.—"To deal with Church Discipline," presented by Mr. Austin Taylor; supported by Mr. William Lawrence, Mr. Charles M'Arthur, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. David McIver, Mr. W. W. Rutherford, Mr. Channing and Major Seely; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 12th, and to be printed. [Bill 25.] 477

Steam Engines and Boilers (Persons in Charge) Bill.—"To grant certificates to Persons in Charge of Steam Engines and Boilers," presented by Mr. Joseph Walton; supported by Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Parrott, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Levy, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. John Johnson, and Mr. Arthur Henderson; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 26th, and to be printed. [Bill 26.] 477

Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill.—"To provide for the Enfranchisement of Leaseholds," presented by General Laurie; supported by Mr. Spear, Mr. Cohen, Sir George Fardell, and Mr. Louis Sinclair; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 7th. and to be printed. [Bill 27.] 478

Medical Act (1886) Amendment Bill.—"To amend The Medical Act, 1886," presented by General Laurie; supported by Sir Walter Foster, Sir John Tuke, Mr. Rothschild, Sir Howard Vincent, Mr. Middlemore, and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 14th, and to be printed. [Bill 28.] 478

Colonial Marriages Bill.—"To legalise certain Colonial Marriages," presented by General Laurie; supported by Mr. Rothschild, Mr. Arthur Stanley, Sir Gilbert Parker, and Captain Jessel; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 5th, and to be printed. [Bill 29.] 478

Contempt of Court (Ireland) Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to committals for Contempt of Court in Ireland," presented by Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh; supported by Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. Clancy, Mr. James O'Kelly, and Mr. William M'Killop; to be read a second time upon Friday, June 2nd, and to be printed. [Bill 30.] 478

Drunkenness (Ireland) Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to Drunkenness in Ireland, and for purposes connected therewith," presented by Mr. T. W. Russell; supported by Mr. Hugh Law, Sir James Haslett, Captain Donelan, and Mr. Wood; to be read a second time upon Friday. March 31st, and to be printed. [Bill 31.] 478

Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities Bill.—"To establish a single Franchise at all Elections, and thereby to abolish University representation and to remove the disabilities of women," presented by Sir Charles Dilke; supported by Mr. Bell, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Dr. Macnamara, Captain Norton, Mr. Shackleton, and Mr. Sheehan; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 28th, and to be printed. [Bill 32.] 479

Wages Boards Bill.—"To provide for the establishment of Wages Boards," presented by Sir Charles Dilke; supported by Mr. Bell, Mr. John Burns, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Tennant, and Mr. Trevelyan; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 28th, and to be printed. [Bill 33.] 479

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Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amendment Bill.—" To amend The Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881, and to make further provisions respecting the sale of Intoxicating liquors in Wales and Monmouthshire," presented by Mr. Herbert Roberts; supported by Sir Alfred Thomas, Mr. William Jones, and Mr. Herbert Lewis; to be read a second time upon Friday, May 19th, and to be printed. [Bill 34.] 479

Children's Courts Bill.—" To establish Children's Courts," presented by Sir Howard Vincent; supported by Mr. Samuel Smith and Sir John Gorst; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 3rd, and to be printed. [Bill 35.] 479

Merchandise Marks Bill.—" To amend the sixteenth section of The Merchandise Marks Act, 1887," presented by Sir Howard Vincent; supported by Mr. Evelyn Cecil, Mr. Middlemore, Sir Carne Rasch, and Mr. Field; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 3rd, and to be printed. [Bill 36.] .. 479

Public Trustee and Executor Bill.—" To provide for the appointment of a Public Trustee and Executor," presented by Sir Howard Vincent; supported by Mr. H. D. Greene, Mr. Howard, and Colonel Tufnell; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 3rd, and to be printed. [Bill 37.] .. 480

Voting Disqualifications (Poor Law) Removal Bill.—" To prevent the disenfranchisement of persons receiving Poor Law relief," presented by Mr. Schwann; supported by Captain Norton, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Churchill, Mr. Kearley, and Mr. Fenwick; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 10th, and to be printed. [Bill 38.] 480

Municipal Franchise (Companies) Bill.—" To confer the municipal franchise upon mercantile corporations and companies, and to amend The Municipal Corporations Act, 1882," presented by Sir Albert Rollit; supported by Sir James Woodhouse, Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir William Holland, Mr. H. C. Richards, Mr. J. Howard, and Captain Jessel; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 39.] 480

Church Organisation and Discipline Bill.—" To repeal certain enactments; to provide for the constitution of Churchwardens' councils in England and Wales; to amend the Law relating to institution to benefices, to ecclesiastical suits, and to public worship; and to otherwise make better provision for the organisation and discipline of the Church of England," presented by Lord Hugh Cecil; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 17th, and to be printed. [Bill 40.] 480

Lands Valuation (Scotland) Amendment Bill.—"To amend The Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854," presented by Mr. M'Crae; supported by Mr. Bryce, Sir John Leng, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Eugene Wason, Mr. John Dewar, and Mr. Robert Wallace; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 10th, and to be printed. [Bill 41.] 480

Pharmacy Bill.—" To provide for the further regulation of the sale of poisons and the compounding of medical prescriptions, and to amend the Pharmacy Acts, 1852 and 1868," presented by Mr. Lough; supported by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, Mr. Henniker Heaton, Mr. Crooks, Mr. Osmond Williams, Mr. Ellis Griffith, Mr. James Reid, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Marshall Hall, Mr. Remnant, and Mr. Ernest Gray; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 24th, and to be printed. [Bill 42.] 480

Milk Depôts (London) Bill.—" To allow metropolitan borough councils to establish and maintain Milk Depôts," presented by Mr. Lough; supported by Dr. Shipman, Sir Charles Dilke, Dr. Macnamara, and Mr. J. H. Whitley; to be read a second time upon Friday, 12th May, and to be printed. [Bill 43.] 481

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KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) 481

Mr. Herbert Samuel (*Yorkshire, Cleveland*) 490

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the facts now made known in respect of the importation of indentured Chinese coolies into the Transvaal show that Your Majesty's Government gave, during the discussion of the Transvaal Labour Ordinance in this House, assurances which have not been fulfilled ; and represent further that this House expresses its regret that nearly a year has elapsed since the promulgation of the Ordinance without securing the opinion of the people of the Transvaal on the question of the policy of the Ordinance, especially since the opinion of the British Colonies generally, so far as officially expressed, appears to be vigorously opposed to that policy.' "—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*) 500

Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) 506

Mr. Worsley-Taylor (*Lancashire, Blackpool*) 513

Major Seely (*Isle of Wight*) 520

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington*) 522

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 214 ; Noes, 275. (Division List No. 4.)

Main Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. John Redmond*)—put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

PREFERENTIAL AND RETALIATORY DUTIES.—Order [2nd February, 1904] that the Return relative to Preferential and Retaliatory Duties do lie upon the Table, read, and discharged. Paper withdrawn.—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish*) 540

Adjourned at twenty minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

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HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Central Electric Supply Bill [H.L.]; County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [H.L.]; Dearne Valley Railway Bill [H.L.]; London and India Docks Company Bill [H.L.]; Medway and Thames Canal Bill [H.L.]; Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [H.L.]; Buenos Ayres Grand National Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply Bill [H.L.]. Presented; read 1ª; and referred to the Examiners 541

Marylebone Chapels Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site) Bill [H.L.]; West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers Bill [H.L.]. Presented, and read 1ª 541

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill.—Brought from the Commons, and (pursuant to the Resolutions of the 8th of August last), read 1ª, 2ª, and committed. 541

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TREATY SERIES, No. 3, 1905.—Agreements between the United Kingdom and France referring to arbitration the question of the grant of the French flag to Muscat dhows; signed at London, 13th October, 1904, and 13th January, 1905. (Ratifications of agreement of 13th October, 1904, exchanged at London, 18th January, 1905.) 541

STATISTICS.—Statistical abstract for the British Empire in each year from 1889 to 1903. First Number.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 541

PRISONS, ENGLAND AND WALES (VISITING COMMITTEES).—Draft rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prison Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Stafford Prison 542

NATIONAL DEBT (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).—Account of the gross amount of all moneys received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, on account of the Fund for Military Savings Banks, from 10th September, 1845, to 5th January, 1905 542

BANK OF ENGLAND.—Applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for advances to Government authorised by Parliament from 5th January, 1904, to 5th January, 1905 542

SUPERANNUATION.—Treasury Minute, dated 16th February, 1905, declaring that Edward George Gausden, labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department 542

BANKRUPTCY.—General rules, dated 5th January, 1905, made pursuant to Section 127 of the Bankruptcy Act, 1883.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 542

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NEW BILL.

Sunday Closing (Shops) Bill [H.L.].—An Act to provide for the closing of shops and the prohibition of street trading on Sunday. Was presented by the Lord Avebury; read 1ª; and to be printed. [No. 10.] 542

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

The Earl of Meath 543
Earl Stanhope 554
Earl Egerton 555
The Earl of Ranfurly 556
Lord Balfour of Burleigh 557
The Under-Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 559

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock, till to-morrow half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Aberdare Tramways Bill.—"To enable the Aberdare Urban District Council to make and maintain tramways and street improvements; and for other purposes," presented and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 563

Accrington Corporation Bill.—"To authorise the Corporation of Accrington to construct and work tramways; to execute street works and improvements and to make further provision for the improvement, local government, and health of the borough of Accrington; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 563

Accrington District Gas and Water Board Bill.—"To authorise the Accrington District Gas and Water Board to make new waterworks; to extend their limits of supply for gas and water; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 564

Acton Sewage Bill.—"To authorise the Urban District Council of Acton to construct and maintain sewerage and sewage outfall works; and to make further provision for the admission of sewage into the Metropolitan Main Drainage System from a portion of the Urban District of Acton; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 564

Andover Lighting and Power Bill.—"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Andover Lighting and Power Company; and for other purposes, presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 564

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Aylesbury Gas Bill.—" For incorporating and conferring powers on the Aylesbury Gas Company," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 564

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill.—" To confer further powers on the Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Company," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills .. 564

Birmingham Corporation Bill.—"To empower the Corporation of Birmingham to construct additional tramways ; to make certain street works ; to amend certain provisions of the Acts relating to their waterworks undertaking ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 564

Bolton Corporation Bill.—"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Bolton to construct additional waterworks ; to make street improvements ; to confer upon them further powers with respect to the supply of electricity, streets, buildings, sewers, and drains, and with respect to the local government and health of the borough ; to raise additional money ; to make further provisions as to rates and rating in the borough ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 564

Bootle Corporation Bill.—" To extend the borough of Bootle ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 565

Brentwood Gas Bill.—" For incorporating and conferring powers on the Brentwood Gas Company," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 565

Bristol Corporation Bill.—" To empower the Corporation of Bristol to execute works ; to make further provision for the improvement, health, local government, and finance of the city of Bristol ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time .. 565

Brompton, Chatham, Gillingham, and Rochester Water Bill.—"To confer further powers upon the Brompton, Chatham, Gillingham, and Rochester, Waterworks Company ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills .. 565

Central London Railway Bill.—" To empower the Central London Railway Company to construct new railways ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 565

Channel Ferry Railway and Quay Bill.—" To incorporate the Channel Ferry Railway and Quay Company ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 565

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill.—" To confer further powers on the Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Company ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 566

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Chelsea Electricity Supply Bill.—" For providing for the extinction of the Founders' Shares of the Chelsea Electricity Supply Company (Limited), and the substitution therefor of Ordinary Shares in the capital of that Company ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 566

City of London (Escape from Fire) Bill.—" For the provision of means of escape from fire in and upon buildings within the City of London," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 566

Clay Cross Railway (Abandonment) Bill.—" For the abandonment of the Clay Cross Railway ; and for other purposes ; presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills .. 566

Colne Corporation Bill.—" For making further and better provision in regard to the markets, and the supply of gas, water, and electricity by the Corporation of Colne, and the improvement, health, and good government of the borough, and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 566

Cork Junction Railways Bill.—" To incorporate the Cork Junction Railways Company, and for making railways in the county borough of Cork and in the East Riding of the county of Cork, and to confer working agreement, subscription, and other powers on certain existing railway companies and others ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 566

Croydon Corporation Bill.—" To divide the West Ward of the county borough of Croydon, and to increase the number of aldermen and councillors ; to authorise the Corporation of the borough to construct and work additional tramways, and to execute certain street improvements ; to make further provision for the government, and for the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of the borough ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 567

Croydon Gas Bill.—" To provide for the transfer to the Croydon Gas Company of the undertaking of the Caterham and District Gas Company ; to extend the limits of supply of the Croydon Gas Company ; to authorise that company to raise additional capital ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 567

Dublin Corporation (Superannuation) Bill.—" To enable the corporation of the City of Dublin to grant pensions or other superannuation allowances to artisans, workmen, labourers, and servants in their service, in certain cases ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 567

Dublin United Tramways Bill.—" To transfer the undertakings of the Dublin United Tramways Company and the Dublin Southern District Tramways Company to the Dublin United Tramways Company (1896), Limited, and to amend the Acts relating to those companies ; and for other purposes," presented and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 567

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill.—" To confer further powers the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company in relation to their on general undertaking, and their separate undertaking of the New Ross and Waterford Extension Railways; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 567

Ealing Corporation Bill.—" To confer upon the corporation of the borough of Ealing further powers with respect to their electric lighting undertaking, and with respect to the regulation of streets and buildings, sanitary matters, recreation grounds, and milk supply; and to vest in the Corporation the appointment of collectors of poor rates; and for other purposes, "presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 568

Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill.—" To authorise a deviation of part of the Edgware and Hampstead Railway; and to confer further powers on the Edgware and Hampstead Railway Company; and for other purposes," presented and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 568

Epping Gas Bill.—" For incorporating and conferring powers on the Epping Gas Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 568

Gas Light and Coke South Metropolitan, and Commercial Gas Companies Bill.—" To amend the Acts relating to the Gas Light and Coke, South Metropolitan, and Commercial Gas Companies with regard to the testing of gas, procedure for forfeitures, and otherwise," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 568

Great Berkhampstead Gas Bill.—" For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Great Berkhampstead Gas Light and Coke Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 568

Great Eastern Railway Bill.—" For conferring further powers on the Great Eastern Railway Company; for enabling the Great Northern and Great Eastern Joint Committee to acquire additional lands; for extending the periods limited for the completion of works by the Company, the Hertfordshire County Council, and the Epping Rural District Council, and for the purchase of lands by the Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 569

Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill.—" To provide for the vesting of the undertaking of the Donegal Railway Company in the Midland Railway Company and in a Joint Committee of that Company and the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland); to incorporate such Joint Committee and to transfer to that Committee certain of the powers of the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland) in connection with the undertaking of the Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Company; to confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland); and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 569

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Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill.—" To confer further powers on the Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway Company," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 569

Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 2) Bill.—" To empower the Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway Company to construct new railways in extension of their authorised railways ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 569

Great Northern Railway Bill.—" To authorise the construction of a bridge over the River Witham at Langrick Ferry, and to confer powers on the Great Northern Railway Company and the county councils of the administrative counties of the parts of Lindsey and the parts of Holland in the county of Lincoln, with reference thereto ; to confer powers on the company with reference to certain footpaths and the purchase of lands ; to confirm the purchase of certain lands by the Great Northern and Great Eastern Joint Committee ; to extend the time limited for the completion of certain works and the purchase of certain lands by the company ; to authorise the abandonment of certain authorised railways at Grantham ; to empower the Horncastle Railway Company to raise further moneys by borrowing ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 569

Great Western Railway (Additional Powers) Bill.—" For conferring further powers upon the Great Western Railway Company in respect of their own undertaking, and upon that Company and the London and North Western Railway Company in respect of an undertaking in which they are jointly interested, and upon the Great Western and Metropolitan Railway Companies in respect of an undertaking in which they are jointly interested for amalgamating the Wye Valley Railway Company and the Lambourn Valley Railway Company with the Great Western Railway Company ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 570

Great Western Railway (New Railways) Bill.—" For empowering the Great Western Railway Company to construct new railways ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 570

Halifax Corporation Bill.—" To confer further powers on the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the county borough of Halifax with respect to the disposal of liquid trade refuse ; and for the construction of additional tramways and street widenings ; and in regard to streets and buildings ; and for the health, local government, and improvement of the borough ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 570

Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water Bill.—" To empower the Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water Company to raise additional capital ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 571

Hitchin and District Gas Bill.—" For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Hitchin Gas Company, Limited ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 571

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Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill.—"To extend the time for the purchase of lands and completion of works authorised by the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (South Yorkshire Extension Lines) Act, 1902; to amend the Acts relating to the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 571

Ilfracombe Harbour and Improvement Bill.—"To confirm an agreement for the acquisition by the Ilfracombe Urban District Council of part and the lease (with an option of purchase) of the remainder of the Ilfracombe Pier and Harbour undertaking, including Lantern Hill and other lands held therewith; and to enable Council to carry out street improvements; and to make further and better provision for the improvement, health, local government, and finance of the district; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 571

Liverpool Corporation Bill.—"For conferring on the Corporation of the City of London further powers for the protection of public health; for the better prevention of smoke nuisance, for the regulation of public meetings, and for licensing cattle drovers; for making provisions as to the acquisition of lands by the Corporation and as to the repayment of moneys borrowed by the Corporation for certain objects; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 571

London and North Western Railway Bill.—"For conferring further powers upon the London and North Western Railway Company in relation to their own undertaking and upon that Company, in conjunction with the Great Western Railway Company and the Furness Railway Company, in relation to their respective joint undertakings; and upon the North and South Western Junction Railway Company in respect of their undertaking and upon the London and North Western Railway Company in relation to the undertaking of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 572

London Buildings Acts (Amendment) Bill.—"To amend the Acts relating to buildings in London; to confer various powers on the London County Council; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 572

London County Council (General Powers) Bill.—"To empower the London County Council to execute works and to acquire lands and utilise other lands; to make provisions with respect to milk supply and sale of food and drugs; to authorise the extension of Hampstead Heath and the exchange of lands in connection with parks, commons, and open spaces; to extend the time for the completion of certain authorised works; to provide for the licensing of employment agencies; to empower councils of metropolitan boroughs to supply electric fittings; to confer further powers upon the Council of the Metropolitan Borough of Battersea with respect to Latchmere Allotments; to provide for contributions by the councils of metropolitan boroughs to expenditure by the London County Council; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 572

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London County Council (Tramways) Bill.—"To enable the London County Council to construct and work tramways in the County of London, and to deviate the authorised subway from Southampton Row to the Victoria Embankment; to extend the time limited for the completion of certain authorised tramways; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 573

London Gas Bill.—"To amend the Acts relating to the supply of gas in London, and to make further provisions with reference thereto," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 573

London Portland Docks Commission Bill.—"To constitute and incorporate a Commission for the administration of the Port of London and for transferring to the Commission the undertakings of certain dock companies and certain powers and duties of the Conservators of the River Thames and the Watermen's Company; and for other purposes connected therewith," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time .. 573

London Southern Tramways Bill.—"To authorise the use on the tramways of the London Southern Tramways Company of mechanical power and to empower that Company to purchase lands and construct works; and for other purposes," presented and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 573

London United Tramways (Extension of Time) Bill.—"To extend the time limited by the London United Tramways Act, 1901, and the London United Tramways Act, 1902, for the construction of tramways and the acquisition of lands," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 573

Loughborough Corporation Bill.—"To extend the time limited for the construction of waterworks by the Loughborough Corporation Act, 1897, and to enable the Corporation to purchase further lands, and to borrow further moneys for their waterworks; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 574

Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill.—"To confer powers on the Metropolitan Electric Tramways, Limited, for widening and altering roads and acquiring lands in the county of Middlesex; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 574

Metropolitan Pneumatic Despatch Bill.—"For incorporating the Metropolitan Pneumatic Despatch Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 574

Midland Railway Bill.—"To confer additional powers upon the Midland Railway Company for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 574

Morley Corporation Bill.—"To confer further powers upon the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Morley in relation to their water and electric lighting undertakings; and to make further provision in regard to the health, improvement, and good government of the said borough; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 574

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North Eastern Railway Bill.—" To confer additional powers upon the North Eastern Railway Company for the construction of new railways, dock works, and other works, and the acquisition of lands ; and for other purposes, presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 574

North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill.—" To authorise the North Eastern Railway Company to own and use vessels for the conveyance of traffic between the ports of Hull and Goole and certain Continental ports, and to subscribe to the funds of steamship companies ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 575

North East London Railway Bill.—" For incorporating the North East London Railway Company, and for empowering them to construct railways from the City of London to Walthamstow, Epping Forest, Waltham Abbey, and Cheshunt ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 575

North Sussex Gas Bill.—" To incorporate the North Sussex Gas Company and to enable that company to supply with gas certain parishes in the county of Sussex," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 575

Norwich Union Life Insurance Society Bill.—" To alter the constitution of the Norwich Union Life Insurance Society by substituting a Memorandum and Articles of Association for its existing Laws and Regulations, and to repeal the Acts relating to such Society ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 575

Nottingham and Retford Railway Bill.—" To extend the time for the purchase of lands for and the completion of railways authorised by the Nottingham and Retford Railway Act, 1902 ; to amend that Act in various respects ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 575

Otley Gas and Improvement Bill.—" To empower the Urban District Council of Otley to supply gas, and to provide for the transfer of the undertaking of the Otley Gas Company to the Council, and to make further and better provision with regard to the improvement, health, local government, and finance of the district ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 575

Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement Bill.—" To extend the boundaries of the Rathmines and Rathgar Urban District ; to confer further powers on the Urban District Council of Rathmines and Rathgar with respect to streets and sanitary and other matters for the improvement and good government of their district ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; and ordered to be read a second time 576

Rhondda Urban District Council Bill.—" To extend the time for the purchase of land and construction of waterworks, tramways, street widenings, and other works by the Rhondda Urban District Council ; to authorise the Council to construct new gasworks ; and to confer upon the Council further powers with regard to the health, improvement, and local government of the district ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time , and ordered to be read a second time 576

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Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Bill.—" For incorporating the Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Company, and authorising them to construct railways in the West Riding of the County of York; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 576

Sale of Bread (London) Bill.—" To amend the Law relating to the Sale of Bread in the County of London; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 576

Seaham Gas Bill.—" For incorporating and conferring powers on the eaham Gas and Lighting Company," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 576

Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Bill.—" To confer further powers upon the Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 577

Skegness Water Bill.—" To incorporate and confer powers upon the Skegness Water Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 577

Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway (Abandonment) Bill.—" For the abandonment of the Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 577

South Metropolitan Gas Bill.—" To provide for the retirement of the gas referees appointed in relation to the testing of gas supplied in the Metropolis; to empower the South Metropolitan Gas Company to purchase lands; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 577

South Oxfordshire Water and Gas Bill.—" For incorporating and conferring powers on the South Oxfordshire Water and Gas Company," presented and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 577

South Suburban Gas Bill.—" To alter the provisions of the Acts relating to the South Suburban Gas Company with respect to the illuminating power of gas supplied by them and the testing of gas; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 577

South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company Bill.—" To transfer to and vest in the South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company the undertaking of the Carmarthenshire Electric Power Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 577

Stockport Corporation Bill.—" To confer further powers upon the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the county borough of Stockport with reference to the construction of waterworks and otherwise for the better local government and improvement of the borough; and to make provision with reference to the borrowing powers of the Corporation; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time .. 578

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Sunderland and South Shields Water Bill.—" To authorise the Sunderland and South Shields Water Company to construct additional waterworks; to raise additional capital; to extend the limits of supply of the company; to confer further powers upon the company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 578

Swansea Corporation Bill.—" To make provision for the acquisition by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Swansea of the undertaking of the Swansea Improvements and Tramways Company; and to confer further powers upon the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses in regard to their water undertaking; and the acquisition of lands for street improvements; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time 578

Thames Conservancy Bill.—" To confer further money and other powers on the Conservators of the River Thames for the deepening, widening, and improvement of its bed and channel; to provide for the licensing of persons in charge of launches propelled by mechanical power on the River Thames; to amend the Thames Conservancy Act, 1894; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time .. 578

Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill.—" To authorise the Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Company to acquire additional lands; to extend the time limited by the Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway Act, 1900, and the Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Act, 1903, for the compulsory purchase of lands for the purposes thereof, and for the completion of the Railways thereby authorised; to sanction the purchase of the Bessbrook and Newry Railway; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time, and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 578

Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Bill.—" To empower the Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Company to acquire additional lands and construct additional works; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 579

Weybridge and Walton-upon-Thames Electric Supply Bill.—" To confer further powers upon the Urban Electric Supply Company, Limited, with respect to their electric lighting undertakings in the urban districts of Weybridge and Walton-on-Thames respectively; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 579

Whitechapel and Bow Railway Bill.—" To authorise the Whitechapel and Bow Railway Company to raise additional capital; and the London, Tilbury, and Southend and Metropolitan District Railway Companies to subscribe thereto; and to raise additional capital for that purpose; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 579

Woolwich Borough Council Bill.—" To authorise the mayor, aldermen, and councillors of the Metropolitan Borough of Woolwich to widen Wickham Lane, Bexley, and to acquire lands for various purposes; and to confer upon the said mayor, aldermen, and councillors further powers with respect to their electrical undertaking; and to make further provisions in regard to the health and government of the borough; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time .. 579

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Wrexham Gas Bill.—" For conferring further powers on the Wrexham Gaslight Company," presented, and read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 580

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill (IN PURSUANCE OF STANDING ORDER OF AUGUST 10TH, 1904).—Read the first and second time, and (the Bill having been reported and considered in Session 1904 of Parliament) read the third time, and passed 580

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.—The Chairman of Ways and Means reported, That, after conferring with the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords, for the purpose of determining in which House of Parliament the respective Bills should be first considered, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, they had determined that the following Bills should originate in the House of Lords, viz. : —Clyde Navigation ; Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution). Report to lie upon the Table 580

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.—Petition from Liddesdale, for continuance ; to lie upon the Table 580

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.—Petition from Bristol, for alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table 580

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

DIFFERENTIAL DUTIES.—Copy presented, of Return of Differential Duties imposed, raised, reduced, or repealed in the years 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1853, and 1860, stating (1) the rate of duty levied, and (2) the revenue derived from, and the quantities imported of, the articles concerned in the three years preceding, and in the three years following such change [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 580

NAVY (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).—Copy presented, of the Appropriation Account of the Navy for 1903–4, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon, and upon the Store Accounts of the Navy [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 43.] 581

NATIONAL DEBT (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).—Account presented, of the Gross Amount of all Moneys received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of the Fund for Military Savings Banks, from 19th September, 1845, to the 5th January, 1905 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 44.] 581

ARMY (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).—Copy presented, of the Appropriation Account for 1903–4, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon, and upon the Store Accounts of the Army [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 45.] 581

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 16th February, 1905, declaring that Edward George Gousden, Labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate, through inadvertence on the part of the head of his department [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table 581

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Copy presented, of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Stafford Prison [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 581

TREATY SERIES (No. 3, 1905).—Copy presented, of Agreements between the United Kingdom and France referring to arbitration the grant of the French flag to Muscat dhows. Signed at London, 13th October, 1904, and 13th January, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 581

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3324 and 3325 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 581

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (BRITISH EMPIRE).—Copy presented, of Statistical Abstract for the British Empire in each year from 1889 to 1903. First number [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 581

BANKRUPTCY (RULES).—Copy presented, of General Rules, dated 5th January, 1905, in pursuance of Section 127 of The Bankruptcy Act, 1883 [by Act] to lie upon the Table 582

Papers laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House :—

1. Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts).—Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901]; *Mr. Griffith-Boscawen*; to be printed. [No. 46.]

2. Bank of England.—Copy of all applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for advances to Government authorised by Parliament, from 5th January, 1905 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 47] 582

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PROMOTION AND RETIREMENT OF ABSTRACTOR CLERKS IN THE WAR OFFICE.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 582

LANDING OF FISH ILLEGALLY TRAWLED IN THE MORAY FIRTH.—Question, Mr. Crombie (Kincardineshire); Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson 583

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STANDING ORDERS.—Ordered, That the Select Committee on Standing Orders do consist of thirteen members. Sir John Brunner, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. John Edward Ellis, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Halsey, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Mr. Humphreys-Owen, Sir James Rankin, Mr. William Redmond, Colonel Stopford-Sackville, Sir Mark McTaggart Stewart, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Wodehouse were accordingly nominated members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey.*) 621

SELECTION.—Mr. Blake, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir John Dorington, Sir William Hart Dyke, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Halsey, Mr. McKenna, Sir Mark McTaggart Stewart, and Mr. Wharton were nominated members of the Committee of Selection together with the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders.—(*Mr. Halsey.*) ..

Mr. John Ellis (*Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe*) 621

NEW BILLS.

Foreign Trawlers Regulation Bill.—"To provide for the better prevention of fishing by Foreign Trawl Vessels within areas closed to British Trawl Vessels," presented by Mr. Black; supported by Mr. Crombie, Mr. Weir, Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk), Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Cathcart Wason, and Mr. Ainsworth; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 44.] 621

Rating of Machinery Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to the Rating of hereditaments containing Machinery," presented by Mr. George Whiteley; supported by Mr. Chapman, Sir Edward Strachey, Sir William Houldsworth, Sir John Dorington, Mr. Cawley, Sir William Tomlinson, and Mr. John Rutherford; to be read a second time upon Friday next, and to be printed. [Bill 45.] 622

Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment Bill.—"To amend The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883," presented by Mr. Patrick Aloysius McHugh; supported by Mr. Clancy, Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. William McKillop, and Mr. Conor O'Kelly; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 46.] 622

Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal Bill.—"To repeal the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887," presented by Mr. Lundon; supported by Mr. Dillon, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Patrick Aloysius McHugh, and Captain Donelan; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 47.] .. 622

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February] "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 622
Mr. Waldron (*Dublin, St. Stephen's Green*) 632

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people.'"—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. William Moore (*Antrim, N.*) 633
The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Wyndham, Dover*) 646
Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) 663
Lord Hugh Cecil (*Greenwich*) 670
Mr. Joseph Devlin (*Kilkenny, N.*) 675
Mr. Sloan (*Belfast, S.*) 682
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 686

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [20th February] to Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people."—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. T. W. Russell 688
Mr. Lonsdale (*Armagh, Mid*) 698
Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*) 701
Mr. T. L. Corbett (*Down, N.*) 714
Mr. Hugh Law (*Donegal, W.*) 715
Sir James Haslett (*Belfast, N.*) 716

And, it being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

PAUPERISM (ENGLAND AND WALES) (HALF-YEARLY STATEMENTS).—Copy ordered, "of Statement of the number of Paupers relieved on the 1st day of January, 1905, and similar Statement for the 1st day of July, 1905 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 84, Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*) 720

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Barry Railway [H.L.]; Bridgewater Canals [H.L.]; Hastings Tramways [H.L.]; Hessle Gas [H.L.]; Leeds and Liverpool Canal [H.L.]; Mortgage Insurance Corporation [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway [H.L.]. The same were ordered to lie on the Table 721

Abertillery Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 721

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª, and committed 721

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Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Blackpool Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Clacton Improvement Bill [H.L.]; East London and Lower Thames Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Humber Conservancy Bill [H.L.]; Hythe Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Nine Mile Point Railway Bill [H.L.]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation) Bill [H.L.]; Sandgate Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed. The Commitees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 721

Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation) Bill [H.L.]; Tees Valley Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed 721

Torpoint Urban District Water Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 721

Tralee Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Weaver Navigation Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª, and committed 722

Whitby Urban District Council Bill [H.L.] Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 722

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Treaty Series, No. 4 (1905).—Convention between the United Kingdom and Mexico respecting postal rates upon letters passing between New Zealand and Mexico; signed at Mexico, 1st February, 1904. (Ratifications exchanged at Mexico, 12th January, 1905.) 722

Wages and Effects of Deceased Seamen.—Account of the sums received and paid in respect of the wages and effects of deceased seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 722

Prisons (England and Wales) (Visiting Committees)..—Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Borstal Prison 722

Polling District (County of Southampton.—Order made by the county council of the county of Southampton altering the Sarisbury polling district in the Fareham Parliamentary Division 722

Factory and Workshop (Special Exception—Night Work).—Order, dated 18th February, 1905, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards employed in the process of continuous wire-drawing carried on in non-textile factories 722

Committals (Ireland.—Returns from the Clerks of the Crown and Peace of the number of persons committed for trial in 1904 723

Railways Companies Powers Act, 1864.—Certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the Corringham Light Railway Company to raise additional capital 723

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SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS (MONEY ORDERS AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES).—Account of all deposits received and repaid by the Board of Trade on account of Seamen's Savings Banks, under the authority of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, during the year ended 20th November, 1903, and of the interest thereon; statement showing the number and amount of seamen's money orders issued and paid at ports in the United Kingdom and at ports abroad from 1855 to 31st March, 1904 ; also, statement showing the receipts and payments in connection with the transmission of seamen's wages, home and foreign, from 1878 to 31st March, 1904. 723

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.

Statement of the receipts and payments made by the Board of Trade for the year ended 31st March, 1904 ; together with an account of the receipt and issue of stores.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 723

NEW BILLS.

Criminal Cases (Reservation of Points of Law) Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the Crown Cases Act, 1848. Was presented by the Lord Chancellor ; read 1ª ; and to be printed. [No. 11]. 723

Street Betting Bill [H.L.].—A Bill for the suppression of betting in streets and other public places. Was presented by the Lord Davey ; read 1ª ; to be printed ; and to be read 2ª on Tuesday next. [No. 12.] 723

Bishopric of Bristol Bill [H.L.].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Lord Bishop of Bristol 724

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2a ." (*The Lord Bishop of Bristol.*)

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 724

On Question, Bill read 2a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Seamen's and Soldiers' False Character Bill [H.L.].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Under-Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 724

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

ARMY REORGANISATION.

The Duke of Bedford 725
Viscount Hardinge 737
Lord Raglan 739
The Under-Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 742
Lord Tweedmouth 749
Lord Burghclere 751
The First Lord of the Admiralty (*The Earl of Selborne*) 751

Service of Militiamen Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the law relating to the area of service of the Regular Militia when embodied. Was presented by the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 13.) 752

House adjourned at five minutes past Six o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Liverpool Corporation Bill.—Petition for additional Provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 752

Local Government Provisional Orders (No 1.) Bill.—" To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Ashton-in-Makerfield, Burslem, Newbury, Southport, and Ulverston," presented by Mr. Grant Lawson; supported by Mr. Walter Long; read the first time; and and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 48.] 752

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.—Petitions for continuance; from Forres; and Morayshire; to lie upon the Table 752

JUVENILE SMOKING.—Eight Petitions from Edinburgh, for legislation; to lie upon the Table 752

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Sunday Bill.—Petition from Melksham, in favour; to lie upon the Table 752

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.—Petition from Brighton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 752

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) (OFFICIALS).—Return [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 48.] 753

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Paper [presented 20th February] to be printed. [No. 49.] 753

COMMITTALS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Returns from the Clerks of the Crown and Peace of the number of persons committed for trial in 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 753

PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES (ELECTORS, ETC.) (UNITED KINGDOM).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 15th February; *Sir Charles Dilke*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 50.] 753

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Southampton altering Sarisbury Polling District in the Fareham Parliamentary Division [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 753

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Copy presented, of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Borstal Prison [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 753

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (SPECIAL EXCEPTION—NIGHTWORK).—Copy presented, of Order, dated 18th February, 1905, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards employed in the process of continuous wire drawing carried on in non-textile factories [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 753

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1905–6.—Estimates presented, for the year 1905–6, with Explanation of Differences [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 51.] 753

NAVY (STATEMENT EXPLANATORY OF ESTIMATES).—Copy presented, of Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty explanatory of the Navy Estimates, 1905–6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 754

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.—Account presented, of the Sums received and paid in respect of the Wages and Effects of Deceased Seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 754

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS (MONEY ORDERS AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES).—Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and repaid during the year ended 20th November, 1903, and Statement as to Money Orders issued and paid from 1855 to 31st March, 1904, and of Receipts and Payments in connection with the Transmission of Seamen's Wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 52) 754

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.—Copy presented, of Statement of the Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with an Account of the Receipt and Issue of Stores [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 53.] 754

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RAILWAYS (CERTIFICATES) (CORRINGHAM LIGHT RAILWAY COMPANY).—Copy presented, of Draft Certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the Corringham Light Railway Company to raise additional Capital [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 754

TREATY SERIES (No. 4, 1905).—Copy presented, of Convention between the United Kingdom and Mexico respecting Postal Rates upon Letters passing between New Zealand and Mexico. Signed at Mexico, 1st February, 1904. Ratifications exchanged at Mexico, 12th January, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 754

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).—Return ordered, " of the amounts of all Public Revenue derived from Taxes levied by Parliament, and from any other sources, which are not paid into His Majesty's Exchequer, for the years 1873–4, 1883–4, 1893–4, and 1903–4, respectively, with the totals in each case."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*) 755

NATIONAL DEBT.—Return ordered, " showing the amounts of (1) the Funded Debt; (2) the Unfunded Debt; (3) the estimated capital value of Terminable Annuities on the 31st day of March, 1874, 1884, 1894, and 1904, respectively, with the totals for each year; (4) the estimated liability in respect of sums borrowed under the head of other capital liabilities; (5) the total amount on the same dates respectively, of the Contingent or Nominal Liabilities of the State; and (6) the total amount outstanding on the same dates respectively in respect of Loans guaranteed by the British Government."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*) 755

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (LIABILITIES).—Address for " Return showing the total amount of the outstanding Balances of the Loans of Local Authorities in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, at the close of the financial years 1873–4, 1883–4, 1893–4, and 1903–4, with the totals for the three countries on those dates."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*) 755

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.—Return ordered, " showing for the Army, Navy, Civil Service, and Revenue Departments, respectively, the total amount of Supplementary Estimates for the years 1873–4, 1883–4, 1893–4, and 1903–4, respectively, with the totals for each year."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*) 755

Jurors' Expenses (Ireland) Bill.—" To provide for the Payment of Expenses to Jurors in assize and county courts in Ireland "; presented by Mr. O'Dowd; supported by Mr. McHugh, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. William McKillop, and Mr. Cullinan; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 49.] 756

Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill.—" To secure to the public the right of access to Mountains and Moorlands in Scotland "; presented by Mr. Bryce; supported by Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Thomas Shaw, Mr. Black, Colonel Denny, Mr. John Sinclair, and Mr. John Dewar; to be read a second time upon Friday, 31st March, and to be printed. [Bill 50.] 756

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

MERITORIOUS SERVICE REWARDS FOR PETTY OFFICERS IN THE ROYAL NAVY.—Question, Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth); Answer, Mr. Pretyman .. 756

PREFERENTIAL RATES FOR FOREIGN PRODUCE.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 75

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LIVE STOCK TRANSIT.—Question, Mr. Field ; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes .. 757

EXPENDITURE IN MILITARY AND NAVAL WORKS IN WEST INDIES.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.) ; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 758

THE LICENSING ACT.—Question, Mr. Corbett (Glasgow, Tradeston) ; Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 759

PUBLICATION OF ABSTRACT OF THE MOWART COMMITTEE REPORT.—Question, Mr. Buchanan ; Answer, Mr. Bromley Davenport 759

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION IN CUTCH.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee) ; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 760

GRIEVANCES OF SEA POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES ON THE ADEN-BOMBAY SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Samuel Smith (Flintshire) ; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 761

NEWMAN ESTATE, COUNTY CORK.—Question, Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 761

IRISH LIGHTS BOARD.—Question, Mr. Field ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 762

STAFF OF IRISH DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION.—Question, Captain Donelan (Cork, E.) ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 763

IRELAND—PUBLIC BODIES' ORDER, 1904.—Question, Captain Donelan ; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 763

CHANGES IN ARMY UNIFORM.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.) ; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 764

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF TRANSVAAL AND INTER-COLONIAL COUNCIL.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 767

AMOUNT PAID FOR PURCHASE OF SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS.—Question, Mr. Buchanan ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 769

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

ABSOLETE WAR VESSELS.—Questions, Mr. Whitley (Halifax), Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis), and Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.) ; Answer, The Secretary of the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 769

MILITARY CONVICTS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny) ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 770

CHINESE LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Question, Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield) ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 771

TRANSVAAL COMMISSIONER OF MINES.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.) ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 771

LABOUR STATISTICS FOR THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Dr. Macnamara ; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 772

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Proposed Changes in the Transvaal Government.—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 772

Cancer in India.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 772

Treatment of Egyptian Pilgrims at Suez.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 773

Income Tax Collection.—Question, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 773

Cost of Somaliland Campaign.—Question, Mr. Bayley; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 774

Income Tax Exemption.—Question, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 774

Customs Boatmens' Grievances.—Question, Major Evans Gordon (Tower Hamlets, Stepney); Answer, The Financial Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 775

Physical Deterioration—Children and Tobacco.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustines) 775

Physical Deterioration Committee's Report.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 776

Underfed School Children.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, Sir William Anson 776

Electrification of Railways—Board of Trade Inspection.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 776

Penalties for Illegal Trawling.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Lord-Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton) 777

Orpen Estate, Cork.—Question, Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 777

Cork District Lunatic Asylum.—Questions, Mr. Flynn and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 778

Case of Daniel M'Goohan.—Question, Mr. William McKillop (Sligo, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 779

Drummeel Bog, Turbary.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 779

Leitrim Magistracy—Mr. Youell's Appointment.—Question, Mr. P. A. McHugh (Leitrim, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 779

Ecclesiastical Disorders' Commission.—Question, Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, E. Toxteth); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) .. ..

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (KING'S SPEECH, MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the proceedings on the Address in answer to His Majesty's Speech shall, until concluded, have precedence of all other Orders of the Day and of Notices of Motions at all Sittings for which they are set down."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 781
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 782

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 203 ; Noes, 145. (Division List No. 5.)

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [20th February] to Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

> "*Most Gracious Sovereign,*
>
> We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

> "At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs ; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people.' "—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Questions again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir James Haslett (*Belfast, N.*) 785
Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) 788
Colonel Kenyon-Slaney (*Shropshire, Newport*) 799
Mr. Charles Craig (*Antrim, S.*) 801
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 808
Mr. Gordon (*Londonderry, S.*) 817
Mr. Swift MacNeill (*Donegal, S.*) 823
Mr. Cohen (*Islington, E.*) 826
Mr. Harwood (*Bolton*) 828
Mr. Field (*Dublin, St. Patrick*) 831

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [February 20th] to Main Question [February 14th], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to your Majesty for the gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people.' "—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added.

Mr. Purvis (*Peterborough*) 835
Mr. Mooney (*Dublin County, S.*) 837
Mr. Herbert Robertson (*Hackney, S.*) 841
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 846
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 853
Mr. Blake (*Longford, S.*) 866

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 236; Noes, 286. (Division List No. 6.)

Main Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at Twelve minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 22ND FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.—Petition from Dumbartonshire, for continuance; to lie upon the Table 881

SUGAR TAX.—Petitions for repeal; from Ashton-under-Lyne (two); and Nelson; to lie upon the Table 881

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Paper [presented 21st February]; to be printed. [No. 54.] 881

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.—Account [presented 21st February]; to be printed. [No. 55.] 881

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Copy presented, of Judicial Statistics for England and Wales, 1903, Part II. (Civil Judicial Statistics), edited by Sir John MacDonnell, C.B., LL.D., Master of the Supreme Court [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 881

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1904–5).—Estimate presented, of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 56.] 881

COLONIES (GENERAL).—Copy presented, of Further Papers relating to the proposed adoption of a Metric System of Weights and Measures for use within the Empire [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 881

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of a General Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland entitled the Union Accounts Order, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 882

HOUSE OF COMMONS (VENTILATION).—Copy presented, of Report of an Investigation of the Ventilation of the Debating Chamber of the House of Commons, and Recommendations for its Improvement, by Dr. M. H. Gordon [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 882

CONTRACTS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES (WAGES).—Address for "Return showing—(1) for England and Wales, as regards each County Council, Town Council, Metropolitan Borough Council, Urban and Rural District Council, and Board of Guardians; (2) for Scotland, as regards each County Council, Town Council, Parish Council, and District Committee; and (3) for Ireland, as regards each County Council, Town Council, Urban District Council (not being a Town Council), Rural District Council, and Board of Guardians; whether the Contracts entered into by the Authority for the execution of works specify any conditions as to the Wages to be paid by the Contractor, or other conditions with regard to the persons employed by him; and, if so, what are the conditions so specified."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*) 882

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NAVY (VESSELS STRUCK OFF EFFECTIVE LIST).—Return ordered, "of the Vessels struck off the list of Effective Ships of War, showing the name, date of completion, cost of hull, machinery, and armament, cost of repairs during the last ten years, date and cost of the last substantial repair with a view to commission, and the aggregate complement of officers and men."—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) 882

NAVY (CRUISERS NOT STRUCK OFF EFFECTIVE LIST).—Return ordered, "of Protected and Unprotected Cruisers included in the Return presented to Parliament in 1904 (No. 136) which have not been struck off the list of Effective Ships, showing date of completion, cost, and aggregate complement of officers and men."—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) 882

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MAIL DELAYS AT PORTREE.—Question, Mr. John Dewar (Inverness); Answer, Lord Stanley 883

POST OFFICE AND POSTAL TELEGRAPH CLERKS' ASSOCIATION.—Question, Mr. Bell (Derby); Answer, Lord Stanley 884

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QUALIFICATIONS OF MANUAL INSTRUCTRESSES AND OTHERS IN NEEDLEWORK.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 887

DIRECTRESS OF NEEDLEWORK.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 887

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MILITIA OFFICERS.—Question, Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 889

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INDIAN CAVALRY—THE PATTERSON EQUIPMENT.—Question, Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.)

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THE TRANSVAAL LOAN.—Questions, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.), Sir Albert Rollit (Islington, S.), Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar), Mr. Gibson Bowles, Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick, and Leamington) .. 891

SOUTH AFRICAN INTER-COLONIAL COUNCIL—RAILWAY GOVERNMENT.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.), Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 892

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MECCA PILGRIMS.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) .. 893

INCOME-TAX APPEALS.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 894

VOLUNTEER NOTICES OUTSIDE COUNTRY POST OFFICES.—Question, Mr. Charles Allen (Gloucestershire, Stroud); Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 895

TELEGRAPHIC APPOINTMENTS.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 895

LONDON UNEMPLOYED RELIEF FUND.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 896

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TANK ENGINES ON PASSENGER TRAINS.—Question, Mr. Bell (Derby); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 897

EXCLUSION OF CANADIAN CATTLE FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM.—Question, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes .. 898

THE GREEN PARK.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles, Mr. Sydney Buxton; Answer, Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley) 899

TEACHING OF DOMESTIC ECONOMY IN SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Lord-Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton).. 900

IRISH EVICTED TENANTS.—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 900

GALBRAITH ESTATE, NORTH LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 901

LONGFORD EVICTED TENANTS.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 901

KINGSTON ESTATE, MITCHELSTOWN.—Question, Mr. William Abraham (Cork County, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 901

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LIMERICK RURAL POSTMAN'S DISMISSAL.—Question, Mr. Lundon (Limerick, E.); Answer, Lord Stanley 902

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL PLANS.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, The Financial Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 903

SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL.—Questions, Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid.), Mr. Edmund Robertson, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Lonsdale, Mr. John Redmond (Waterford), Mr. Whitley, Mr. Dalziel, Mr. Blake, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.), and Mr. Wyndham .. 903

ALLEGED SHOOTING OF WORKMEN'S LEADERS AT WARSAW.—Question, Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 908

UNDERFED SCHOOL CHILDREN.—Questions, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.), Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour .. 908

ADJOURNMENT.—Mr. JOHN REDMOND, Member for Waterford, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., "The present conditions upon which Sir Antony MacDonnell holds the office of Under Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland"; but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen:—

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, until the Evening Sitting this day 910

NEW BILLS.

Small Dwellings (Acquisition) Bill.—"To amend the provisions of Th Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899," presented by Sir Thomas Wrightson; supported by Mr. Claude Hay, Mr. Graham, Mr. Peel, Sir Alfred Hickman, Captain Jessel, Mr. Moon, Mr. Pike Pease, Mr. Jesse Collings, and Mr. Griffith-Boscawen; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 5th April, and to be printed. [Bill 51.] 910

Purchase of Land (England and Wales) Bill.—"To provide facilities for the sale of Land to occupying tenants and others in England and Wales," presented by Mr. Jesse Collings; supported by Sir John Dorington, Mr. Spear, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Sir Lewis Molesworth, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, Mr. William Mitchell, and Colonel Pryce-Jones; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 52.] 911

Chartered Societies Bill.—"To provide for the further protection of Chartered Societies," presented by Sir John Rolleston; supported by Sir Francis Evans, Mr. Alban Gibbs, Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Mr. Charles Seely, and Sir James Woodhouse; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd March, and to be printed. [Bill 53.] 911

Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts," presented by Sir Henry Seton-Karr; supported by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir Robert Penrose-Fitzgerald, Mr. Grenfell, Captain Bagot, and Colonel Nolan; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 54.] 911

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February]. "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Captain Norton (*Newington, W.*) 912
Major Seely (*Isle of Wight*) 919

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly to represent to Your Majesty that the continuous and continuing changes in the War Office are destructive of the best interests of Your Majesty's Army, have gravely disordered the system upon which the regular forces at Home and Abroad are raised and trained, have discouraged the Militia and Volunteers, and disclose negligence and mismanagement on the part of Your Majesty's Ministers, more particularly as to the armament of the Artillery, whereby, in spite of the increased cost of the Army, its efficiency for the defence of the Empire has been diminished.'"—(*Captain Norton*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*) 924
Mr. McCrae (*Edinburgh, E.*) 931
Mr. Wylie (*Dumbartonshire*) 937
Sir John Kennaway (*Devonshire, Honiton*) 943
Mr. Frederick Wilson (*Norfolk, Mid.*) 944
Major Evans Gordon (*Tower Hamlets, Stepney*) 945
Sir Walter Foster (*Derbyshire, Ilkeston*) 948
Sir Harry Seton-Karr (*St. Helens*) 953
Sir Carne Rasch (*Essex, Chelmsford*) 959
Mr. Courtenay Warner 961

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.—The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means .. 964

ADJOURNMENT (UNDER STANDING ORDER NO. 10).—

POSITION OF SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL.

Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 964
The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Wyndham, Dover*) 978
Mr. John Morley (*Montrose Burghs*) 985

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The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 991
Mr. William Moore (*Antrim, N.*) 996
Mr. Asquith (*Fifeshire, E.*) 998
Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Liverpool, Scotland*) 1004

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 223 ; Noes, 265. (Division List No. 7.)

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Adjourned debate on Amendment [22nd February] to Main Question [14th February] further adjourned till to-morrow.

NEW BILL.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACTS AMENDMENT.—Bill to amend the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, and otherwise to facilitate the building of Houses for the Working Classes in rural districts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Channing, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Price, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Frederick Wilson, Mr. Herbert Samuel, and Mr. Soames.

Housing of the Working Classes Acts Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, and otherwise to facilitate the building of Houses for the Working Classes in rural districts," presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 14th, and to be printed. [Bill 55.] 1015

Adjourned at four minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23RD, 1905.

ADDRESS.—The King's Answer to the Address of Tuesday, the 14th instant, reported ; and Address and Answer to be printed and published 1017

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Cardiff Railway [H.L.] ; Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation [H.L.] ; City of London Electric Lighting Company [H.L.] ; Cordoba and Rosario Railway [H.L.] ; East Cowes Gas [H.L.] ; Entre Rios Railways [H.L.] ; Gosport and Fareham Tramways [H.L.] ; Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment) [H.L.] ; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) [H.L.] ; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) [H.L.] ; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply [H.L.] ; Truro Water [H.L.] ; West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time) [H.L.] ; Workington Harbour and Dock [H.L.].

And also the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Clyde Navigation.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1017

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Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners Bill [H.L.]—Read 2^a, and committed: The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1017

Hastings Harbour Bill [H.L.].—Read 2^a, and committed 1017

Mansfield Corporation Bill [H.L.].—Read 2^a, and committed: The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1017

Municipal Corporations (Merthyr Tydfil Scheme Confirmation) Bill [H.L.].—Referred to the Examiners 1017

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NAVY ESTIMATES.—Estimate for the year 1905–1906; with explanation of differences;

Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty explanatory of the Navy Estimates, 1905–1906 1018

HOUSE OF COMMONS (VENTILATION).—Report and recommendations by Dr. M. H. Gordon 1018

JUDICIAL STATISTICS, ENGLAND AND WALES, 1903 (PART II. CIVIL JUDICIAL STATISTICS).—Statistics relating to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the House of Lords, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts and other Civil Courts, edited by Sir John MacDonnell, C.B., LL.D., a Master of the Supreme Court 1018

COLONIES (GENERAL).—Further Papers relating to the proposed adoption of a metric system of weights and measures for use within the Empire (in continuation of [Cd. 1940], February, 1904).

Presented (by Command) and ordered to lie on the Table 1018

MOTOR CAR ACTS, 1896 AND 1903.—General Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland, entitled "The Heavy Motor Car (Ireland) Order, 1905." 1018

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND) GENERAL ORDERS.—General Order entitled "The Union Accounts Order, 1905" 1018

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

Service of Militiamen Bill [H.L.]

The Earl of Wemyss 1018

Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order).

Bill passed through Committee and reported without Amendment to the House.

The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) .. 1019

On Question, Standing Committee negatived, and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

THE NEW SERVICE RIFLE.

Lord Tweedmouth 1019

Moved, That, in the opinion of this House, whatever convenience a shortened rifle may afford to mounted troops, it is inexpedient that the whole of His Majesty's forces should be armed with the recently approved short rifle. (*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

Earl Roberts 1034
The Earl of Erroll 1043
The Earl of Lonsdale 1045
The Under-Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 1046
The Earl of Wemyss 1059
Earl Spencer 1061
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 1066
Lord Tweedmouth 1069

On Question, their Lordships divided :—Contents, 22 ; Not-Contents, 55.

House adjourned at half-past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 23RD FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

SUBSTITUTED BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the following Bill introduced pursuant to the provisions of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, and which the Chairman of Ways and Means had directed to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with, viz.—
Clyde Navigation [Lords] 1071

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.—Petition from Kincardineshire, for continuance ; to lie upon the Table 1071

JUVENILE SMOKING.—Petition from Brighton, for legislation ; to lie upon the Table 1072

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY (ADDITIONAL ESTIMATE, 1904–5).—Estimate presented, of the amount required during the year ending 31st March, 1905, to meet expenditure on the military operations in Somaliland, for which no provision was made in the original Army Estimates for the year ; also to authorise the appropriation of certain receipts, in excess of those included in the original Army Estimates for the year, to defray expenditure in excess of the sums therein provided for Army services other than the Somaliland operations [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 57] 1072

Locomotives on Highways Act, 1896, and Motor Car Act, 1903.—Copy presented, of General Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland, entitled The Heavy Motor Car (Ireland) Order, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1072

Railway, etc., Bills.—Copy ordered "of Report by the Board of Trade upon all the Bills and Provisional Orders of Session 1905, relating to Railways, Canals, Tramways, Harbours, and Tidal Waters, and the supply of Electricity, Gas, and Water."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) 1072

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Separation of Judicial, and Executive Functions in India.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1073

Reduction of Establishments of West Indian Colonies.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1073

Vivisection of Cats.—Question, Mr. Tomkinson (Cheshire, Crewe), Sir Frederick Banbury (Camberwell, Peckham); Answers, Mr. Akers-Douglas 1073

Newcastle as Examination Centre for Naval Cadets.—Question, Sir Walter Plummer (Newcastle-on-Tyne); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1075

Education—Payment of Grants.—Question, Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple); Answer, Sir William Anson 1075

Building of By-Laws in Country Districts.—Question, Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somersetshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1076

Railway Construction in the Neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf.—Question, Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth); Answer, Earl Percy .. 1076

Income-Tax.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1077

Suggested Import Duty on Diamonds and Gold from South Africa.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1077

Salt Tax in India.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1077

Indian Irrigation.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1078

Irish Education.—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1078

Publication of Report of Irish Poor Law Reform Commission.—Questions, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.) and Captain Donelan (Cork, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1079

Assimilation of Taxation Arrangements in Great Britain and Ireland.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1079

Distribution of Grazing Land on the Isadore Bourke Estate.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell (Mayo, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1079

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GRAZING LANDS ON THE NOLAN-FARRELL ESTATE.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1080

APPOINTMENT OF A MATERNITY NURSE FOR BALLYHAUNIS DISPENSARY DISTRICT.—Question, Mr. John O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1081

ARMY RECRUITING.—Question, Mr. Marks (Kent, Thanet); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1082

OFFICERS TRANSFERRED TO THE MILITIA-MESS SUBSCRIPTIONS.—Question, Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1083

SENTENCES ON CHINESE LABOURERS.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1084

DUTY ON PRICE LISTS IN AUSTRALIA.—Question, Mr. Runciman (Dewsbury); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1085

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

NAVAL TRAINING SHIPS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, The Secretary of the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) .. 1085

ROSYTH—EXPENDITURE ON NAVAL STATION.—Question, Mr. Bright (Shropshire, Oswestry) Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) Mr. Eugene Wason (Clackmannan and Kinross); Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham) 1086

CASE OF COLONEL MORGAN.—Questions, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.) and Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, The Secretary of State for War, (Mr. Arnold-Forster (Belfast, W.) and Mr. Speaker 1086

WATERFORD ARTILLERY HORSES—OUTBREAK OF SOUTH AFRICAN DISEASE.—Question, Mr. Power (Waterford, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster .. 1087

SOUTH AFRICAN SOLDIER CONVICTS.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1088

ARTILLERY ARMAMENT ESTIMATE.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1091

MILITARY DEPOT OF ROSS-SHIRE REGIMENTS.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1091

STRENGTH OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES.—Question, Captain Ellice (St. Andrew's Burghs); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1091

CHINESE LABOUR RESTRICTION OF IMPORTATION INTO THE TRANSVAAL.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.), Major Seely (Isle of Wight); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1092

GELDENHUIS DEEP MINE—DISCHARGE OF WHITE LABOUR.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Chitheroe); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1093

ROSE DEEP MINE—DISCHARGE OF WHITE LABOUR.—Question, Mr. Shackleton, and Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton .. 1093

CHINESE RIOTS ON THE SIMMER AND JACK MINE.—Question, Mr. Shackleton; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1093

TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONIES CONSTITUTION.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar), Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen), Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1094

Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 1096

MINERAL DEPOSITS IN INDIA.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1097

CATHOLIC ARMY CHAPLAINS IN INDIA.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1097

INFANT MORTALITY IN EGYPT.—Questions, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 1098

NORTH SEA FISHERIES ARBITRATION.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, Earl Percy.. 1098

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK DEFICIENCY.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) .. ..

INCOME TAX COLLECTION.—Questions, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.), Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answers, Mr. Austen Chamberlain.. 1099

VACCINATION EXEMPTION CERTIFICATES.—Questions, Mr. Weir, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, Mr. Akers-Douglas (Kent, St. Augustine's) 1100

POOR LAW FINANCE.—Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 1101

HEAVY MOTOR-CAR REGULATIONS.—Questions, Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping), Mr. Walter Long; Answers, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Walter Long .. 1101

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OFFICER'S SUPERANNUATION.—Question, Mr. Duncan (Yorkshire, W.R.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1102

LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC CLERKS.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1102

SKIGERSTA PIER, ISLE OF LEWIS.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Lord-Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton) 1103

ISLE OF LEWIS—REPORT ON SOCIAL CONDITION.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson 1103

SKYE ROADS.—Question, Mr. John Dewar (Inverness); Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson. 1104

LABOUR DISPUTES IN DUBLIN PUBLIC WORKS.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 1105

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LAND PURCHASE IN TIPPERARY—MR. DELMEGE'S ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Lundon (Limerick, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1105

LAND PURCHASE IN COUNTY LIMERICK—SYANS ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Lundon; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1106

EXCHEQUER CONTRIBUTION—LABOURERS' COTTAGES.—Question, Mr. Lundon; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1106

FIREARM REGULATIONS IN COUNTY LONGFORD—GILLESPIE'S CASE.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1106

EDGEWORTHSTOWN LOAN FUND SOCIETY.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1107

YOUGHAL AUXILIARY LUNATIC ASYLUM.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.), Captain Donelan (Cork, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1107

DERNAGEAS GRAZING FARM.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1109

SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL.—Questions, Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.), Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Mr. Sloan; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Wyndham .. 1109

IRISH FINANCE—THE POST OFFICE, AND INLAND REVENUE.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, The Financial Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 1110

DUBLIN POST OFFICE—LEARNERS' PAY.—Question, Mr. Nannetti; Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 1111

NEW BILLS.

Small Holdings (No. 2) Bill.—" To amend The Small Holdings Act, 1892," presented by Mr. Jesse Collings; supported by Colonel Long, Mr. Goulding, Sir Carne Rasch, Mr. Carlile, and Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 56.] .. 1112

Nurses Registration Bill.—" To regulate the qualifications of trained Nurses, and to provide for their registration," presented by Mr. Munro Ferguson; supported by Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Haldane, Sir Thomas Wrightson, Sir James Joicey, Mr. Hugh Crawford Smith, Mr. Black, Mr. Eve, and Dr. Thompson; to be read a second time upon Friday, 17th March, and to be printed. [Bill 57.] 1112

Private Bill Procedure (Ireland) Bill.—" To amend the Law relating to Private Bill Procedure in Ireland," presented by Mr. O'Doherty; supported by Mr. Hemphill, Mr. Field, Mr. Patrick Kennedy, and Dr. Thompson; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 58.] 1112

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [22nd February] to Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But humbly to represent to Your Majesty that the continuous and continuing changes in the War Office are destructive of the best interests of Your Majesty's Army, have gravely disordered the system upon which the regular forces at home and abroad are raised and trained, have discouraged the Militia and Volunteers, and disclose negligence and mismanagement on the part of Your Majesty's Ministers, more particularly as to the armament of the Artillery, whereby, in spite of the increased cost of the Army, its efficiency for the defence of the Empire has been diminished."—(*Captain Norton.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Colonel Welby (*Taunton*) 1113
Sir Arthur Hayter (*Walsall*) 1116
Colonel Williams (*Dorsetshire, W.*) 1118
Mr. Charles Hobhouse (*Bristol, E.*) 1120
Sir John Colomb (*Great Yarmouth*) 1126
Mr. Lambert (*Devonshire, South Molton*) 1132
Colonel Pilkington (*Lancashire, Newton*) 1135
Sir H. Campbell Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 1138
Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge University*) 1143
Mr. Fuller (*Wiltshire, Westbury*) 1145
Captain Jessel (*St. Pancras, S.*) 1149
Sir Mark Stewart (*Kirkcudbrightshire*) 1154
Captain Ellice (*St. Andrew's Burghs*) 1155
Mr. Peel (*Manchester, S.*) 1156
Mr. Llewellyn (*Somersetshire. N.*) 1160

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—

EVENING SITTING.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [February 22nd] to Main Question [February 14th], 'That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was, at the end of the Question, to add the words—

> "But humbly to represent to Your Majesty that the continuous and continuing changes in the War Office are destructive of the best interests of Your Majesty's Army, have gravely disordered the system upon which the regular forces at home and abroad are raised and trained, have discouraged the Militia and Volunteers, and disclose negligence and mismanagement on the part of Your Majesty's Ministers, more particularly as to the armament of the Artillery, whereby, in spite of the increased cost of the Army, its efficiency for the defence of the Empire has been diminished."—(*Captain Norton.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. Hunt (*Shropshire, Ludlow*) 1162
Mr. Eugene Wason (*Clackmannan and Kinross*) 1164
Sir Albert Rollit (*Islington, S.*) 1165
Mr. Osmond Williams (*Merionethshire*) 1167
The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.*) .. 1168
Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*) 1191

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 207; Noes, 254. (Division List No. 8.)

And, it being after midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

Adjourned at Five Minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 24TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with .—Highland Railway.

And also the Certificates that the further Standing Orders applicable to following Bills have been complied with :—Rhymney Railway [H.L.]; South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways [H.L.]; Commercial Union Assurance [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1205

Clyde Navigation Bill [H.L.].—Presented, and read 1ª 1205

Barry Railway Bill [H.L.]; Hessle Gas Bill [H.L.]; Leeds and Liverpool Canal Bill [H.L.]—Read 2ª, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1205

Mortgage Insurance Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª, and committed 1205

NEW BILLS.

Congested Districts (Scotland) Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the provisions of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897, as to the style and title of the Commissioners, the execution of deeds by them, and the application of the fund constituted by the said Act. Was presented by the Marquess of Linlithgow; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Tuesday next. [No. 14.] 1205

Advertisements Regulation Bill [H.L.].—A Bill for authorising local authorities to make bye-laws respecting the exhibition of advertisements. Was presented by the Lord Balfour; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Thursday the 9th of March next. [No. 15.] 1205

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—Appointed. The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee—

M. Salisbury (*L. Privy Seal*).
D. Bedford.
D. Marlborough.
D. Northumberland.
M. Lansdowne.
M. Bath.
E. Derby.
E. Denbigh.
E. Chesterfield.
E. Jersey.
E. Lauderdale.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Cadogan.
E. Howe.
E. Amherst.
E. Camperdown.
E. Dartrey.
E. Lytton.
E. Carrington.
E. Crewe.
V. Sidmouth.
V. Knutsford.
V. Churchill.
L. Zouche of Haryngworth.
L. Barnard.
L. Balfour.
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Colchester.
L. Poltimore.
L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*).
L. Belper.
L. Brougham and Vaux.
L. Kinnaird.
L. Fermanagh (*E. Erne*).
L. Herries.
L. Monkswell.
L. Newton.
L. Welby.
L. Ludlow.
L. Glanusk.

All petitions relating to the Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present session referred to the Committee unless otherwise ordered 1206

House of Lords Offices.—Select Committee appointed. The Lords following, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—

D. Northumberland.
M. Bath.
M. Cholmondeley.
M. Ripon.
M. Breadalbane.
E. Claredon (*L. Chamberlain*).
E. Chesterfield.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Spencer.
E. Mount Edgcumbe
E. Belmore.
E. Cawdor.
E. Camperdown.
E. Cranbrook.
E. Ancaster.
V. Gordon (*E. Aberdeen*).
V. Hampden.
V. Cross.
V. Peel.
V. Knutsford.
V. Churchill.
L. Windsor.
L. Balfour.
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Colchester.
L. Rosebery (*E. Rosebery*).
L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*).
L. Belper.
L. Tweedmouth.
L. Monk Bretton.
L. Macnaghten.
L. Welby.
L. Burghclere.

Committee of Selection—The Lords following, viz. :—

E. Chesterfield.
E. Waldegrave.
V. Churchill.
L. Ribblesdale.

with the Chairman of Committees, were appointed a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the Five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill.

Standing Committee—Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of such Public Bills as may be committed to it by the House.

Committee of Selection for the Standing Committee—Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee—

E. Cowper.
E. Stanhope.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Carrington.
V. Churchill
L Balfour
L Ribblesdale
L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*). 1206

Reserve Forces Bill [H.L.].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Under-Secretary of State for War (*the Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 1207

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2ª.—(*The Earl of Donoughmore*).

On question, Bill read 2ª, (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Tuesday next.

Bishopric of Bristol Bill [H.L.].—Order of the day for the House to be put into Committee, read, and discharged 1207

Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 1207

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 24TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 62 COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 62 has been complied with, viz.: Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill; Brompton, Chatham, Gillingham, and Rochester Water Bill; Central London Railway Bill; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill; Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill; Epping Gas Bill; Gas Light and Coke, South Metropolitan, and Commercial Gas Companies Bill; Great Eastern Railway Bill; Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill; Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill; Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 2) Bill; Great Northern Railway Bill; Great Western Railway (New Railways) Bill; Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water Bill; Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill; London and North Western Railway Bill; Midland Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill; Nottingham and Retford Railway Bill; Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway (Abandonment) Bill; South Metropolitan Gas Bill; South Suburban Gas Bill; Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill; Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Bill; Whitechapel and Bow Railway Bill; Wrexham Gas Bill. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 1208

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PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 63 COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That in the case of the following Bills referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 63 has been complied with: Andover Lighting and Power Bill; Weybridge and Walton-upon-Thames Electric Supply Bill. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 1209

PETITIONS.

JURORS' SERVICE.—Petition from Streatham, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1209

JUVENILE SMOKING.—Two Petitions from Edinburgh, for legislation; to lie upon the Table 1209

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF CLOSING).—Petition from Bath, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1209

OUT-DOOR RELIEF (DISFRANCHISEMENT).—Petition from Poplar, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1209

RE-VACCINATION.—Petition of the Cumberland County Council, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1209

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

RAILWAY, ETC., BILLS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 23rd February; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table; and to be printed. (No. 58) 1209

WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUES.—Abstract Accounts presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 59) 1209

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

CLAIMS AGAINST VENEZUELA.—Question, Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.); Answer, Earl Percy 1210

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL.—Question, Mr. Moon; Answer, Earl Percy 1210

ARMOUR FOR CRUISERS.—Question, Mr. J. F. Hope (Sheffield, Brightside); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1210

BELFAST POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Lord Stanley 1210

BELFAST POST OFFICE MEDICAL OFFICER.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Lord Stanley 1211

ERECTION OF BUOY AT TUNS BANK, LOUGH FOYLE.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty (Donegal, N.); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1211

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RUSSIAN IMPORT DUTIES ON INDIAN AND CEYLON TEA.—Question, Mr. Partington (Derbyshire, High Peak); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1211

DREDGING OF BURTONPORT HARBOUR.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1212

IRISH GROWN BEETROOT.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd; Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 1212

DUBLIN POLICE COMMISSIONER AND IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1213

MARINE WORKS IN IRELAND—EXPENDITURE OF GRANTS.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1213

CASE OF NURSE HOLLAND OF MONAGHAN AND CAVAN ASYLUMS.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1213

NATIONALIST PROCESSION THROUGH COAGH.—Question, Mr. Doogan (Tyrone, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1214

ENCOURAGEMENT OF THRIFT IN THE ARMY.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1215

WHITES EMPLOYED IN THE TRANSVAAL GOLD MINES.—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1215

CHINESE LABOURERS AND KAFFIR WOMEN.—Question, Sir Brampton Gurdon (Norfolk, N.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1215

ADJOURNMENT.—Resolved, That this House, at the rising of the House this day do adjourn till Monday next.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

> "*Most Gracious Sovereign,*
>
> "We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.) 1216
Mr. Whitley (Halifax) 1227

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly beg to represent to Your Majesty that, in view of the continued depopulation of rural districts and of the overcrowding and lack of employment in large towns, it is expedient to promote the more thorough cultivation of the land and to extend agricultural employment by legislative and administrative measures to give more security and freedom to agricultural tenants, and to encourage combination in the ffective and economical working of the agricultural industry.'"—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Lord Willoughby de Eresby (*Lincolnshire, Horncastle*) 1230
Mr. Munro Ferguson (*Leith Burghs*) 1236
Mr. Spear (*Devonshire, Tavistock*) 1239
Mr. Bright (*Shropshire, Oswestry*) 1242
Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes (*Huntingdonshire, Ramsey*) 1245
Mr. Brigg (*Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley*) 1250
Mr. Jesse Collings (*Birmingham, Bordesley*) 1251
Mr. Tomkinson (*Cheshire, Crewe*) 1255
Mr. Yerburgh (*Chester*) 1259
Mr. Lambert (*Devonshire South Molton*) 1262
Sir Carne Rasch (*Essex, Chelmsford*) 1266
Mr. J. H. Lewis (*Flint Boroughs*) 1268

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 165 ; Noes, 241. (Division List No. 9.)

And, it being after half-past Five of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

NEW BILLS.

Public Entertainment.—Bill to amend the Law relating to Public Entertainment, ordered to be brought in by Captain Jessel, Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Sir Robert Mowbray, Sir Ernest Flower, Dr. Macnamara, Major Jameson, Mr. Crooks, and Mr. Shackleton,.

Public Entertainment Bill.– "To amend the Law relating to Public Entertainment," presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Monday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 59.]

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 27th FEBRUARY, 1905.

Introduced.—George Rodney, Lord Bishop of Wakefield, was (in the usua manner) introduced 1273

Sat First.—The Duke of Brandon (*D. Hamilton*) sat first in Parliament after the death of his kinsman 1273

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—

Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution).

And also the Certificates that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—South Lancashire Tramways [H.L.]; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas [H.L.]; Metropolitan Railway [H.L.]; Medway and Thames Canal [H.L.]; Mexborough and Swinton Tramways (Extension of Time) [H.L.]; Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways [H.L.]; Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation [H.L.]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads [H.L.]; Central Electric Supply [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1273

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation Bill [H.L.]; City of London Electric Lighting Company Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1273

Cordoba and Rosario Railway Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª, and committed .. 1273

East Cowes Gas Bill [H.L.].—Read 2 , and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1273

Entre Rios Railways Bill [H.L.]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [H.L.] —Read 2ª, and committed 1274

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [H.L.]; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]; Truro Water Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1274

West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time) Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª, and committed.

Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1274

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

RUSSIA, NO. 3 (1905) NORTH SEA INCIDENT (INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY).—Despatch from the British Agent forwarding the Report of the Commissioners.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1274

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.—Annual report on the state of the finances of the University of Aberdeen, under the provisions of Section 30 of the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, for the year 1903–1904.

Annual statistical report by the University Court of the University of Aberdeen, to the Secretary for Scotland, under the provisions of Section 30 of the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, for the year 1903–1904.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1274

BRIDLINGTON PIERS AND HARBOUR.—Abstract of the general annual account for the year ended 26th July, 1904. Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1274

INEBRIATES.—Petition for amendment of law respecting; of Manchester, Salford, and District Temperance Union; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1275

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NEW BILLS.

Sale of Intoxicants to Children Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the law in relation to the sale of intoxicating liquors to children was presented by the Lord Dunboyne; read 1^{a}; to be printed; and to be read 2^{a} on Tuesday, the 7th of March next. [No. 16.] 1275

Newcastle Chapter Amendment Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to make further provisions for the foundation of a dean and chapter of Newcastle, and for other purposes connected therewith, was presented by the Lord Bishop of St. Albans; read 1^{a}; to be printed; and to be read 2^{a} on Monday next. [No. 17.] 1275

THE LATE EARL OF MORLEY.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) .. 1275
Earl Spencer 1276
The Lord Chancellor (*The Earl of Halsbury*) 1276
The Lord Bishop of Rochester 1276

SOUTH AFRICAN (LABOUR IN THE MINES).

Lord Monkswell 1277

Moved, "That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty for a Return of the number of white men employed in the erection and preparation of Chinese compounds in the Rand."—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Duke of Marlborough*) 1280
Lord Harris 1285
The Marquess of Ripon 1289
Lord Monkswell 1291

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

SUBSTITUTED BILLS [LORDS] STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the following Bill, introduced pursuant to the provisions of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, and which the Chairman of Ways and Means had directed to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with, viz.:—Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution) Bill 1293

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 62 COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 62 has been complied with, viz. :—Clay Cross Railway (Abandonment) Bill; Croydon Gas Bill; Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill; Sunderland and South Shields Water Bill.
Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 1293

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 63 COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 63 has been complied with, viz. :—Aylesbury Gas Bill Dublin United Tramways Bill; Hitchin and District Gas Bill.
Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 1294

PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for additional Provision in the following Bill, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—Liverpool Corporation Bill.
Ordered That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 1294

Aberdare Tramways Bill.—Accrington Corporation Bill; Accrington District Gas and Water Board Bill; Acton Sewage Bill; Birmingham Corporation Bill; Bolton Corporation Bill; Bootle Corporation Bill; Colne Corporation Bill; Croydon Corporation Bill; Dublin Corporation (Superannuation) Bill; Halifax Corporation Bill; Ilfracombe Harbour and Improvement Bill; Liverpool Corporation Bill. Read a second time, and committed 1294

London Building Acts (Amendment) Bill.—London County Council (General Powers) Bill; London County Council (Tramways) Bill. To be read a second time to-morrow 1294

London Gas Bill.—Loughborough Corporation Bill; North Sussex Gas Bill; Sale of Bread (London) Bill; Skegness Water Bill; Stockport Corporation Bill; Swansea Corporation Bill. Read a second time, and committed .. 1294

Highland Railway Bill.—" To extend the time for the completion of certain railways authorised by The Highland Railway (Additional Powers) Act, 1897, to enable the Highland Railway Company to provide and work steam and other vessels between Inverness and Fort Augustus; and to subscribe to the funds of Steamship Companies; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1295

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905-6.—Copy presented, of Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending 31st March, 1906, together with a Copy of the Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury relating thereto [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 64] 1295

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st February; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*] to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 58] 1295

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NATIONAL DEBT.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st February ; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 59] .. 1295

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st February ; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 60] 1295

ARMY (ORDNANCE FACTORIES) (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS).—Appropriation Account presented, of the sums granted by Parliament for the expense of the Ordnance Factories, the cost of the productions of which have been charged to the Army, Navy, and Indian and Colonial Governments, etc., and the Statement of the Surpluses and Deficits upon the Grants for the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 61] 1295

RUSSIA (No. 3, 1905).—Copy presented, of Despatch from the British Agent forwarding the Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on the North Sea Incident [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 1296

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.—Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Aberdeen for 1903–4 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 62] 1296

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.—Copy presented, of Abstract of Accounts of the University of Aberdeen for the year ending 15th September, 1904 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table ; and to be printed. [No. 63] 1296

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—Bridlington Piers and Harbour. Copy of abstract of the General Annual Account for the year ending 26th July, 1904 [by Act] 1296

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND) (INSPECTORS AND AUDITORS).—Return ordered, " up to the 31st day of December, 1904, showing the number of (1) Inspectors, temporary and permanent, and (2) Auditors, appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland from the 31st day of March, 1899, to that date, setting forth, in addition, the date of each appointment and the previous calling of each appointee." (*Mr. J. P. Farrell*) 1296

WINES IMPORTED.—Return ordered, " showing the quantity of Wines, at the various degrees of strength, which were imported into the United Kingdom in 1904 from Spain, Portugal, Madeira, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Australasia, and other countries (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 115, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Gibbs*) 1296

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND—SUGGESTED ROYAL COMMISSION.—Question, Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1297

SYSTEM OF ACCOUNTS OF NATIONAL EXPENDITURE—SUGGESTED ROYAL COMMISSION.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1297

MISSIONS IN BAHR-EL-GHAZEL.—Questions, Mr. James O'Kelly (Roscommon, N.) ; Answer, Earl Percy 1297

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SOMALILAND FIELD FORCE.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1298

SHIPPING SEAMEN'S ACT, 1903 (New Zealand).—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1298

GERMAN TREATMENT OF BRITISH SHIPPING TRADING WITH THE MARSHALL ISLANDS.—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton .. 1299

SELF GOVERNMENT FOR THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1299

COST OF DEFENCES OF HALIFAX AND ESQUIMALT—REPAYMENT BY CANADA.—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1299

DECLINE OF NATIVE POPULATION IN UGANDA.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1300

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Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order made by one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State under The Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, relating to lands in the parishes of Erith and Barking," presented by Mr. Cochrane; supported by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas; read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 59] 1345

Congested Districts (Scotland) Act (1897) Amendment Bill.—"To amend the provisions of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897, as to the application of the fund constituted by the Act; and for other purposes," presented by Mr. Ainsworth; supported by Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Cathcart Wason, Mr. Weir, and Mr. Harmsworth; to be read a second time upon Monday next and to be printed. [Bill 60] 1346

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Acts Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Acts relating to Crofter Holdings in Scotland," presented by Mr. Ainsworth; supported by Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Cathcart Wason, Mr. Weir, and Mr. Harmsworth; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, March 7th, and to be printed. [Bill 61] 1346

School Board Electorate (Scotland) Bill.—"To admit to the School Board Electorate of Scotland persons entitled to vote for the county council election," presented by Mr. Weir; supported by Mr. Leveson-Gower, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Cathcart Wason, Mr. John Dewar, Sir Arthur Bignold, Mr. Harmsworth, and Mr. Caldwell; to be read a second time upon Thursday next, and to be printed. [Bill 62] 1346

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act (1886) Amendment Bill.—" To amend the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886," presented by Mr. Weir; supported by Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Leveson-Gower, Mr. Cathcart Wason, Sir Arthur Bignold, Mr. Harmsworth, Mr. Ainsworth, and Mr. Caldwell; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 63] .. 1346

Osborne Estate Act (1902) Amendment Bill.—" To amend the Osborne Estate Act, 1902, with respect to the purposes to which Osborne House may be devoted," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; supported by Lord Balcarres; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 64] 1346

Small Holders (Scotland) Bill.—" To amend the Law relating to the tenure of Small Holdings in Scotland, presented by Mr. Black; supported by Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Crombie, Mr. Weir, Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Eugene Wason, and Mr. Ainsworth; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd March, and to be printed. [Bill 65] 1346

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], " That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

" *Most Gracious Sovereign,*

" We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament. —(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Mr. Stevenson (*Suffolk, Eye*) 1347
Sir John Kennaway (*Devonshire, Honiton*) 1355

Amendment proposed—

" At the end of the Question, to add the words, ' but humbly represent to Your Majesty that, in view of the prevalent insecurity of life and property in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the inadequacy of the measures hitherto adopted, and the incontrovertible obligations incurred by this country and the other signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, the time has arrived when further steps should be taken for the purpose of placing the execution of reforms in those provinces in the hands of a governor or governors, or other officers, responsible to the Powers."—(*Mr. Stevenson.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there added."

Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice (*Wiltshire, Cricklade*) 1357
Mr. Bond (*Nottinghamshire, E.*) 1366
Mr. Hugh Law (*Donegal, W.*) 1367

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Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.) 1369
The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 1373
Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.) 1385
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1392

Question put and negatived.

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. Kearley (Devonport) 1396

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament." —(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Mr. Kearley (Devonport) 1399
Sir J. Dickson Poynder (Wiltshire, Chippenham) 1408

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that Your Majesty's Government in committing the country to the policy of the Brussels Sugar Convention have inflicted heavy losses upon trade, diminished employment of labour, enormously increased the cost of a necessary food to consumers, without any compensatory advantage ; and we humbly submit to Your Majesty that these evil results call for an immediate remedy ; and that the Convention should be denounced at the earliest possible moment.'" —(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir Walter Palmer (Salisbury) 1412
Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) 1418
Mr. J. Chamberlain (Birmingham, W.) 1424

And, it being Midnight, the debate stood adjourne

Debate to be resumed to-morrow

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve o'cloc

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 28TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies [H.L.]; Southend and Colchester Light Railways [H.L.]; County of London Electric Supply Company [H.L.]; Dearne Valley Railway [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1441

BARRYMORE ESTATE.—Petition of the right hon. Arthur Hugh Baron Barrymore, praying leave to introduce a Bill "To enable the Baron Barrymore to restore certain forfeited leases in the town of Tipperary, and for other purposes;" together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto; read, and referred to the Examiners 1441

Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution) Bill [H.L.].—Presented and read 1^a .. 1441

Cardiff Railway Bill [H.L.].—Read 2^a; and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1441

Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment) Bill.—Read 2^a; and committed 1441

Rhymney Railway Bill [H.L.]; Commercial Union Assurance Bill [H.L.]; Clyde Navigation Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 1441

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION.—Fifty-seventh Report from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England; with an Appendix. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1441

PIERS AND HARBOURS (PROVISIONAL ORDERS).—Report by the Board of Trade of their proceedings under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, and the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, Amendment Act. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1442

Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site) Bill [H.L.].—Report from His Majesty's Attorney-General received, and ordered to lie on the Table .. 1442

Street Betting Bill [H.L.]. [SECOND READING.]—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Davey 1442

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*Lord Davey.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Congested Districts (Scotland) Bill [H.L.].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Secretary for Scotland (The Marquess of Linlithgow) 1443

Moved, that the Bill be now read 2^a.—(*The Marquess of Linlithgow.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

Reserve Forces Bill.—House in Committee (according to order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Bill reported without Amendment.

The Under Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) .. 1444

Moved, "That the Standing Committee be negatived."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore*).

On Question, Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five o'clock, to Thursday next half-past Ten o'clock

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HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 28TH FEBRUARY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 63 COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 63 has been complied with, viz.:—Great Berkhampstead Gas Bill; Norwich Union Life Insurance Society Bill; South Oxfordshire Water and Gas Bill.
Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time 1445

Metropolitan Pneumatic Despatch Bill; Morley Corporation Bill (by Order); Rhondda Urban District Council Bill (by Order), Otley Gas and Improvement Bill (by Order). Read a second time, and committed 1445

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee:—

1. "That, in the case of the Heckmondwike Improvement, Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill, provided that Clauses 10 and 11, and so much of the Preamble as relates thereto, be struck out of the Bill. That the Committee on the Bill do report how far such Order has been complied with."

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2. "That, in the case of the Wigan Corporation, Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill, provided that the powers to construct Tramway No. 2 be struck out of the Bill, unless the consent of the Aspull Urban District Council be proved before the Committee on the Bill. That the Committee on the Bill do report how far such Order has been complied with."

3. "That, in the case of the Coventry Electric Tramways, Petition for Bill the parties have stated their intention not to proceed with their Bill."

First Two Resolutions agreed to.

Report to lie upon the Table 1445

PETITIONS.

Deorikar, Kesho Rao Balvant.—Petition of Kesho Rao Balvant Deorikar, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table 1446

Illegitimate Births in Worhkouses.—Petition from Bradfield, for legislation; to lie upon the Table 1446

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

British Museum.—Petition of the Trustees of the British Museum (King's Recommendation signified), for grant in aid; to lie upon the Table 1446

Ecclesiastical Commission.—Copy presented, of Fifty-seventh Report from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, with an Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1446

Prisons (Scotland).—Copy presented, of Rule made by the Secretary for Scotland as to the appointment of Visiting Committees to the Prisons at Barlinnie, Perth, and Peterhead [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 67.] 1447

Agricultural and Technical Instruction Schemes (Ireland). Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th June 1904: *Mr. Sullivan*]; to lie upon the Table 1447

Piers and Harbours (Provisional Orders).—Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade of their Proceedings under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, and the General Pier and Harbour Act (1861) Amendment Act, Session 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 68.] 1447

Treaty Series (No. 5, 1905).—Copy presented, of Convention between the United Kingdom and France respecting Newfoundland and West and Central Africa. Signed at London, 8th April, 1904. Ratifications exchanged at London, 8th December, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1447

Treaty Series (No. 6, 1905).—Copy presented, of Declaration between the United Kingdom and France respecting Egypt and Morocco. Signed at London, 8th April, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1448

TREATY SERIES, (No. 7, 1905).—Copy presented, of Declaration between the United Kingdom and France concerning Siam, Madagascar, and the New Hebrides. Signed at London, 8th April, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1448

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1904-5).—Estimate presented of the Further Amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1905, for the Irish Land Commission [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 69.] 1448

DEER FORESTS (HIGHLAND CROFTING COUNTIES).—Return ordered, "giving the name of each Deer Forest in the six Highland Crofting Counties, the amount of its assessment, its acreage for the years 1883, 1898, and 1904, and showing the increase or decrease in the acreage between the years 1898 and 1904, in the following form :—

County.	Name of Deer Forest.	Assessment.	Acreage, 1883.	Acreage, 1898.	Acreage, 1904.	Between 1898 and 1904—		Remarks.
						Increase.	Decrease.	

—(*Mr. Weir.*) 1448

REVENUE (COLLECTION OF TAXES). Return ordered, "showing for each of the three Kingdoms (1) the amount charged for Income Tax, Land Tax, and Inhabited House Duty for the financial years 1903, 1904, 1905; and (2) the amounts and percentage of same collected in each country by the 31st day of January and the 28th day of February respectively in each of the said years."—(*Mr. M'Crae.*) 1447

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON LONDON TRAFFIC.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 1448

SALE OF SURPLUS DISCHARGED SOLDIERS' CLOTHING.—Question, Sir Edward Strachey (Somersetshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1449

CASE OF PRIVATE T. COUGHLAN, ROYAL DUBLIN FUSILIERS.—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1449

CHANGES NECESSITATED BY ADOPTION OF NEW GUNS.—Question, Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1450

BRIGADING OF HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY.—Question, Mr. Malcolm (Suffolk, Stowmarket); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1450

ABANDONMENT BY THE ADMIRALTY OF MINE FIELDS AND QUICK-FIRING BATTERIES.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1451

COST OF SENDING SEAMEN FROM UNITED KINGDOM TO THEIR HOMES ABROAD. —Question, Mr. Lawrence (Liverpool, Abercromby); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1451

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CHANNEL FLEET—SUGGESTED VISIT TO PORTREE.—Question, Mr. John Dewar (Inverness); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1452

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AUDIT OF IRISH PUBLIC ACCOUNTS—TRANSFER TO DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1453

IRISH POST OFFICE ACCOUNTS—TRANSFER TO DUBLIN.—Questions, Mr. Field; Answers, Lord Stanley 1453

PRINTING OF IRISH POST OFFICE DOCUMENTS ON IRISH PAPER IN DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Lord Stanley 1454

DELAY IN BELFAST TO LONDONDERRY TELEPHONE EXTENSION.—Question, Mr. O'Doherty; Answer, Lord Stanley 1454

REDUCTION OF TRUNK TELEPHONE CHARGE.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1455

POST OFFICE—PROMOTION OF SECOND CLASS ENGINEERS.—Question, Mr. Schwann; Answer, Lord Stanley 1455

POST OFFICE WAGES COMMITTEE—ALLEGED FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH TERMS OF REFERENCE.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe); Answer, Lord Stanley 1486

INSPECTION OF MEAT.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1457

ARSENICAL POISONING—ADOPTION OF THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.—Question, Sir Cuthbert Quilter (Suffolk, Sudbury); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1458

AGRICULTURAL RATING BILL—DATE OF INTRODUCTION.—Question, Sir Walter Thorburn (Peebles and Selkirk); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1458

DEATH CERTIFICATES FOR MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES —ASSIMILATION OF CHARGES.—Question, Colonel Sadler (Middlesbrough); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1458

CASE OF MR. JOHN GODDEN.—Question, Mr. Ernest Flower (Bradford, W.); Answer, Earl Percy 1459

PRICE OF SUGAR IN GREAT BRITAIN, ARGENTINA AND THE CONTINENT.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour .. 1459

SUGAR IMPORTS.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour .. 1460

WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF BEET AND CANE SUGAR.—Question, Mr. Partington (Derbyshire, High Peak); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1461

ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH AS SCHOOLS ATTENDANCES.—Question, Mr. Frederick Wilson (Norfolk, Mid.); Answer, Sir William Anson 1461

BISHOP'S STORTFORD COLLEGE—DISMISSAL OF MR. KITCHENER.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Sir William Anson 1462

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CLOSING OF COOPERS HILL COLLEGE—INSTRUCTIONS FOR INDIAN FOREST SERVICE.—Question, Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1465

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SELECTION (UNOPPOSED BILL COMMITTEE) (PANEL).—Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had selected the following eight Members to be the Panel to serve on Unopposed Bill Committees under Standing Order No. 109:—Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Carvill, Mr. H. D. Greene, Mr. Paulton, Mr. Parker Smith, Mr. Worsley-Taylor, Mr. Crombie, and Mr. Bousfield. 1492

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES) (CHAIRMEN'S PANEL).—Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had selected the following six Members to be the Chairmen's Panel and to serve as Chairmen of the two Standing Committees to be appointed under Standing Order No. 49:—Mr. John Ellis, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Sir James Ferguson, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Mr. Laurence Hardy, and Mr. Stuart-Wortley 1492

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899) (COMMISSIONERS).—Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection That in pursuance of the provisions of The Private Legislation Procedur (Scotland) Act, 1899, they had selected the following fifteen Members to form the Parliamentary Panel of Members of this House to act as Commissioners:—Mr. Charles Hobhouse, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. A. K. Loyd, Mr. McCrae, Mr. William Maxwell, Mr. Pym, Mr. Parker Smith, Sir Walter Thorburn, Sir John Tuke, Mr. Levy, Mr. James Reid, Mr. Eugene Wason, Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk), Mr. Wylie, and Mr. Charles Douglas 1493

Report to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law relating to the falsification of Seamen's and Soldiers' Certificates of Service or Discharge, and to false statements made, used, or given in connection with Entry or Enlistment into His Majesty's Naval, Militiary, or Marine Forces." [Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [Lords.]] 1493

NEW BILLS.

Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment Bill.—"To amend the Merchant Shipping Acts, 1894 to 1900," presented by Mr. Louis Sinclair; supported by Sir Frederick Carne Rasch; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed [Bill 67] 1493

Minister of Commerce and Industry Bill.—"To establish a Bureau for a Minister of Commerce and Industry," presented by Mr. Louis Sinclair; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed [Bill 68] .. 1493

Trawlers' Certificates Suspension Bill.—"To enable Courts to suspend the Certificates of Trawlers convicted of illegal trawling," presented by Mr. Weir; supported by Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Leveson-Gower, Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Harmsworth, Sir Arthur Bignold, Mr. Cathcart Wason and Mr. Black; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, March 8th, and to be printed. [Bill 69] 1494

Closing of Licensed Premises (Christmas Day) (Ireland) Bill.—"To amend the Law as to the hours of closing of Licensed Premises on Christmas Day in Ireland," presented by Mr. Nannetti; supported by Mr. Harrington, Mr. Mooney, Mr. Field, Mr. Charles Devlin, Mr. Sloan, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Crean, Mr. Waldron, Mr. O'Mara and Mr. John Gordon; to be read a second time upon Monday, March 20th, and to be printed. [Bill 70] 1494

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [February 27th] to Main Question [February 14], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

> "At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that Your Majesty's Government in committing the country to the policy of the Brussels Sugar Convention have indicted heavy losses upon trade, diminished employment of labour, enormously increased the cost of a necessary food to consumers, without any compensatory advantage; and we humbly submit to Your Majesty that these evil results call for an immediate remedy; and that the Convention should be denounced at the earliest possible moment.'" —(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*) 1495
Mr. Lawrence (*Liverpool, Abercromby*) 1503
Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) 1507
Sir Walter Thorburn (*Peebles and Selkirk*) 1511
Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) 1515
The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (*Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars*) 1521
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 1533
Mr. David Morgan (*Essex, Walthamstow*) 1543
Sir James Joicey (*Durham, Barnard Castle*) 1544
Mr. James Reid (*Greenock*) 1548
Mr. Ashton (*Bedfordshire, Luton*) 1550

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [27th February] to Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

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Mr. Ashton 1552
Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore (*Lincolnshire, Gainsborough*) 1556
Mr. Crooks (*Woolwich*) 1560
Mr. Louis Sinclair (*Essex, Romford*) 1562
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 1564
The President of the Board of Trade (*Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central*) 1750
Mr. Runciman (*Dewsbury*) 1579

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Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 211; Noes, 256. (Division List No. 10.)

Main Question again proposed.

Debate arising; and, it being after Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

REPORTED RESIGNATION OF MR. WYNDHAM.—Questions, Mr. Runciman and Mr. Winston Churchill; Answer, Sir A. Acland Hood 1586

Adjourned at twelve minutes after Twelve o'clock.

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An Asterisk ( ) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION)

IN THE

SIXTH SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, IN THE
FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 14th February, 1905.

BLACK ROD.

The LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN acquainted the House "That His Majesty had appointed Admiral Sir Henry Frederick Stephenson, K.C.B., G.C.V.O., to be Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in the room of General Sir Michael Anthony Shrapnel Biddulph, G.C.B., deceased, and that he was at the door ready to receive their Lordships' commands"; whereupon the House directed he should be called in; accordingly he was called in and officiated in his place.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

THE KING, being seated on the Throne, and the Commons being at the Bar with their Speaker, His Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, and then retired.

His Majesty's Speech was as follows:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,

My relations with foreign Powers continue to be of a friendly description.

It gave Me particular satisfaction to receive as My guests during the past autumn the King and Queen of Portugal, a country which has for centuries been connected with Great Britain by ties of the closest friendship.

The war which has been in progress since February last between Russia and Japan unhappily continues. My Government have been careful to observe in the strictest manner the obligations incumbent upon a neutral Power.

The condition of the Balkan Peninsula continues to give cause for anxiety. The measures adopted at the instance of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Governments have been instrumental in bringing about some amelioration of the state of the disturbed districts. Progress has notably been made in the reorganisation of the *gendarmerie*, to which officers belonging to My Army have contributed valuable assistance. These measures have still to be supplemented by radical reforms, especially of the financial system, before any permanent improvements can be effected in the administration of these provinces of the Turkish Empire. I note with satisfaction that the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Governments have lately addressed to the Porte proposals for this purpose. My Government is in communication with those of the other Powers mainly concerned upon this important subject.

The Convention entered into between My Government and that of the French Republic for the amicable settlement of questions involving the interests of both countries has been approved by the French Legislature and duly ratified. It will, I believe, operate in a manner advantageous to both countries, while it cannot fail to strengthen the friendly relations which so happily subsist between them.

Agreements, under which international questions of a certain class will be referred to arbitration, have been concluded between My Government and the Governments of Sweden and Norway, Portugal, and Switzerland.

My Government has also come to an Agreement with that of Russia under which an International Commission of Inquiry, assembled in comformity with the principles of The Hague Convention of 1899, has been entrusted with the duty of investigating the circumstances connected with the disaster to British trawlers which resulted from the action of the Russian fleet in the North Sea; and of apportioning the responsibility for this deplorable incident.

The steps to be taken for establishing a Representative Constitution in the Transvaal are receiving the earnest consideration of My Government and of those administering the Colony, and will, I hope, result in substantial progress towards the ultimate goal of complete self-government.

An Agreement, the provisions of which are calculated to place the relations of the Tibetan Government and the Government of India on a satisfactory footing, was concluded at Lhasa on the 7th September. The great difficulties which the Mission encountered were brilliantly surmounted by the civil and military authorities responsible for its conduct.

The Chinese Government have sent a Commissioner to Calcutta to negotiate a Convention of Adhesion on their part to the Agreement with the Tibetan Government. Papers on the subject have been laid before you.

The Amir of Afghanistan has sent his son, the Sirdar Inayatulla, to pay a complimentary visit to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Calcutta, and a high officer of the Government of India has been deputed to Cabul to discuss with His Highness the Amir questions affecting the relations of the two Governments.

A situation has arisen connected with the administration of the property belonging to certain ecclesiastical bodies in Scotland which requires legislative intervention. With a view to the wise consideration of such a measure I have appointed Commissioners, who are engaged in making an inquiry into all the circumstances of the case, and whose Report may enable you to frame such proposals as will, I trust, tend to the efficient administration of ecclesiastical funds, and the promotion of peace and goodwill.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The Estimates for the service of the ensuing year will be laid before you. They have been framed with the utmost economy which the circumstances of the present time admit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your attention will be directed to proposals for diminishing the anomalies in the present arrangement of electoral areas which are largely due to the growth and movement of population in recent years.

A Bill to mitigate the evils arising out of alien immigration into the United Kingdom will be laid before you.

Legislation will be submitted to you for the establishment of authorities to deal with the question of the unemployed. I have noticed, with profound regret and sympathy, the abnormal distress which has been caused by the want of employment during the present winter. Arrangements of a temporary character have been made to meet the difficulty, but it is expedient now to provide machinery for this purpose of a more permanent character.

You have already partially considered provisions for amending the laws relating to Education in Scotland. They will again be brought before you.

A Bill to amend and extend the Workmen's Compensation Acts will be submitted for your consideration.

Proposals for improving the *status* of the Local Government Board and the Board of Trade, and for establishing a Minister of Commerce and Industry, will be laid before you.

Bills will also be introduced for amending the law with respect to Valuation Authorities, and the procedure for making Valuations; for consolidating the enactments relating to Naval Prize of War; for amending the law relating to the notification of industrial accidents; for the renewal of the Agricultural Rates Acts and other temporary Acts affecting certain classes of ratepayers; for the prevention of the adulteration of butter; and for the amendment of the law with regard to cases stated for the Court of Crown Cases reserved.

I pray that Providence may guide all your deliberations for the good of My people.

SAT FIRST.

The Earl of Hardwicke sat first in Parliament after the death of his nephew.

The Viscount Ridley sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

The Lord Ranfurly (*E. Ranfurly*) took the oath.

Watkin Herbert Lord Bishop of Bangor was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Lord Clinton sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

Garter King of Arms attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Sixth Session of the Twenty-seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom. The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, *pro formâ*, read 1ª.

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

*THE MARQUESS OF WINCHESTER: My Lords, I rise to move that an humble Address be presented to His Majesty in reply to the gracious Speech from the Throne. Happily, the paragraph which we always look forward to at the commencement of the gracious Speech appears again this year—"My relations with foreign Powers continue to be of a friendly description." However familiar that paragraph may be, it is nevertheless received by the people of this great Empire with heartfelt thankfulness. The recent visit of their Majesties the King and Queen of Portugal to this country has been another guarantee of the friendly relations which have long subsisted between that kingdom and the people of this country.

The great struggle which is now entering into its second year of existence in the Far East has occupied the attention of all. There was a time when the early successes of our ally Japan were described as being the results of a combination of fanaticism and civilisation. I think the recent history of the war has shown that there is nothing of fanaticism about it, and that it is the outcome of an altruistic spirit, possessed by the Japanese in a more than common degree. Their general treatment of the negotiations which preceded the war, and of those prisoners of war who have fallen into their hands, has been of such a nature as to commend itself to the civilised nations of the world. I think the alliance which this country made with Japan has been largely instrumental in keeping the peace of the world and in securing the integrity of the Chinese Empire during this great struggle. During the time that the war has been in operation the responsibility of a neutral Power has been the chief thing to occupy the attention of His Majesty's Ministers. At the commencement of the war, you will remember, Russia applied rather wide terms to articles contraband of war, especially in the case of coal, which were not strictly in accordance with the views held by His Majesty's Government, who preferred to accept the interpretations contained in the Treaty of Paris rather than the wider terms which the Russian Government proposed. My Lords, there never can be any question of mediation by the Powers in this great struggle, however much we may deplore the sacrifice and loss of life, so long as it is not desired by either of the belligerents.

The condition of the Balkan Peninsula has so often occupied the attention of this House, and has been so ably dealt with on many occasions by noble Lords who have had peculiar facilities for becoming well versed in this question, that I feel I should weary your Lordships in traversing the ground again; but I should like to say a few words with reference to the recent Agreement made between Austria and Russia. Your Lordships may remember that in 1902 Count Lamsdorff visited Vienna, and as a result of that visit we had what was known as the Vienna Programme. This did not, however, produce the results that it was hoped it would produce, for in the spring of 1903 there was a serious rising of the insurgents and rather harsh treatment of them by the Turkish troops, which led to several debates in this Chamber. After that Russia and Austria came to an agreement which is known as the Mürzsteg Agreement. This has entailed the appointment of a Russian and an Austrian official, whose duty it is to accompany the Inspector-General whereever he goes, and report upon the working of the reforms generally throughout the country. Although this scheme has not, perhaps, met with the entire success which the framers of it desired, there has been, owing to the division of the country into districts and the action of the officers of the *gendarmerie*, considerable amelioration in the treatment of these unhappy people. An especially satisfactory feature, so far as this country is concerned, is that the Province of Djama, which is under the able direction of Colonel Fairholme, late Military Attaché to the Court of Vienna, is in a much more satisfactory condition than it has been before.

I turn from this well-worn topic to the paragraph in the gracious Speech with reference to the establishment of a representative Constitution in the Transvaal. Your Lordships will agree with me that that is a very difficult question to solve, and one which must be approached with the very greatest care. The immediate establishment of representative government is not the view held by His Majesty's Ministers. There are precedents for various forms of government in South Africa. There is the form of an elective majority subject to an executive veto, which existed in the Cape in the early fifties, and from then to 1872, and afterwards the same system existed in Natal. It may not be the easiest form of government, perhaps, but it has this great advantage, that it does bring the people forward to express their views, and thereby it enables those who are charged with the maintenance of the Government of the country to see both sides of the question.

I turn to what concerns the Government of India. It has always been the policy of His Majesty's Government to maintain friendly relations with neighbouring States on the Indian frontier, and in this connection I am sure it is a great satisfaction to see that the Amir of Afghanistan has sent his son, the Sirdah Inayatulla, to Calcutta, and that His Highness has permitted a visit to be paid him at Cabul by an experienced officer of the Government of India to discuss questions affecting the relations of the two Governments. We hope that this will result in a continuance of those neighbourly relations which have existed with the State of Afghanistan in the past.

The question of alien immigration will again occupy the attention of Parliament during the coming session. The question is a far-reaching one. As your Lordships know, it occupied the attention of a Special Committee as long ago as 1888, and that Committee reported in 1889. I think it will be within your Lordships' recollection that the late Marquess of Salisbury introduced legislation into this House, I think in 1894, dealing with the subject. That Bill, however, did not get very far. In 1898 the Unionist Government again introduced legislation on this subject, and in 1903 they appointed a Royal Commission, presided over by the noble and learned Lord who sits below me, to inquire into it. It may strike some noble Lords who can trace their lineage back to the landing of William the Conqueror as somewhat strange to find that they have been regarded by that

Commission as interloping aliens, for I find on the first page—

> "The alien immigrant is no newcomer to this country. Following the Norman Conquest many foreigners sought a home here."

Nevertheless, my Lords, those of us who are satisfied that our lineage carries us back to that far-off day, will derive some comfort from finding that we are not described as either criminal or undesirable. Those who represent constituencies in this country which are pressed in the fields of the lower forms of industry, find that the competition of alien immigrants does affect them very seriously. In districts in the East End of London, and in some of our larger cities, the alien immigrant is found in large and ever-increasing numbers. I know that this is a question which raises many issues, and it has raised the issue to which I have just referred, as to who are desirable immigrants and who are not. The proposals of the Government will be limited to that class of aliens who are refused admission into the United States because they are paupers, and are landed on the first piece of land at which the ship touches, and that is in all probability this country. We have the evidence of His Majesty's Judges and of police magistrates that the criminal alien is a thoroughly undesirable person, and I trust that the Bill which His Majesty's Government will introduce for the consideration of Parliament, and which will deal with this class of alien, will receive your earnest consideration.

The question of the unemployed must, I think, interest all. It is one which is not confined entirely to this country. Other countries — America and Germany especially—have their unemployed problem, and I believe they are carefully watching the working of the scheme which was started this year by the President of the Local Government Board with a view to ameliorating the position of those who, unfortunately, are unable to find employment. The position of the pauper is this. He is not born to pauperism. He becomes a pauper owing, possibly, to long periods of frost or trade depression, which make it impossible for him to obtain work. He gradually sinks lower and lower in the social scale until he becomes what may be called the flotsam and jetsam of a great city, drifting here and there, but unable to obtain any work, and almost unable to do any when he obtains it. The great thing is to have some machinery by means of which these men can be prevented from falling into that deplorable position, and I think the constitution of a Central Committee in London, composed of representatives of the various boroughs together with representatives of certain charitable organisations, has done untold good for the case of the unemployed.

Perhaps it might interest your Lordships to hear my own personal experience of employing these unfortunate people. In order to relieve the great pressure which existed in Southampton among the unemployed, I took some twenty men from the Church Army for the purpose of afforestation and other estate work. These men, by the way in which they have attended to their work and the willingness with which they have carried it out, have more than recompensed me for the little I was able to do for them. Their condition immediately improved. They came in a ragged and shoeless condition, and although they have only been working there since the beginning of January, they look quite as well as any of the ordinary employees on my estate, who, I think, enjoy always regular work and good wages. Moreover, these men have done everything in their power to rehabilitate themselves as citizens. The money which they have earned has been spent in clothing themselves properly, and they have also, I am glad to say, so far as the drink question is concerned, behaved in a most exemplary manner. I have had no trouble at all with them. They have lodged in the cottages, and the cottagers themselves speak very highly of them. The unemployed question is a very difficult one, and I am afraid we shall frequently have to face it during severe winters. Therefore, I trust that the appointment by the President of the Local Government Board of a Central Committee will prove to be a permanent piece of machinery, inestimable in its advantages to this class.

A Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act will be presented. The Act has been in force for some years now and has proved of great value to the working classes, but owing to certain litigation which has arisen it is necessary that various Amendments should be made, and this is the reason why a Bill is to be presented again this session dealing with this subject. Proposals for improving the *status* of the Local Government Board and the Board of Trade and for establishing a Minister of Commerce and Industry will be laid before you, but I do not intend to trouble your Lordships with any remarks upon these proposals. There will also be a Bill to amend the law with respect to valuation authorities and the procedure for making valuations. At the present time, as your Lordships are aware, there are various bodies dealing with assessments in this country. There is the borough council, the county council, and the board of guardians. The idea is that this work should be under one authority, so as to secure equality of assessments of property. The renewal of the Agricultural Rates Act is merely the renewal of a measure with which your Lordships are thoroughly acquainted, and which needs no words of explanation from me.

The proposal for the amendment of the law with regard to cases stated for the Court of Crown Cases Reserved is the result of an unfortunate case which attracted considerable attention recently and which was one of the saddest we have ever read. As a result of that case a Bill will be presented which will enable a Court to reverse the decisions of a Judge if he has refused to state a case. I could not commence my speech this evening with the plea for indulgence which is usual on these occasions on the ground of addressing your Lordships for the first time, for I had forfeited my "maiden allowance" by advocating a policy which I know does not meet with the approval of noble Lords opposite, but I am sure the House will accept my most sincere thanks for the reception which they have given to me, and for the indulgence with which my remarks have been listened to. I beg to move.

***LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE:** My Lords, I must preface my remarks by craving to the fullest extent that kind indulgence which your Lordships invariably extend on these occasions to those to whom has been entrusted the honourable but somewhat onerous task of moving and seconding the Address in reply to the gracious Speech from the Throne. Your Lordships will have observed with satisfaction that the Chinese Government have sent a Commissioner to Calcutta to negotiate a Convention of Adhesion on their part to the Agreement with Tibet, which was concluded at Lhasa in September. My Lords, it was only owing to the action of the Tibetans in disregarding their obligations under the Convention of 1890 and the Trade Regulations of 1893, in treating the Government of India with studied insolence by repeated delays, and in refusing to send Ambassadors of sufficient importance to treat with the Commissioner who had been appointed to regulate the matter, that His Majesty's Government determined towards the end of 1903 to send a Mission to Gyangtze, which Mission, as your Lordships are well aware, was forced eventually to proceed to Lhasa.

This expedition naturally created much interest in the public mind. It was felt that this was not a mere frontier war in which we were engaging to punish some marauding tribe. It was something much more serious and much more wonderful than that. It was a journey into an unknown land, into Tibet the Mystic, the Mysterious, of which strange travellers' tales were told, but of which little or nothing was known with certainty. It was a visit to be paid to the Grand Lama in his palace fortress to convince his ignorant and superstitious followers that not even a Buddha re-incarnate could resist the power of Britain. My Lords, we followed with intense interest the steps of our soldiers as they crossed the snow-clad passes of the forbidden land. We saw them attacked and attacked again, and, ever victorious, pursuing their way till the goal was reached, and Lhasa, the Unknown, the Holy City, lay before them.

The description, my Lords, reads like a page from some fairy tale. The hill rising abruptly from the plain whereon stands the mighty Palace of the Potolah, a gigantic pile with its innumerable windows, its countless terraces, rising tier above tier; its golden cupolas, gleaming in the Eastern sun, while its yellow-robed monks flit peacefully to and fro murmuring their ceaseless prayer. For six short weeks our newspapers teemed with accounts of the strange city, hitherto unknown to Europeans, and then, my Lords, His Majesty's Government decided that the curtain which they had raised must be dropped again, and Lhasa sank back into the darkness in which she has been enveloped for centuries. But in the meantime, my Lords, the objects of the expedition had been gained, and the Tibetans have learnt that England will not allow solemn obligations to be lightly disregarded, and that she has the power, as well as the will, if she deems it necessary, to take steps to enforce them. And, my Lords, the world at large has learnt that while England insists that others should be bound by their obligations, she is equally ready herself to abide by the undertaking she has given. She has not taken advantage of her unique position at Lhasa to alter by one jot or one tittle the conditions that were laid down when His Majesty's Government sanctioned the expedition in November, 1903, when it was said—

> "As soon as reparation is obtained, the Mission will be withdrawn."

And this was further emphasised by the noble Marquess the Leader of the House, a few days later, for the benefit of the Russian Ambassador in these words—

> "I had therefore wished that His Excellency should be able to explain that the measures we were taking did not denote any intention on our part to occupy or annex territory."

And apart from all this, my Lords, we must not forget the new page of glory which has been added to the annals of the Army in India by the bravery and endurance shown by the gallant troops under the command of General Macdonald.

I cannot pass from this subject without rendering homage to the consummate skill with which the arduous work of concluding the Agreement with the Tibetans was conducted by Sir Frank Younghusband. The safety of the Mission depended on its departure from Lhasa in time to regain India before its way was blocked by the winter snows, and in the short time at his disposal he had, in the absence of the Grand Lama, who had fled, to deal with disorganised and superstitious officials, who would only treat with him on certain propitious days, and whose views as to the best manner to raise the money required to pay the indemnity demanded were not such as would recommend themselves to the highest financial authorities in this country. Yet, in spite of these difficulties, he managed to remain on the best possible terms with Government and people of Tibet alike, and to conclude an Agreement whose only fault appears to be that it is too favourable to England. But, my Lords, if we heave a sigh of regret that His Majesty's Government have decided that Lhasa is still outside the sphere of British influence, and that the Chumbi Valley is not to remain permanently in our possession, let us be proud of the fact that in spite of all temptations to the contrary, they determined to abide by the pledges they had given. And, my Lords, do not let us forget that if we abstain from interference in the internal affairs of Tibet, it is only on the condition that similar abstention is practised by other Powers, and that, should occasion arise, where Englishmen have been once, there they can go again.

Let me now, my Lords, turn to another subject. I think nothing shows more clearly the progress which has been made in the acceptation of the principle of arbitration than the Commission which is now sitting in Paris to inquire into the question of the terrible event which took place last autumn during the passage of the Russian Baltic Fleet through the North Sea, and to apportion the blame for the slaughter of British seamen and the destruction of British property. Rarely have the people of this country been so deeply moved as when the news of the disaster reached them; seldom have they shown more calm or self-restraint; and I think, my Lords, that His Majesty's Government will be the first to acknowledge that this calm and this self-restraint were of the greatest assistance to them in the very delicate negotiations which were so successfully carried on by the noble Marquess, and which fortunately resulted in a peaceful solution being found. And, my Lords, I think we may congratulate ourselves especially that this Commission is holding its sittings in Paris, under the presidency of a distinguished French Admiral. We all rejoice at everything which tends to improve and cement the good relations which now so happily exist between this country and the French Republic, and I am sure, my Lords, that we are all much gratified to learn from the gracious Speech that the Convention entered into between His Majesty's Government and that of the French Republic for the amicable settlement of questions involving the interests of both counties has been approved by the French Legislature and duly ratified.

My Lords, reference is made in the Speech from the Throne to the Commission which has been appointed, under the Presidency of Lord Elgin, to inquire whether legislation is necessary, and, if so, what that legislation should be, in the unhappy dispute which has arisen between two branches of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. I think noble Lords from beyond the Tweed will bear me out when I say that it is difficult for noble Lords not connected with Scotland to realise the consternation and surprise caused by the decision of your Lordships' House in that historic case. When some years ago the Free Church, by 643 votes against twenty-seven, decided to amalgamate with the United Presbyterian Church, I think most people considered that both bodies were heartily to be congratulated on a union which must effect economy and tend to efficiency, and which they believed must further the advancement of religion by diminishing the number of those unhappy divisions which unfortunately divide Christians in this country; they quite overlooked, however, a small but resolute body of men, represented by the minority of twenty-seven, who strenuously affirmed that the Free Church had no power to unite with a body holding the doctrines of the United Presbyterian Church. I fear, my Lords, that the majority attempted to ride rough-shod over these men, and that no compromise was suggested which would have allowed them to retain a reasonable portion of the funds of the Church. The consequence was that legal proceedings were instituted which, by a decision of your Lordships' House in a test case, proved that the minority was in the right, and that the whole funds of the Church belonged to them. We cannot but feel some sympathy and some admiration for these men who contended for what they held to be the faith delivered to their fathers, and who, with little money, fought an uphill battle from Court to Court, till at last it was crowned with success in your Lordships' House. But the position so created was intolerable. On the one hand, a whole Church driven penniless into the wilderness; on the other twenty-four ministers with scanty flocks, principally in the Highlands, in possession of over £1,000,000 in money, besides property valued at several millions more, scattered throughout the length and breadth of Scotland, from John o' Groats to Solway Firth. They have manses without ministers, churches without congregations, academical chairs without professors, colleges without students, missions without directors.

It is evident that some way out of the *impasse* must be found, and this the Commission is trying to do, if in the meantime the "Wee Kirk," as it is lovingly called by its adherents, does not cut the Gordian knot by removing the money in dispute beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts. But, my Lords, let us hope that the good sense and good feeling for which Scotsmen are noted will aid the Commission in finding a solution of the difficulty which will be honourable and satisfactory to both parties; and, as I have Scotch blood in my veins, may I express the hope that out of evil good may come, and that in the end we may not only see reconciliation between the two conflicting parties, but that some effort may be made for the reunion of both with the Church of Scotland, from which they have both sprung, with which both hold so much in common, and to which they both owe the establishment of the Presbyterian form of Government in Scotland, for which their forefathers, the Covenanters, were ready to sacrifice both their goods and their lives.

Whilst I am on the subject of Scotland, I should like to refer very briefly to the Bill which is to be re-introduced dealing with education in that country. Your Lordships are aware that satisfactory progress was made with it last year in another place, but time did not allow of its completion. It is really a complement to the Education Statute of 1902 for England and Wales, but fortunately in this Bill the *odium theologicum*, which played such a part in the discussion of that measure, will not be aroused, as Scotsmen, though they are keen theologians, are fortunately agreed as to the religious pabulum which it is desirable to give to their children. There is, therefore, every reason to hope that this measure, which will be of immense service to the cause of education in Scotland, may be passed into law this session.

Amongst the domestic legislation foreshadowed in the gracious Speech, I am glad to see that the place of honour is occupied by a Bill which is euphemistically termed "a proposal for diminishing the anomalies prevailing in the present arrangement of electoral areas, largely due to the growth and movement of population of late years." There is no Party in the country, my Lords, which ought not to rejoice at the announcement that this Bill is to be introduced, and, I trust, pressed forward till it is passed into law. It must appeal to noble Lords on this side of the House, because nearly every Unionist Member stands pledged to a measure which will, to a certain extent at least, remove the glaring anomalies which exist in our system of representation. I doubt not that it will appeal to noble Lords opposite, for it is an attempt to reduce into practice a catchword which is heard on every Liberal platform, "One vote, one value." I think it will appeal to them still more forcibly because they know that a Redistribution Bill is invariably postponed till a Parliament is well advanced in old age, and that if they assist the Government to the best of their ability to pass it into law, they may be hastening the day of that dissolution from which they expect so much. And, my Lords, if I may say a word for my native land, it appeals above all to every Irish Unionist. It would be in the highest degree unseemly were I, in the position I occupy to-night, to criticise the action of His Majesty's Government in that country; but this I may say, that the announcement of the introduction of this measure will be glad tidings to every loyal man in the sister isle, and we shall feel that when Ireland's representation is reduced to what is her proper number on the basis of population, there will be less temptation for either Party to court the Nationalist vote, or to play the fatal game of killing Home Rule with kindness.

My Lords, there is no subject to which more attention has been directed during the last twelve months, on which more speeches have been made, on which more pamphlets have been written, than that of the condition of the commerce and industries of this kingdom. I do not wish this evening even to approach the question of the respective merits and demerits of free imports and Protection, but there is an announcement in the gracious Speech which must gratify all who are interested in this great question, whatever may be their political views. It is the proposal to create a Minister of Commerce and Industry. For some time it has been considered desirable that the *status* of the Local Government Board and the Board of Trade should be improved with a view to convert these offices into offices of the first class, which at present they are not. Last year a Departmental Committee inquired into and reported on the subject, and as legislation is required to carry out its recommendations, it is proposed to introduce a Bill dealing with the subject. I do not think I am wrong in saying that this will probably secure the approval of your Lordships on both sides of the House.

My Lords, I must not detain you longer. The duty of the proposer and seconder of the Address is, if I may paraphrase the words of Doctor Pangloss, to declare that the best of all possible measures are being introduced by the best of all possible Governments. But on the present occasion I think these measures speak for themselves, and that they will commend themselves, not only to your Lordships' House, but to the sober, good sense of the people of this country. It only remains for me, my Lords, to thank you very heartily for the patience with which you have listened to me, and formally to second the Address.

*EARL SPENCER: My Lords, in commencing the somewhat difficult task that has always fallen to the person who stands in my position in this House, I will on this occasion follow precedent by referring to the speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address. The mover, if I may venture so to call him, is an old friend whom I have known in a very different sphere. If he has in this House the same valour, the same energy, the same independence which brought him always to the front where I knew him, your Lordships will find him a very interesting and useful fellow-member. The seconder of the Address not only used effectively his privilege as a representative of Ireland, but as one having some Scottish blood he has entered into one of the most difficult and intricate questions which have engaged the attention of the country for many years. I admired the noble Lord's courage; I admired the language and the grace of his speech, and I feel that he followed the traditions of many Irishmen in the way in which he put forward his views.

Coming to the King's Speech, I rejoice, like the noble Lord, in the customary first paragraph in which there has happily been only the trifling variation of one or two words for many years past. Nothing is more calculated to make us rejoice than the feeling that this country is in friendly relations with other nations. We all rejoice that the well-known hospitality of Their Majesties enabled a visit to be made to this country by the King and Queen of Portugal, a visit which will cement still further the ties between us and our ancient ally. The next paragraph of the gracious Speech refers to a subject of intensely painful interest. We have all watched for many months past the progress of the terrible war in the East, the losses at sea and the still greater losses occurring in collisions between mighty forces on land. I hardly know whether in the history of the world such enormous forces have ever been brought together. We lament that terrible war; we admire the courage, patriotism, and energy of those who have fought on both sides; but I am sure there is no more earnest desire among the people of this country at this moment than to see some prospect of an end to this terrible combat. I am quite aware of the difficulty and delicacy of any intervention in such a matter; but I trust His Majesty's Government will not lose any fair and proper opportunity which may occur with other Powers of trying to bring this conflict to a peaceful termination.

Whenever a great war like this occurs each belligerent is apt to take his own view as to belligerent rights and neutral rights. This war was no exception to that rule. Russia and Japan alike claimed certain rights; and it became necessary for the Government to see that our rights as neutrals, which are of enormous importance to us, having regard to our extensive commerce and the way in which it might be affected in any future war in which we might ourselves be engaged, were respected. I believe His Majesty's Government, under the guidance of the noble Marquess opposite, dealt with these subjects with firmness and at the same time with great prudence and patience. I venture to think he was able to secure for us the recognition of the rights claimed and to conduct extremely difficult negotiations without any rupture with other Powers.

I have read the paragraph referring to Macedonia in the gracious Speech with some disappointment. It contains a confession that very little has been done; and it seems to me almost a scandal that after so many years the Turkish Government has still been blind to its own interests and has not consented to bring into force changes and reforms so absolutely necessary in order to remove the grievances existing among the populations under their control and to restore and establish peace and order among them. The noble Marquess said last February that if the schemes then before us should fail to produce the desired results, His Majesty's Government reserved to themselves entire liberty to take into consideration and propose alternative and more far-reaching measures. I hope the noble Marquess will confirm this assurance now, and, in concert with other Powers, will bring pressure to bear on the Turkish Government and try to bring about some prompt and thorough reform in the government of Macedonia.

It is satisfactory to learn, and I read with great pleasure, that the French

Government have ratified the Convention between France and England. I heartily rejoice in that; and I sincerely trust that the difficulties which have existed for so many years between us, and which might at any moment have given rise to serious disagreement between us, will now be satisfactorily arranged, and that we shall enjoy that friendship which ought to exist between two great countries geographically placed so near each other, having so many interests in common, and having so many liberal and other views in which they are agreed. I notice with satisfaction that terms of arbitration have been settled with four other European Powers. I regret that, according to the public Press, there appear to been have difficulties in regard to the Convention with the United States. I hope there may have been exaggeration in what we have seen, and that possibly even now some arrangement may be come to whereby we may get the advantage of a Convention with that country.

I would refer in a very few words to what is called the North Sea incident. I do not think it would be desirable or proper to go into this matter in detail, because the whole question is now *sub judice*; but I may be allowed to say that I believe the Government have used their powers with the same prudence and patience in this matter as they did with regard to the difficulties connected with contraband; and that they have found a peaceable solution which may bring out all the facts and probably bring to a successful issue the whole matter.

Next I would refer to the passage in the Speech from the Throne relating to the Transvaal. I wish the Speech had given us more information, not only as to the proposals to which it refers as to the establishment of a representative constitution in the Transvaal, but also as to other matters of great importance in connection with South Africa. I think I am rightly representing the views of those with whom I generally act when I say that we attach enormous importance to getting, as soon as it can safely be done, that country under complete self-government. We do not know under the terms of the Speech what the Government proposals are, but we shall criticise them with care. The only curious thing I notice in the Speech with regard to this matter is that it refers to giving self-government to the Transvaal only. No mention whatever is made of the Orange Free State. That may be an involuntary omission; but the difficulties with regard to self-government, as far as I know, are far less in the Orange Free State than they are in the Transvaal. We are also most anxious to know how the Government in S. Africa are getting on in their work of putting back the people on to the farms. We further want to know the financial position in the Transvaal, and what is being done with regard to the large loans which were made during the time of the late Colonial Secretary. There is a certain £10,000,000 which was to be guaranteed or paid by the rich mine-owners of Johannesburg. We want to know what has been done about that, and when that sum is to be paid. These and other subjects, such as the number of troops that have been withdrawn from South Africa and the number of troops that remain there, are questions of great and material importance, which it will be necessary for Parliament to hear about before very long. On the question of Chinese labour, too, we shall certainly press for information as to how it has been carried out, and what has been the result of its introduction in the mines.

Now I come to the question of Tibet. I, of course, rejoice that the difficulties of our forces there have been overcome, and I join in admiration of the valour and perseverance of the soldiers who took part in the Mission. I also feel that the negotiations were carried out under enormous difficulties. Sir Frank Younghusband exceeded his instructions in many respects, but he did very fine work, and deserves our sincere thanks. In the despatches which have been submitted the Home Government blamed very seriously Sir Frank Younghusband in some particulars and praised him in others. Sir Frank Younghusband was placed in very great difficulties. He was directly instructed by the Government of India. We all know that that Government wanted to do a great deal more than the Secretary of State here did. I at once say that I believe it is of the utmost importance that any decision made by the Government and declared to be the policy of the Government should be adhered to. Sir Ernest Satow, our Minister at Peking, and our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, gave most specific assurances to the Chinese and Russian Governments as to what His Majesty's Government intended to do with regard to Tibet. His Majesty's Government most distinctly repudiated any notion of having an agent at Lhasa or of occupying permanently any of the territory of Tibet. But under the actual terms that were signed at Lhasa we practically were to occupy an important part of the country for seventy-five years. That was at once contrary both to the spirit and the letter of what the noble Marquess opposite stated; and for the sake of the public honour of this country it is absolutely indispensable that it should be laid down that the Home Government could not agree.

I still think that Sir Frank Younghusband may have been somewhat hardly treated, considering the enormous difficulties with which he had to contend, and the manner in which he overcame them. Knowing as he did the views of the Government of India, which directly gave him his instructions, I think that if anybody is to blame, it is rather the Government of India, who differed from the Home Government, than Sir Frank Younghusband. On this subject I have one more question I should like to ask. In His Majesty's Speech it is said that the Chinese Government have sent a Commissioner to Calcutta to negotiate a Convention of Adhesion on their part to the Treaty with Tibet. We should very much like to know what has happened about that. It is not stated that the Commissioner has arrived. There is another matter of considerable importance—namely, the question of Afghanistan. We do not know what the negotiations which are going on are, but we know that they may be of very great importance; and I hope that at the earliest possible date we shall have full Papers with regard to them.

Turning to the Scottish ecclesiastical question, it would be very improper for me to impugn the judgment of the highest Court of Appeal, but I do recognise that that judgment has had the most profound effect in Scotland, and stirred feeling to an enormous degree. It is absolutely necessary in some way to deal with the question, probably by an Act of Parliament; and I am glad that the Government have taken that view, and have appointed a Commission of Inquiry. I am afraid I must refer to other matters which are of considerable public importance. It is stated in His Majesty's Speech to another place that the Estimates "have been framed with the utmost economy which the circumstances of the present time admit." All I can say is that, whatever the circumstances have been, economy has not been the result. Moreover, we all know what "circumstances" mean, they mean the policy of the country, it is that which really influences and finally directs the financial requirements of the country. Of late years we have seen time after time a policy pursued which has led to gigantic expenditure, which has stopped many improvements, and has affected the country very greatly. It is curious that no allusion whatever is made in the Speech to the two branches of administration which have involved the greatest expense—the Navy and the Army.

With regard to the Navy we have had Papers showing us that very great changes have taken place, and the rumours go to show that it was hoped these changes will tend not only to greater efficiency, but also to greater economy. I sincerely trust that will be the case. The principles involved must be of supreme importance, and I am sure the noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty will fully answer questions hereafter.

The question of the Army is of even greater importance. Last year great changes in the Army were foreshadowed. Unfortunately, during the last few years we have had many changes in the Army, and schemes have been rushed into one after the other, several of which have been torn to ribbons. We know there has been enormous expenditure; and a great deal of this has been almost entirely thrown away owing to the change of principle on which the expenditures have been made. Some of the changes proposed last year were carried out, I believe, in the autumn. I refer to the proposal with regard to the term of enlistment, but we do not know yet how that worked out, although it is important. We ought to know whether that change has been effectual. But there are other changes of still greater moment which have stirred feeling in the country to the utmost—I mean radical changes with regard to the Auxiliary Forces, the Militia and Volunteers, as to which we do not know what is the position of the Government. It seems somewhat strange that these subjects should have found no place in the Speech, and certainly when the proper time comes we shall have to raise these questions.

As to the measures of legislation proposed, if an attempt is to be made to carry them, we must complain that the Government has not called Parliament together at an earlier time, for I believe the programme put forward would fill up even a longer time than has been occupied during the longest session we have had in modern days. With regard to alien immigration, I believe the evils have been grossly exaggerated. I believe it is a fact that, with the exception of Spain, the percentage of foreign aliens entering this country to population is lower than in any other country. There may be some slight competition between some of the aliens and some of our population in the Metropolis, but I believe it is a very trifling thing indeed. The Opposition were accused last year of having thrown out the Bill, but I maintain it was not the Opposition, but the Government. In the first place, the Government took the most unusual course of sending this controversial measure to a Grand Committee; and, secondly, when a compromise was proposed—namely, that the clause with regard to criminal and diseased aliens should be maintained—the Government rejected it. If the new measure is only framed to deal with the criminal and diseased aliens, or perhaps for strengthening the measures against sweating and overcrowding, there will be practically no difficulty. But if it is proposed to abolish what we consider one of the most sacred principles in this country, the right of asylum for political aliens flying from persecution abroad, then the Party to which I belong will, I am sure, give the most determined opposition to the proposal.

I am glad that the Government propose to deal with the very difficult subject of the unemployed. The increase in the number of unemployed in large towns and counties throughout the country is increasing, and unless this is dealt with by special means we may be face to face with a very grave question. I need hardly say that we in this House will give very careful attention, and, if necessary, assistance to the Government, in regard to any sound measure on this subject.

I notice one very curious measure. What is the meaning of the proposal to establish a Minister of Commerce and Industry? The Board of Trade, one of the most efficient and able of the Departments, deals with these two questions. Is the Board of Trade to be entirely suppressed or converted into a new Department? Will the new Minister take some of the work of the Local Government Board as well as that of the Board of Trade? The present Government are very fond of large Cabinets, although great authorities, I have always heard, rather denounce them; and the creation of a new office of great importance means that there will be a new Minister of Cabinet rank. On the subject of agricultural rating the views we hold are very well known; we feel that it ought to be dealt with in a broad and comprehensive spirit. I have always hoped that the subject might be dealt with somewhat on the lines laid down by the Commission presided over by Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

I now come to a very large subject—the proposals which the Government intend to make "for diminishing the anomalies in the present arrangement of electoral areas, which are largely due to the growth and movement of population in recent years." That, in Governmental language, is simply, as I understand it, what is popularly called a Redistribution Bill. No one will find the Party to which I belong in opposition to a just and comprehensive measure for this purpose. I quite agree that the great movement of population and other changes require legislation from time to time. But there are other matters—such as the question of the plurality of votes, better registration, and certain other subjects connected with the question—which in our opinion ought to be dealt with in any great measure of what amounts to Parliamentary Reform. What is it the Government propose to do? Do they propose to follow the precedent of 1885, when, before the redistribution measure was acted upon, Commissions were appointed to carry out the details in each constituency of the principles laid down in the general measure? That is absolutely essential. As far as I am concerned I shall oppose, with all the power I possess, the introduction at this moment of a Redistribution Bill. And why? Because, if it were carried, it would postpone till next year that appeal to the country which I think is at this moment indispensable. The agitation which has now been carried on for nearly two years by a very distinguished and eminent statesman, the late Colonial Secretary, has disturbed all the relations of those engaged in trade and commerce. If the measures which he proposes with regard to fiscal reform were passed and a new tariff were established, every trade would be effected and in the present position no one in trade knows what his position would be two or three years hence, or when these measures are passed.

I therefore say, with regard to the proposals of Mr. Chamberlain, it is indispensable that this doubt and uncertainty should be set at rest, and the only way in which that can be done is by an appeal to the country. The Prime Minister claims to be a free-trader and says he is not a protectionist, but I cannot help thinking that his views and sentiments are very nearly allied to those of Mr. Chamberlain, and that, with a very little time—and we have been told that time should be given for opinion to ripen on this subject—we might find the Prime Minister proposing measures which we should oppose as being inconsistent with free trade. For these reasons, then, I should strongly, and with the utmost determination, oppose the introduction of a measure which must prolong the life of the present Parliament and postpone the appeal to the country on this momentous question.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, my noble friends who moved and seconded the Address have received from the noble Earl opposite well-deserved congratulations with which we, on this side of the House, desire to associate ourselves. The noble mover, although he has been but a short time a Member of this House, has already addressed us on more than one occasion, and has got the ear of the House. The noble Lord who seconded belongs to that little phalanx of Irish Peers who contribute so much to the interest and animation of our debates, and to whom we always listen with pleasure even when we do not agree with them, and who have lately contributed to the Treasury Bench a recruit to whom no exception can possibly be taken. May I venture to repeat the often-expressed hope that neither of my noble friends, after their successful appearance this evening, will be content to resume that attitude of silence and self-effacement into which so many successful movers and seconders of the Address have, within my own recollection, relapsed?

We regard with deep feelings of compassion and concern the continuance of the war in the Far East. The noble Earl expressed the hope that His Majesty's Government would lose no opportunity of taking steps to bring that war to a close. I need not assure your Lordships that should that opportunity present itself we should avail ourselves of it with alacrity. On the other hand, I do not think your Lordships will differ from me when I say that ill-considered intervention is likely to be fraught with the worst possible results. It is not only that those who intervene run the risk of a rebuff—that is a comparatively small matter—but that such untimely interference may have the effect of retarding the very consummation which you desire to accelerate. Meanwhile it has been our duty, and we have endeavoured to observe it faithfully—to maintain for this country an attitude of the strictest and most impartial neutrality. I hope the Papers which we have lately laid on the Table of the House will convince your Lordships that we have not been unsuccessful in that respect.

Let me say, with regard to the most difficult and embarrassing question of contraband of war, that we have endeavoured to uphold what I believe to be the wise and time-honoured policy of this country and to obtain the narrowest possible restrictions of the definition of those articles which are liable to seizure as contraband. That I believe to be the wisest, I might almost say the only policy which a great peace-loving and commercial country like this can pursue; and I believe it to be a policy consonant with considerations of common sense and of humanity. It is, I think, satisfactory that during the progress of a protracted and anxious controversy, the record of which your Lordships will find in these Papers, we have so far been able to find a reasonable *modus vivendi* with those concerned that since the month of July last not a single British vessel has been interfered with except where it has been clearly engaged in the practice of blockade-running. Once, and once only, we found ourselves apparently near to being drawn into the vortex of war. That occasion, I need not say, arose in connection with what we now speak of as the North Sea incident, and I refer to the matter merely because I desire to acknowledge the considerate and kindly character of the remarks that fell from the noble Earl, the Leader of the Opposition, in reference to the conduct of His Majesty's Government in connection with that incident. The question is still before the International Commission at Paris, and it would be clearly improper for me to make any further reference to it this evening.

The noble Lord spoke at some length on the question of Macedonia and expressed the disappointment with which he had read the paragraph in the gracious Speech from the Throne describing the condition of things in that part of South-Eastern Europe. My Lords, I share the disappointment which the noble Earl has expressed. I deplore as much as he does the condition of things that prevails in many parts of Macedonia, and I am as deeply convinced as he can be that that condition of things will not be improved unless we can secure the application of reforms of a much more thorough-going character than any which have yet been attempted. I can give the noble Earl one or two grains of comfort. I do not think it is fair to say that nothing has been accomplished since we last met in this Chamber. There has been, in the first place, no serious uprising of the kind which many people anticipated. There have been deplorable incidents of regrettable frequency, but there has been no general outbreak. Then I think it is fair to say that some progress has been made with the work of the repatriation of the refugees; and, last but not least, the *gendarmerie* scheme has been successfully launched. It is satisfactory to know that within the last few weeks the Turkish Government has given its consent to the appointment of a considerable number of additional European *gendarmerie* officers; and I wish to confirm what was said by my noble friend behind me as to the credit due to Colonel Fairholme and the British officers serving with him for the mark which they have made upon the particular district placed under their charge. But, after all, the reorganisation of the *gendarmerie* is a measure which is ancillary to other reforms rather than itself a reform of an administrative character; and I do not in the least object to being reminded, as I was by the noble Earl, of the statement which I made in this House last year to the effect that if the scheme put forward by the two Powers proved to disappoint the expectations of its framers, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to recommend the adoption of more radical and far-reaching measures. We have not forgotten that reservation, and I may be permitted to say that we have not allowed others to forget it. But I think the position is one in which it is fair to urge that a certain amount of patience may be asked for.

What the Powers are dealing with in Macedonia is not a mere temporary outbreak or effervescence; it is an inveterate trouble. It is not merely, as we are sometimes told, a case of Turkish misgovernment which can be put an end to by a stroke of the pen. You have in Macedonia a state of things for which I think it would be probably vain to search the rest of the civilised world. You have a condition of things in which men of the same race are ready to cut one another's throats on account of religious differences, and men of the same religion are ready to cut one another's throats on account of racial differences. That is not a state of things which, with any amount of goodwill and energy, you can put an end to in a few months. It is, I think, satisfactory to know that at this moment there exists among the Powers an absolute consensus in favour of the introduction of wider and stronger reforms, and particularly of reforms of a financial character, because until the financial system of Macedonia is set in order, it is idle to expect that you will have decent administration or an untainted course of justice, or any of the advantages which one looks for in a well-administered community.

At this moment Russia and Austria, upon whom the other Powers conferred last year a kind of mandate to deal with the Macedonian problem, have put forward a new scheme of reform going very far beyond anything that they have yet propounded. That scheme is under discussion; it is a complicated one, and I am not in a position to pass a judgment upon it this evening. But I will say two things of it—in the first place, that it marks a considerable step in advance, and, in the second place, that we shall not hesitate to exercise our right of criticism and suggestion upon it, and that we have good reason for knowing that such criticisms and suggestions as we may put forward will not be taken amiss.

I will not pause to speak at length of the ratification of the Anglo-French Agreement, of which, again, the noble Earl spoke in commendatory terms. I agree with him that the ratification of that Convention is of the utmost importance; and I venture to say that the existence of that agreement at a moment like the present, when great tension exists in many parts of the world, has been of no little value in securing peace and good understanding among the Powers.

The noble Earl asked me several questions with regard to the paragraph in the Speech which deals with affairs in the Transvaal. We have always made plain our intention of travelling by gradual stages in the case of these South African Colonies along the road leading to eventual self-government; and we are ready at the present time to take in the case of the Transvaal a very important step in that direction—I mean the step, not of giving it self-government in a complete form, but of giving it representative institutions. The noble Earl wished me to enlighten him as to the financial situation in South Africa, as to the number of troops that we intend to retain in the country, and as to the progress which is being made in the work of restoring the agriculturists to their homes. I am afraid I must leave these matters until some other occasion, when they will no doubt be dealt with by my colleagues who represent the departments concerned with these subjects.

*EARL SPENCER: I also referred to the omission of the Orange Free State.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: The noble Earl commented on the omission of the Orange River Colony. I understand that, as these proposals are of a tentative character, they are to be introduced in the first instance in the case of the Transvaal, and not in the case of the other colony. On the question of Chinese labour, I will only say that such information as I possess leads me to believe that many, at all events, of the sinister prophecies which were made when this question was discussed last year have not been fulfilled, and are not likely to be fulfilled. Amongst other things, we know that the importation of a large number of Chinese labourers, instead of leading to any diminution in the number of white labourers employed, has actually led to an increase of the number of white labourers.

Then the noble Earl passed to the question of Tibet, and touched upon our policy in that country. My Lords, our policy towards Tibet has been absolutely consistent from the time that the question of sending a Mission into Tibet was first discussed. If your Lordships will carry in your minds the telegram which was sent to the Government of

India on 6th November, 1903—the telegram in which we announced that the Mission was to enter Tibet for the purpose of obtaining reparation, and that we had no intention of annexing the country or remaining there permanently — you will find that to that policy, thus clearly put before this country, and, indeed, before the whole world, we have scrupulously and strictly adhered.

The noble Earl referred to the instructions given to the Government of India and by them to Colonel Younghusband. Those instructions were founded upon the policy which I have just described. If your Lordships will look at the Blue-book which has lately been laid upon the Table, and if you will refer to the telegrams of July 6th and 27th, you will find that in the clearest possible language it was explained to the Government of India, and no doubt by them explained to Colonel Younghusband, that it was our desire that the terms which he was to demand from the Tibetans should be of a character which would enable the Mission to retire from the Chumbi Valley in three years. This was communicated by the Government of India to Colonel Younghusband; and it was because Colonel Younghusband, acting no doubt as he believed for the best, disregarded those instructions and made an arrangement which would have compelled us to remain in the Chumbi Valley, not for three years, but for seventy-five years, that we found it absolutely necessary, much as we regretted in any way to discourage so valuable and brilliant an officer, to point out to him that he had transgressed his instructions and that his action must be repudiated by His Majesty's Government.

There can be no mistake about the facts, because Colonel Younghusband himself, with a frankness which does him great credit, in his published defence admits that his action was not covered by his instructions, and the Government of India, defending, as I think they had a right to defend, Colonel Younghusband, and making the best case they possibly could for him, were constrained to admit that he had fallen into an error of judgment—and not only an error of judgment, but a serious one, for they said "it involved the occupation of the Chumbi Valley for a period of seventy-five years in contravention of the undertaking of His Majesty's Government." There can be no doubt about it. Whatever differences there might have been in the first instance between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, the Government of India at that time understood fully what our policy was, and faithfully, as we have every reason to believe, carried out the instructions which they had received from us. Before I leave this subject, let me say that I for one regard Colonel Younghusband's achievement as one of the most brilliant of the many brilliant achievements which have illustrated the history of the Indian frontier, and that, while I am obliged to admit that at this one point he placed himself in the wrong, I believe that the memory of the great feat of arms and diplomacy which he and those with him accomplished will live long after the censure we have been obliged to pass upon him has been forgotten.

The noble Earl desires information as to the progress of negotiations with Afghanistan, but I am afraid that it is not a request I can comply with at present. The negotiations are still in progress; they are extremely difficult and intricate in character, and it would be most undesirable at the present moment to lay on the Table Papers on the subject.

The noble Earl made some complaint because the Speech from the Throne did not contain more detailed reference to military and naval subjects. I do not know whether I can trust my recollection, but I am under the impression that it is not usual in the Speech to enter into detailed discussion of matters of this kind. I do not mean to say by that that they do not present a very natural and legitimate field for discussion, and no doubt they will be discussed in this House.

The noble Earl did not perhaps sufficiently realise how much has indeed been accomplished by my right hon. colleague the Secretary for War in the short time he has held that most difficult office. He has completely reorganised the War Office itself. I am in the recollection of the House, but I think it has always been assumed that reform of the War Office was a matter to be attacked first before the wider problem of Army organisation could be profitably approached. Not a moment has been lost. The Committee presided over by Lord Esher reported in January last year, and within three months my right hon. friend had organised and brought his Army Council together, and set it to work on the duties devolving upon it. The noble Earl asked me a question as to the manner in which the recent change in the terms of enlistment has operated. I understand it is a temporary change, but I believe it has operated with great success, and that the number of men coming in under the nine years engagement continues to be in every way satisfactory.

The noble Earl reviewed some of the measures which are enumerated in the gracious Speech, and told us he believed that the case for the Aliens Bill had been grossly exaggerated. Now, my Lords, there may have been exaggeration in regard to statistics of immigration, but I am sure there has been no exaggeration in regard to the depth of feeling with which this question is regarded throughout the whole of the country. The subject has not been sprung on Parliament; it has been dealt with by Committees, by Royal Commissions, and learned Judges, and police magistrates have given valuable evidence as to the extent of the evil. The subject has been debated in the other House, and last year a Bill was carried by an enormous majority. It seems to us therefore that if there is any subject indicated as one with which we ought to deal thoroughly, it is this question of alien immigration. I hope we may be able to deal with it without interfering in any way with the free movement of those who desire for legitimate objects to resort to this country; and we certainly approach the subject with no desire whatever to exclude the legitimate competition of imported labour.

As to the question of the unemployed, I was glad to observe that the noble Earl welcomed the announcement that we propose to deal with the subject. It is impossible to withhold our sympathy from the many deserving persons who, through no fault of their own, have been suffering from the absence of employment. The President of the Local Government Board has obtained very encouraging results from his action, results that justify us in dealing with the subject by means of legislation. At the same time we realise thoroughly the difficulties by which such a measure is attended; we realise the danger of finding ourselves compelled to create work where work is not wanted; and the danger of creating a class which will remain in a chronic state of expectation of such work; but we nevertheless hope it will be possible to devise permanent machinery for the purpose of bringing the men and the work together, and of doing it in a manner that will supersede the somewhat clumsy, inelastic arrangements which obtain under the operation of the present Poor Law.

The noble Earl ended his speech with some strong observations in reference to the question of redistribution. He admitted the anomalies with which we desire to deal, but he entered, as I understood, a very strong protest against any attempt to pass a Redistribution Bill during the present session of Parliament. I am under the impression that it is physically impossible to do anything of the kind. We shall no doubt act on the lines usually followed in similar circumstances, and which are, unless I misunderstand the case, the only lines upon which action is possible. Such a procedure, of course, presupposes the possibility of His Majesty's Government passing a Redistribution Bill next year. That is an eventuality which the noble Earl regards with feelings of dismay. I am afraid we cannot allow the noble Earl to give us summary notice to quit. Is the noble Earl quite sure that, supposing we were to obey his command and to vacate these Benches immediately, he and his friends are ready to undertake the responsibilities of Government? We have had some enlightenment on this subject within the last few days. A rather remarkable document appeared in *The Times* three or four days ago, and for a few hours was known as the noble Earl's manifesto. We received it—I certainly did—with feelings of the utmost thankfulness and gratitude; for I regarded it as signifying two things, that the noble Earl had by those around him been placed in a position which I think we should all like to see him occupy, that of head of a Party which has apparently of late been headless; and, in the next place, I rejoiced at the noble Earl's pronouncement because it seemed to afford us what we had so long desiderated, something like an authoritative exposition of the political doctrines held by that Government which we are so confidently told will before long take our place.

But our satisfaction was shortlived. Before the evening had come the noble Earl's pronouncement turned out to be not a Party manifesto, but a mere expression of his own opinions.

*EARL SPENCER: Hear, hear.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: We were reminded of those beautiful lilies which flower expansively in the early part of the day and fade at sundown. But I assure the noble Earl that I treat the pronouncement, though it comes from himself alone and does not commit others with whom he associates, with the utmost respect. I am bound, however, to say in frankness I look to it in vain for that precision of statement he desires from us, and that enlightenment as to the future conduct of the Liberal Party which we should be so glad to obtain from noble Lords opposite. When the noble Earl repudiates with abhorrence the idea that we shall possibly be found sitting on these Benches next year, I cannot help retorting to him that unless his trumpet sounds a somewhat clearer note the walls of Jericho may still stand for a considerable time, and that we may, after all, be able to proceed with those preliminary operations which, I believe, are usual in reference to a measure of redistribution, and even be able to give effect to them in another session of Parliament.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: My Lords, I will not detain your Lordships for more than two minutes, and the few remarks I shall make will be more in the nature of a notice than of comment. It is interesting to note that the gracious Speech from the Throne contains not the slightest allusion—perhaps it could not—to the greatest of all the topics occupying the attention of the country. The noble Lord who seconded the Address ingeniously found some slight connection between the fiscal controversy and the appointment of a Minister of Commerce. With reference to this appointment let me say this, that I hope there will be no swopping of horses till the stream is crossed. The Board of Trade have been issuing admirable memoranda. They have facilitated the inquest of the nation to the best of their ability, and I trust that that great department will not be disorganised and no change will take place until after they have finished the work on which they are engaged. Although this question cannot be discussed on the present occasion, silence must not be misconstrued. It will certainly be the duty of some of us who take an interest in this question to embrace an early opportunity of complying with the request that has been made by the Government to continue the inquest of the nation in regard to it. The inquest of the nation should take place in this House and in the House of Commons, as well as on the platforms of the country. I say with all friendliness that there are certain points which we propose to bring before the Government in a friendly spirit, provided His Majesty's Government will continue to consider that free-trade Unionists are friendly and not brand them as disloyal. I hope that in this controversy, which we are bound to continue, the Government will treat Unionist free-traders with the same consideration as is extended to those who are called tariff reformers.

On Question, Motion agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*, and ordered to be presented to His Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION FROM THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

Return of the number of aliens that arrived from the Continent at ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1905. Ordered to be laid before the House.—(*The Lord Wolverton.*)

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS.)

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the following Papers having been commanded to be presented to this House by His Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to Standing Order No. CXI., viz. :—

TRADE REPORTS.—I. ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3256. Brazil (Bahia). (August 16.)

No. 3257. Greece (Ionian Islands).

No. 3258. Chile. (August 23.)

No. 3259. Costa Rica. (August 26.)

No. 3260. Austria-Hungary (Fiume).

No. 3261. Morocco (Dar-al-Baida). (August 27.)

No. 3262. Mexico (Vera Cruz).

No. 3263. Zanzibar (Zanzibar and Pemba). (August 30.)

No. 3264. Portugal (Laurenço Marques). (August 31.)

No. 3265. Italy (Lombardy). (September 3.)

No. 3266. Turkey (Damascus). (September 7.)

No. 3267. Persia (Khorassan and Sistan).

No. 3268. Italy (Sardinia).

No. 3269. Japan (Nagasaki).

No. 3270. China (Canton). (September 9.)

No. 3271. Portugal (Angola).

No. 3272. Russia (Consular District of Riga, 1903).

No. 3273. Portugal (Madeira, 1903).

No. 3274. Egypt (Alexandria, 1903). (September 14.)

No. 3275. Belgium, 1903. (September 20.)

No. 3276. Japan (Consular District of Tainan (S. Formosa, 1903). (September 17.)

No. 3277. Russia (Odessa). (September 21.)

No. 3278. Russia (Finland).

No. 3279. United States of America. (September 22.)

No. 3280. China.

No. 3281. Peru. (September 27.)

No. 3282. Turkey (Crete). (September 29.)

No. 3283. Brazil (Rio de Janeiro). (October 4.)

No. 3284. Colombia (Barranguilla).

No. 3285. Mexico (Mexico).

No. 3286. Siam (Bangkok). (October 5.)

No. 3287. Germany.

No. 3288. Portugal (Goa). (October 6.)

No. 3289. France (Society Islands). (October 7.)

No. 3290. China (Chungking).

No. 3291. Siam (Chiengmai).

No. 3292. Panama. (October 8.)

No. 3293. China (Kiukiang).

No. 3294. Japan (Kobe and Osaka). (October 11.)

No. 3295. Tunis.

No. 3296. Germany (German Colonies). (October 12.)

No. 3297. Austria - Hungary (Bosnia and The Herzegovina). (October 13.)

No. 3298. Borneo (Brunei, Sarawak, and British North Borneo). (October 14.)

No. 3299. Russia (Archangel). (October 15.)

No. 3300. France (Martinique). (October 20.)

No. 3301. France. (October 26.)

No. 3302. Greece. (November 3.)

No. 3303. China (Amoy). (November 11.)

No. 3304. Russia (Reval). November 18.)

No. 3305. Persia (Ispahan).

No. 3306. Turkey (Bengazi and Derna). (November 23.)

No. 3307. Chile.

No. 3308. Persia (Azerbaijan). (November 29.)

No. 3309. Russia (Agriculture in the Trans-Caucasus in 1904). (December 5.)

No. 3310. France (Dahomey).

No. 3311. Netherlands (Dutch Guiana).

No. 3312. France (Senegal).

No. 3313. France (French Guinea). (December 8.)

No. 3314. Switzerland. (December 9.)

No. 3315. Cuba. (December 13.)

No. 3316. France (Ivory Coast). (December 14.)

No. 3317. China (Foochow). (December 16.)

No. 3318. Italy (Ancona). (December 20.)

No. 3319. Italy (Elba). (December 29.)

No. 3320. Foreign Trade of Italy. (January 4.)

No. 3321. Somaliland Protectorate. (January 21.)

No. 3322. Morocco (Tangier). (February 2.)

No. 3323. South Italy. (February 8.)

II. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 619. Commercial Instruction in Germany. (September 15.)

No. 620. United States (Chicago Summer Vacation). (September 21.)

No. 621. Art Trade Schools in Germany. (December 20.)

No. 622. German Machinery Import and Export Trade and Industry.

No. 623. Mining and Metallurgical Industries of Spain in 1903. (December 30.)

No. 624. German Cement. (January 5.)

No. 625. Rice Industry in the United States. (January 12.)

No. 626. Iron and Steel Exhibits at the St. Louis Exhibition. (February 2.)

No. 627. United States Railways. (February 7.)

No. 628. Cultivation of Tea in the Caucasus. (February 8.)

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

I. (Ireland). Forty-second Report of the Inspector appointed to visit the Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Ireland. (August 17.)

II. (Great Britain). Forty-seventh Report, for the year 1903, of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. Part II. General Report and Appendices III. to XI. (September 15.)

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

I. Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to investigate experimentally and to report upon certain questions connected with the dipping and treatment of sheep—

Report.

Minutes of Evidence with Appendices. (August 18.)

II. Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to inquire into and report upon the working in Great Britain of the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1893—

Report. (January 28.)

Minutes of Evidence with Appendices and Index. (February 13.)

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (EDUCATION).

Annual report on the distribution of grants for agricultural education and research in the year 1903–1904; with statements respecting the several colleges and institutions aided; the experiments conducted; together with a summary of the agricultural instruction provided by county councils in 1903–1904, and the expenditure on the same in 1902–1903. (November 29.)

TRANSVAAL.

Correspondence relating to the position of British Indians in the Transvaal. (August 18.)

COLONIES.—I. ANNUAL.

No. 423. Sierra Leone (Report for 1903). (August 18.)

No. 424. Gambia (Report for 1903). (August 18.)

No. 425. Ceylon (Report for 1903). (August 26.)

No. 426. Gold Coast (Report for 1903). (September 2.)

No. 427. Lagos (Report for 1903). (September 7.)

No. 428. Bahamas (Report for 1903–1904). (September 13.)

No. 429. Northern Territories of the Gold Coast (Report for 1903). (September 19.)

No. 430. Mauritius. (September 28.)

No. 431. Seychelles (October 1.)

No. 432. Barbados. (October 3.)

No. 433. Southern Nigeria (Report for 1903). (October 11.)

No. 434. Fiji (Report for 1903). (November 7.)

No. 435. Straits Settlements (Report for 1903). (November 8.)

No. 436. Grenada (Report for 1903). (November 21.)

No. 437. Northern Nigeria (Report for 1903). (November 26.)

No. 438. Jamaica (Report for 1903–1904). (December 7.)

No. 439. Malta (Report for 1903–1904). (December 10.)

No. 440. Bechuanaland Protectorate (Report for 1902–1903 and 1903–1904). (December 13.)

No. 441. British Guiana (Report for 1903–1904). (December 20.)

No. 442. Trinidad and Tobago (Report for 1903–1904). (December 21.)

No. 443. St. Lucia (Report for 1903). (December 29.)

No. 444. Basutoland (Report for 1903–1904). (February 9.)

II. MISCELLANEOUS.

No. 28. Reports on Rubber in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. (November 28.)

No. 29. Ceylon: Reports on the results of the mineral survey in 1903–1904, by Professor W. R. Dunstan, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.

COLONIES (PREFERENTIAL TRADE).

Papers relating to Resolutions passed by Colonial Legislatures since 1890 in favour of preferential trade relations with the United Kingdom. (December 29.)

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE (INDIAN SECTION).

Annual Report for the year 1903-1904. (August 22.)

LUNACY (IRELAND).

Fifty-third Report, with Appendices, of the Inspectors of Lunatics in Ireland, for the year 1903. (August 23.)

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

I. Statistics of proceedings under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, 1897 and 1900, and the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, during the year 1903. (August 24.)

II. Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the Law relating to compensation for injuries to workmen. Vol. II. Minutes of Evidence, with Index. (December 9.)

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).

I. Abstracts showing the acreage under crops and the number of live stock in each county and province, 1903–1904. (August 24.)

II. Migratory Labourers. Report and tables relating to Irish migratory, agricultural, and other labourers, for the year 1904. (November 29.)

III. Tables showing the extent, in statute acres, and the produce of the crops for the year 1904. (December 30.)

TREATY SERIES.

No. 6. (1904.) Agreement between the United Kingdom and Germany, providing for the settlement by arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the two Governments; signed at London, 12th July, 1904. (August 30.)

No. 7. (1904.) Convention between the United Kingdom and China respecting the employment of Chinese labour in British Colonies and Protectorates; signed at London, 13th May, 1904. (September 22.)

No. 8. (1904.) Convention between the United Kingdom and Sweden and Norway providing for the settlement by arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the respective Governments; signed at London, 11th August, 1904. (Ratifications exchanged at London, 9th November, 1904.) (November 18.)

No. 9. (1904.) Agreement between the United Kingdom and Switzerland providing for the settlement by arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the two Governments; signed at London, 16th November, 1904. (November 26.)

No. 10. (1904.) Agreement between the United Kingdom and Portugal providing for the settlement by arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the two Governments; signed at Windsor, 16th November, 1904. (November 26.)

No. 11. (1904.) Accession of Sweden to the International Copyright Convention, 9th September, 1886, and Declaration of 4th May, 1896. 1st August, 1904. (November 26.)

No. 12. (1904.) Accession of Cuba to the Industrial Property Convention, 1883, etc.; 17th November, 1904. (November 28.)

No. 13. (1904.) Declaration between the United Kingdom and Russia relating to the constitution of an International Commission of Inquiry on the subject of the North Sea Incident; signed at St. Petersburg, 25th (12th) November, 1904. (December 12.)

No. 1. (1905.) Accession of Cuba to Arrangements respecting False Indications of Origin on Goods and the International Registration of Trade Marks (Industrial Property Union). 1st January, 1905. (January 24.)

No. 2. (1905.) Agreement between the United Kingdom and Russia respecting Joint Stock Companies and other Commercial Industrial and Financial Associations; signed at St. Petersburg, 19th (16th) December, 1904. (February 10.)

AFRICA.

I. Somaliland. Despatches, etc., regarding the Military Operations in Somaliland, from the 18th January, 1902, to the 31st May, 1904. (August 31.)

II. Correspondence relating to the construction of Railways in Sierra Leone, Lagos, and the Gold Coast. (December 7.)

INDIA.

I. (Excise). Papers relating to the Excise Administration in Assam. (August 31.)

II. (Trade). Review of the Trade of India in 1903–1904. (October 28.)

III. (Statistical Abstract). Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1893–94 to 1902–03. Thirty-eighth Number. (November 2.)

IV. (Sanitary Measures). Report on sanitary measures in India in 1902–1903. Vol. 36. (November 2.)

V. (Tibet). Further Papers relating to Tibet, No. III. (in continuation of [Cd. 2054]). (January 27.)

ARMY.

I. List of exceptions to the Army Regulations as to pay, non-effective pay, and allowances sanctioned by the Commissioners of the Treasury, pursuant to the Royal Warrant dated 27th October, 1884, during the year 1903–1904. (September 1.)

II. Amendments in the Rules of Procedure under the Army Act. (October 8.)

III. Report on the trial of the short rifle by the Army and Navy. (December 7.)

IV. Order in Council defining the duties of the Army Council. (August 16.)

V. Approximate estimate of expenditure under the Military Works Acts of 1897, 1899, and 1901. (September 13.)

FIJI.

Correspondence relating to Native taxation and the communal system in Fiji. (September 9.)

POLICE (METROPOLIS).

Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, for the year 1903. (September 13.)

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons, for the year ended 31st March, 1904. (September 13.)

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

I. Report of the Board of Education for the year 1903–1904. (September 13.)

II. Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Special reports on the educational systems of the chief Crown

Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, including reports on the training of Native races—

Vol. 12 (Part I.). West Indies and Central America, St. Helena, Cyprus, and Gibraltar.

Vol. 13 (Part II.). West Africa, Basutoland, Southern Rhodesia, East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, Mauritius, Seychelles.

Vol. 14 (Part III.). Federated Malay States, Hong Kong, Straits Settlements, Fiji, Falkland Islands. (February 6.)

III. Regulations relating to the Royal College of Science, the Royal College of Art, and to Museums under the Board of Education (from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905). (November 3.)

IV. Report for the year 1903, on the museums, colleges, and institutions under the administration of the Board. (November 15.)

V. List of Secondary Schools under the administration of the Board 1902–1903. (November 29.)

VI. Grants under Section 97, etc.—

Grants paid to school boards under Section 97, Elementary Education Act, 1870.

School board accounts.

List of loans. (December 22.)

VII. Reports from University Colleges, 1904. (January 18.)

CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD (IRELAND).

Report of the Board, for the year ending 31st March, 1904. (September 19.)

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Return for the months of March, April, May, and June, 1904. (September 22.)

Return for the month of July, 1904. (October 31.)

Return for the month of August, 1904. (November 2.)

Return for the month of September, 1904. (November 14.)

CROWN AGENTS FOR THE COLONIES.

Accounts of the Crown Agents' Office Funds, for the years 1900, 1901, and 1902. (September 23.)

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND).

Manual of Fisheries (Ireland) Acts. (September 23.)

BANKING, RAILWAY, AND SHIPPING STATISTICS (IRELAND).

Report for June, 1904. (September 27.)

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Reports on the Federated Malay States for 1903. (September 28.)

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

Report on the trade and general condition of the British Central Africa Protectorate for 1903–1904. (September 28.)

MILITARY PRISONS.

Report on the discipline and management of the Military Prisons, 1903. (October 4.)

PETERHEAD HARBOUR.

Reports respecting Peterhead Harbour Works. (October 5.)

PERSIA.

Report on the condition and prospects of British trade in Oman, Bahrein, and Arab ports in the Persian Gulf; by H. W. Maclean, Special Commissioner of the Commercial Intelligence of the Board of Trade. (October 13.)

TURKEY.

No. 3. (1904.) Correspondence respecting the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey. (October 8.)

No. 4. (1904.) Further correspondence respecting the affairs of South Eastern Europe (in continuation of Turkey, No. 2. (1904)). (October 28.)

MINES AND QUARRIES (GENERAL REPORT AND STATISTICS FOR 1903. PART II. LABOUR).

I. General report and statistics relating to persons employed and accidents at mines and quarries in the United Kingdom, and to the enforcement of the Mines and Quarries Acts. (October 10.)

II. General report and statistics relating to the output and value of the minerals raised in the United Kingdom, the amount and value of the metals produced, and the exports and imports of minerals. (October 25.)

CHINA, No. 5 (1904).

Report by Consul-General Hosie on the Province of Ssuch'uan. (October 20.)

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (EVICTION NOTICES).

I. Return of the number of Eviction Notices filed during the Quarter ended the 30th day of September, 1904. (October 21.)

II. Return of the number of Eviction Notices filed during the Quarter ended 31st December, 1904. (January 27.)

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

I. (Draft Regulations: Docks, Wharves, and Quays.) Report to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department by Chester Jones, Esquire, on the Draft Regulations for Docks, Wharves, and Quays. (October 26.)

II. Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, for the year 1903. Part II.—Tables. (November 30.)

INEBRIATES ACTS (INSPECTOR'S REPORT).

Report of the Inspector under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1900, for the year 1903. (October 28.)

SHERIFF COURT PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND).

Report of a Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary for Scotland to inquire into Sheriff Court Procedure; with minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. (October 28.)

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACTS, 1896.

Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade—

I. Authorising the construction of a light railway in the county of East Suffolk from Melton to Bromeswell, Sutton, Shottisham, Hollesley, Alderton, and Bawdsey.

II. Authorising the construction of light railways in the parish of Northam and the parish and borough of Bideford in the county of Devon in extension of the Bideford, Westward Ho!, and Appledore Railway, and the working of that railway as a light railway under the Light Railways Act, 1896.

III. Amending the Maidstone and Faversham Junction Light Railway Order, 1901.

IV. Authorising the construction of an additional light railway in the county of Gloucester, in the borough of Cheltenham, and the abandonment of the construction of part of another light railway already authorised in the same borough.

V. Amending the Axminster and Lyme Regis Light Railway Order, 1899.

VI. Amending the Brackenhill Light Railway Order, 1901.

VII. Amending the Tickhill Light Railway Order, 1901.

VIII. Authorising the construction of light railways in the county of Essex from Southend by way of Rochford, Creeksea, Burnham, Southminster, Asheldham, Dengie, Tillingham, Bradwell-juxta-Mare, and West Mersea to Colchester. (October 28.)

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

I. Return of evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th September, 1904. (October 29.)

II. Return of evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1904. (January 31.)

ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

Annual Report for the year 1903. (November 2.)

METEOROLOGY.

Report of the Meteorological Council, for the year ended 31st March, 1904, to the President and Council of the Royal Society. (November 3.)

UNEMPLOYED IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Report to the Board of Trade on agencies and methods for dealing with the unemployed in certain foreign countries, by Mr. David F. Schloss. (November 4.)

IRELAND DEVELOPMENT GRANT ACT (1903).

Report of the Lord Lieutenant of all his proceedings under the Act for the financial year ending the 31st March, 1904. (November 7.)

AFRICA.

No. 12. (1904.) General Report on the Uganda Protectorate, for the year ending 31st March, 1904. (November 9.)

No. 13. (1904.) Report by Mr. A. E. Butter on the survey of the proposed frontier between British East Africa and Abyssinia. (With a map.) (December 1.)

No. 14. (1904.) Correspondence respecting slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba (in continuation of Africa, No. 6 (1902).) (December 29.)

No. 15. (1904.) Report on East Africa Protectorate, for the year 1903–1904. (January 7.)

No. 16. (1904.) Report on the construction and working of the Mombasa-Victoria (Uganda) Railway and Steamboat Service on Lake Victoria, 1903–1904. (January 10.)

No. 1. (1905.) Further correspondence respecting the administration of the Independent State of the Congo (in continuation of Africa, No. 7 (1904).) (December 17.)

ADOLF BECK (COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY).

Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the case of Mr. Adolf Beck; together with minutes of evidence, appendix, and facsimiles of various documents. (November 18.)

BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES (SCOTLAND).

Forty-eighth Detailed Annual Report of the Registrar-General for Scotland of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Scotland. (Abstracts of 1902.) (November 19.)

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (SCOTLAND).

Report on the Judicial Statistics for Scotland, for the year 1903. (November 23.)

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Report on the Manuscripts of—

I. The Earl of Egmont. Vol. I.

II. The Marquess of Lothian, preserved at Blickling Hall, Norfolk. (November 24.)

III. Lady du Cane. (January 19.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).

Annual Report for the year ended March, 1904. (November 28.)

BRITISH AND FOREIGN TRADE AND INDUSTRY (SECOND SERIES).

Second series of memoranda, statistical tables, and charts, prepared in the Board of Trade, with reference to various matters bearing on British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions. (December 12.)

MISCELLANEOUS, No 2 (1904).

Warrant issued by the Secretary of State on 4th December, 1904, authorising the detention of the ship "Captain W. Menzell" at Cardiff. (December 12.)

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES), 1900.

(Part I. Criminal Statistics.) Statistics relating to criminal proceedings, police, coroners, prisons, reformatory and industrial schools, and criminal lunatics, for the year 1903. (December 13.)

CYPRUS.

Annual Report for 1903–1904. (January 4.)

RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).

Return in pursuance of Section 4 of the Regulation of Railways Act, 1889, of railway servants of certain classes who were on one or more occasions during the month of October, 1903, on duty on the railways of the United Kingdom for more than twelve hours at a time; or who, after being on duty more than twelve hours, were allowed to resume work with less than nine hours rest. (January 12.)

FOREIGN IMPORT DUTIES, 1904.

Statement of the Rates of Import Duties levied in European countries, in the United States, in Japan, China, and Persia, upon the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom. (Duties in force, so far as notified to the Board of Trade, at date of preparation of this Return, November, 1904). (November 5.)

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND).

I. Appendix (Section III.) to the Annual Report of the Commissioners for the year 1903.

II. Appendix (Section IV.) to the Annual Report of the Commissioners for the year 1903. (January 14.)

III. Appendix (Section I.) to the Annual Report of the Commissioners for the year 1903. (January 28.)

IV. Appendix (Section II.) to the Annual Report of the Commissioners for the year 1903. (January 28.)

COAL SUPPLIES (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the coal resources of the United Kingdom. Parts I. to XIII. (January 18.)

EXPLOSIVES (EXPLOSION IN A SHOP AT NEWCASTLE EMLYN).

Report to the right hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain J. H. Thomson, His Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion which occurred in an ironmonger's shop at Newcastle Emlyn, Carmarthenshire, on the 25th November, 1904. (January 19.)

NAVY.

Distribution and mobilisation of the fleet. (January 24.)

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

I. Returns of accidents and casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several railway companies in the United Kingdom during the three months ended 30th June, 1904, in pursuance of the Regulation of Railways Act (1871), together with reports of the inspecting officers, assistant inspecting officers, and sub-inspectors of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain accidents which were inquired into. (November 10.)

II. Returns of accidents and casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several railway companies in the United Kingdom during the three months ending 30th September, 1904, in pursuance of the Regulation of Railways Act (1871); together with the reports of inspecting officers, assistant inspecting officers, and sub-inspectors of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain accidents which were inquired into (January 25.)

COMMERCIAL, No. 1 (1905).

Further findings of the Permanent Commission established under the Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902; reports of the British delegate and appeal of His Majesty's Government against certain of those findings. (January 31.)

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

Second Report by Mr. Wilson Fox on the wages, earnings, and conditions of employment of agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom; with statistical tables and charts. (February 3.)

CANCER RESEARCH (COLONIES).

Correspondence relating to cancer research in the colonies. (February 9.)

MISCELLANEOUS, No. 1 (1905).

Reports on the laws in force in certain foreign countries in regard to the emission of smoke from chimneys. (February 10.)

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

RUSSIA.

No. 1. (1905.) Correspondence respecting contraband of war in connection with the hostilities between Russia and Japan.

No. 2. (1905.) Correspondence relating to the North Sea Incident.

POST OFFICE.

I. (Increase of Maximum). Additional Articles to the Money Order Convention of the 7th—14th of October, 1871, between the General Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the General Post Office of the Netherlands.

II. (Money Orders—Mexico). Agreement between the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Post Office of the United States of Mexico. Dated 4th February—18th March, 1904.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Return for the months of October, November, and December, 1904.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 30th

January, 1905, providing for the establishment of committees for the training of teachers (with explanatory memorandum).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

COUNTY COURTS.

Rules, dated 19th December, 1904.

COUNTY COURTS ACT, 1888 (SALFORD REGISTRY).

Order of the Lord Chancellor that Robert Forrester Addie, the Registrar of the County Court of Lancashire held at Salford, shall, so long as he holds his office as such registrar, be excluded from private practice as a solicitor, and with the concurrence of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Robert Forrester Addie as such registrar of the County Court of Lancashire held at Salford.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.

Account of the receipts and expenditure of the Paymaster-General on behalf of the Supreme Court of Judicature in respect of the Funds of Suitors of the Court in the year ended 29th February, 1904; also account of the National Debt Commissioners for the same period in respect of funds held by them on behalf of the Supreme Court of Judicature; together with the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon.

DEEDS OF ARRANGEMENT ACT.

I. Rule, under the Deeds of Arrangement Act, 1887.

II. Rule, dated 1st October, 1904.

LUNACY.

Returns to the Lord Chancellor of—

I. The number of visits made, and the number of patients seen, by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ended 31st December, 1904.

II. All sums received by the visitors of lunatics for travelling expenses or upon any other account from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1904.

III. The number of visits made, the number of patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the visitors of lunatics from the 1st April, 1904, to the 30th September, 1904.

MILITIA ACT, 1882 (DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS).

Returns of descriptions of qualifications of deputy-lieutenants lodged during 1904, as furnished to the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

LOAN SOCIETIES.

Abstract of accounts of loan societies in England and Wales, furnished to the central office for the registry of friendly societies, for the year ended 31st December, 1903.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

I. Accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the year ended 31st December, 1903; together with the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon.

II. Additional rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland as to the French course. Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the examination in music. Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland making an addition to Rule 9 (*a*) of the Rules and Programme for 1905.

III. Time-table of examinations for the year 1905.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

I. Return of the amount of notes issued more than forty years and outstanding on 26th October, 1904, which have been written off.

II. Annual accounts of Exchequer Bills and other Government securities purchased.

SUPERANNUATION.

I. Treasury Minute, dated 5th October, 1904, awarding a special pension to Sir Augustus W. L. Hemming, G.C.M.G., late Governor of Jamaica.

II. Treasury Minutes, granting retired allowances under Section 2 of the Superannuation Act, 1887, to—

Robert Henderson, lineman, Engineer-in-Chief's Department, Post Office. (September 2, 1904.)

Alfred Webster, clerk, Derby Post Office. (September 6, 1904.)

Samuel J. Morton, assistant superintendent, Boston Post Office. (September 6, 1904.)

Joseph Levingston, engineer, 1st class, Engineer-in-Chief's Department, Post Office. (November 21, 1904.)

Tom F. Dickinson, sorting clerk and telegraphist, Post Office. (November 28, 1904.)

Alfred H. Beaumont, town postman, Leeds Post Office. (January 6, 1905.)

John Still, inspector, Post Office, London. (January 11, 1905.)

Henry G. Bartlett, second division clerk (higher grade), Admiralty. (January 17, 1905.)

Charles F. Williams, second division clerk, Admiralty. (January 17, 1905.)

III. Treasury Minutes, declaring that the following persons were appointed without a civil service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their departments—

Richard Leaney, labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office. (September 3, 1904.)

John W. Ginno, Royal Laboratory, War Office. (October 14, 1904.)

Benjamin Banks, boy artificer, Royal Small Arms Factory, Enfield, War Office. (October 21, 1904.)

John Foster, boy labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office. (October 21, 1904.)

William Gregory, carpenter, Royal Carriage Department, War Office. (October 29, 1904.)

Frederick G. Postons, Postmaster of Newmarket, Post Office. (November 4, 1904.)

IV. Professional Qualifications. Treasury Minute, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Professor of Zoology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired on the public service are required. (August 26, 1904.)

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

Account of the receipts and disbursements of the Duchy Cornwall, in the year ended 31st December, 1904.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL (ARMY PRIZE MONEY AND LEGACY FUNDS, 1903-1904).

Account of the receipts and expenditure of the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital (for services other than those voted by Parliament), in the year ended 31st March, 1904; together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.

Rules, dated 1st October, 1904.

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1855.

Account for the year ended 31st December, 1904.

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND).

Four Orders in Council, dated 2nd November, 1904, for holding winter assizes in Ireland.

PHARMACY (IRELAND) ACTS, 1875 AND 1890.

Order in Council, dated 2nd November, 1904, approving of a regulation made by the Pharmaceutical Society.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).

Two Orders with respect to the urban county districts of Ballymena and Omagh.

GENERAL PRISONS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877.

Order closing the prison at Wexford.

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899.

Fifty-five minutes by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland sanctioning forms of instruction for certain county boroughs, counties, and urban districts.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

I. (Dangerous and Unhealthy Industries.) Regulations, dated 24th October, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 79 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, in respect of the processes of loading, unloading, moving, and handling goods in, on, or at any dock, wharf, or quay, and the processes of loading, unloading, or coaling any ship in dock, harbour, or canal.

II. (Special Exception: Overtime.) Order, dated 15th November, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 49 of the Factory and Workshop Act, extending the special exception under that section to non-textile factories and workshops, or parts thereof in which the making-up of any article of table linen, bed linen, or other household linen is carried on.

III. (Special Exception: Night Work.) Order, dated 9th August, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards employed on the system of three shifts of not more than eight hours each in the processes of pressing and reeling cordite and nitrating and moulding gun cotton carried on in non-textile factories.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853 TO 1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Licences granted by His Majesty to—

I. Kate Ellen Shoesmith, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Home of Compassion, 63, Sutherland Street, Pimlico.

II. Alice Robinson, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley.

III. Sarah Wildman, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney, E.

IV. Elizabeth Ann Holden, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney, E.

V. Lucy Gould, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Home of St. John the Baptist, Pimlico, S.W.

VI. Mary Ann Murray, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley.

VII. Ada Hauson, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley.

CERTIFIED INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT).

Regulations made, with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the management and discipline of the certified inebriate reformatory at East Hailing, Norfolk.

POLLING DISTRICTS.

Order made by the—

County council of the county of Southampton, altering certain polling districts in the Andover, New Forest, and Fareham parliamentary divisions.

Council of the borough of Devonport, altering certain polling districts in the borough.

Council of the borough of Salford, altering certain polling districts in the borough.

County council of the county of Lancaster, altering certain polling districts in the Ince, Lancaster, and Westhoughton parliamentary divisions.

County council of the county of Lancaster, altering certain polling districts in the Middleton, Stretford, and Widnes parliamentary divisions.

County council of the county of Durham, altering certain polling districts in the county.

County council of the county of Berks, altering the polling districts for the several parliamentary divisions of the county.

LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES.

Statements of accounts and of life assurance and annuity business and abstracts of actuarial reports deposited with the Board of Trade under Section 10 of the Life Assurance Companies Act, 1870, during the year ended 31st December, 1904.

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE FUND.

Account of the General Lighthouse Fund under the Acts 57 & 58 Vict. c. 60. s. 679, and 61 & 62 Vict. c. 44, showing the income and expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

WEST HIGHLAND RAILWAY (EXTENSION FROM BANAIRE TO MALLAIG).

Third annual report by the Board of Trade as to the condition and working of the Banaire to Mallaig Railway, the rates and charges for traffic, and the receipts and expenditure of any company in working the railway, for the year 1903–1904.

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) ACT, 1904.

Rule made by the Railway and Canal Commissioners in pursuance of the 20th Section of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, in relation to applications to the Commissioners made under Section 3 of the Railways (Private Sidings) Act. 1904.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Regulations to be observed by the admirals, masters, and crews of fishing vessels, and carriers forming the fleets belonging to the Port of Kingston-upon-Hull, made pursuant to the provisions of Section 417 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894.

INDIA.

I. (Examinations). Regulations for examination for the civil service of India.

II. (Loans raised in India). Return of all loans raised in India chargeable on the revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended on the 30th September, 1904, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, and the date of the termination of each loan, the debt incurred during the half-year, the moneys raised thereby during the half-year, the loans paid off or discharged during the half-year, and the loans outstanding at the close of the half-year, stating, so far as the public convenience will allow, the purpose or service for which moneys have been raised during the half-year.

III. (Loans raised in England). Return of all loans raised in England under the provisions of any Acts of Parliament, chargeable on the revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended on the 30th September, 1904, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, and the date of the termination of each loan, the debt incurred during the half-year, the moneys raised thereby during the half-year, the loans paid off or discharged during the half-year, and the loans outstanding at the close of the half-year, stating, so far as the public convenience will allow, the purpose or service for which moneys have been raised during the half-year.

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865.

Order in Council of 24th October, 1904, amending the regulations affecting the Dockyard Port of Plymouth.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

I. Order in Council of 10th February, 1905, confirming certain by-laws made by the Trinity House of Kingston-upon-Hull, fixing the rates of pilotage between the ports of Hull and Goole.

II. Order in Council of the 4th October, 1904, directing that registries of sea-fishing boats be kept at Port Talbot and Methil.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

I. Order in Council of 4th November, 1904, entitled, "The British Protectorates Neutrality (Amendment) Order in Council, 1904."

II. Order in Council of 10th February, 1905, entitled, "The East Africa and Uganda (Currency) Order in Council, 1905."

III. Orders in Council of the 24th October, 1904, entitled respectively—

"The British Protectorate Neutrality Order in Council, 1904."

"The Foreign Jurisdiction Neutrality Order in Council, 1904."

"The China and Corea Order in Council, 1904."

"The Southern Nigeria Order in Council, 1904," and

"The Cyprus Telegraphs Order, 1904."

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACTS, 1878 TO 1904.

I. Order in Council of 12th December, 1904, approving a new denomination of standard measure of length of twenty metres.

II. Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, specifying new fees to be taken in respect of the verification and stamping by inspectors of weights and measures, and weighing and measuring instruments.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858.

Order in Council of 12th December, 1904, approving a statement of proposed new and revised appointments and alterations of salaries in the establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council.

COPYRIGHT ACTS, 1844 TO 1886.

Order in Council of the 12th December, 1904, giving effect to the accession of Sweden to the International Copyright Convention, 1886.

BISHOPRICS ACT, 1878, AND BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM ACT, 1904.

Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, for the foundation of the Bishopric of Birmingham.

EXPLOSIVES ACT, 1875.

Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, prohibiting, except under certain conditions, certain fireworks of a dangerous nature.

LEEWARD ISLANDS.

Amended prison rule relating to the employment of female prisoners.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.

I. Statute made by the Governing Body of Magdalen College, Oxford, on 11th May, 1904, amending the existing Statutes of the College.

II. Two Statutes made by the Governing Body of Balliol College, Oxford, on 26th May, 1904, amending (i) Statute III., and (ii) Statute IV. and Schedule B. of the College Statutes.

III. Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on the 15th June, 1904, amending Statute XV. (Pension Fund) of the Statutes of the College.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 1.)

COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES.

Appointed.

COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNALS.

Appointed.

STOPPAGES IN THE STREETS.

Order to prevent, renewed.

APPEAL COMMITTEE.

Appointed.

MARGATE PIER AND HARBOUR COMPANY.

Report and statement of accounts, for the year ended 5th April, 1904.

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD.

Accounts for the year ended 1st July, 1904.

Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION FROM THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

Return (in part) respecting. Laid before the House (pursuant to Order of this day), and to be printed. (No. 2.)

House adjourned at ten minutes before Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 14th February, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

Message to attend His Majesty,

The House went; and, being returned.

Mr. SPEAKER informed the House, That he had issued Warrants for New Writs during the Recess, for County of Kent (Isle of Thanet Division), in the room of The Right Hon. James Lowther, deceased; County of Monmouth (Western Division), The Right Hon. Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon Harcourt, deceased; County of Sussex (West or Horsham Division), John Heywood Johnstone, esquire, deceased; Borough of Stalybridge, The Hon. Matthew White Ridley, called to the House of Peers; Borough of Tower Hamlets (Mile End Division), Spencer Charrington, esquire, deceased; County of Dorset (Northern Division), John Kenelm Digby Wingfield-Digby, esquire, deceased; County of Kildare (Northern Division), Edmund Leamy, esquire, deceased.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

John Frederick Cheetham, esquire, for Borough of Stalybridge; Edward Turnour, esquire, commonly called Viscount Turnour, County of Sussex (North Western or Horsham Division); Thomas Richards, esquire, County of Monmouth (Western Division); Colonel Harry Lawson Webster Lawson, commonly called The Hon. Harry Lawson Webster Lawson; Parliamentary Borough of the Tower Hamlets (Mile End Division); Arthur Walters Wills, esquire, County of Dorset (Northern Division); Harry Hananel Marks, esquire, County of Kent (Isle of Thanet Division).

ELECTIONS.

Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their Election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the Return for that place; and if any thing shall come in question touching the Return or Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate; and that all Members returned upon double Returns do withdraw till their Returns are determined.

Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament or other Peer or Prelate not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such Elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord-Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the Election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament." —(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cornwall, Camborne) rose to oppose the Order, saying that in so doing he was following the action of a similar kind taken during many years by the late Mr. James Lowther. Mr. Lowther, he said, opposed the Order as a sham. It was a perfectly innocuous Resolution and there was nothing in it which enabled the "policeman on the beat" to prevent any Peer taking any part in any election. To-day the grounds for opposing the Resolution were stronger than ever. During the recess there was an election in North Dorset, and Lord Alington, who as Mr Sturt had occupied a seat in that House and had actually voted in favour of this Sessional Order, wrote a letter desiring his tenants to vote for the Unionist candidate. Lord Alington had also announced his intention of writing a similar letter at all future elections in Dorset. He therefore wished to ask whether the Government intended to take any notice of the proceedings of this young man. If the right hon. Gentleman would say that he proposed to take any action, then it would not be necessary to put the House to the trouble of a division, but if he proposed to do nothing then it only remained for them to indicate their appreciation of the absurdity of the Order by dividing the House and trying to prevent it making a fool of itself.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): The hon. Baronet has reminded the House that this is not a new question and that it has often been raised by a right hon. friend of mine who is no longer with us. Now I have no other answer to give the hon. Baronet than that I have so often given in this place. I shall not defend or criticise the conduct of Lord Alington, who was very recently a Member of the House of Commons, and who probably has supported the Government in rejecting Motions similar to that of the hon. Baronet. [Sir Wilfrid Lawson: He voted for the Order.] I can only suppose that as soon as any gentleman is translated to another and a higher sphere, a process of rapid deterioration sets in and he forgets the principles which animated him in the House of Commons. As to the practical question whether or not this Order should be abolished, my views are quite unchanged. If the House of Commons in a formal way cares to delete the rule from its Standing Orders, it will be taken, and must be taken, as an intimation to every Peer that, as far as the House of Commons is concerned, they will welcome his intervention in electoral contests. I do not remember the exact proportion of Unionists to Radical Peers in the House of Lords; but the balance is considerably in our favour. Therefore, from the Ministerial point of view, it would be an advantage to take the step suggested; because, if the intervention of Peers has any effect at all, that Party must gain which can enlist the greater number of Peers on its side. It is, therefore, on purely constitutional grounds, and against the interests of his Party that the hon. Baronet acts; and I will stand between the hon. Baronet and his self-denying procedure. I am sufficiently enamoured of the old constitutional principles of this country to see with reluctance the appearance of noble Lords on our electoral platforms. Such assistance may be extremely useful in relieving the labour thrown on candidates; but I do not believe it would be expedient. I will admit that there is no sanction behind this Order. The House cannot censure a noble Lord; and, if it did, he would probably treat the censure with ridicule. Therefore, the most dignified course is to take no steps to enforce the Rule. But the fact that this Order is retained by the House will prevent the great mass of Peers from taking an active part during the brief period in which an election is going on, and that is to the advantage of the House at large and of the hon. Baronet and his Party. In those circumstances I hope the opposition to the Order will not be pressed.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 345; Noes, 65. (Division List, No. 1.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allen, Charles P.
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. H. O.
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert H.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. J. FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Barry, Sir F. T. (Windsor)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Black, Alexander William
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt. Col. H. F. (Middlesex)
Brassey, Albert
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Brymer, William Ernest

Burdett-Coutts, W.
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow)
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cawley, Frederick
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, RtHnJ. A (Worc.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Crossley, Rt. Hn. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Devlin, Charles R. (Galway)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Ellice, Capt EC (S. Andrw'sBghs.
Elliot, Hn. A. Ralph Douglas
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir Francis H (Maidstone
Fardell, Sir T. George
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r.
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N. E.
Finlay, Sir R. B. (Inv'rn'ss B'ghs
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'r H'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nd'y)
Harrington, Timothy
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, RtHn H (Somers't, E
Hogg, Lindsay
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutchinson, Dr Charles Fredk.
Jebb, Sir Richard (Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt Hon Arthur Fred
Jessel, Capt Herbert Merton
Jones, D Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh)
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
Kitson, Sir James
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambert, George
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Langley, Batty
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lloyd-George, David
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. C. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, R. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morrison, James Archibald
Moulton, John Fletcher
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murnaghan, George
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Rickett, J. Compton

Ridley, S. Forde
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Rose, Charles Day
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Runciman, Walter
Rutherford, J. (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, H. L. (Cleveland)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Shackleton, David James
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H. C. (North'mb. Tynesd.
Smith, RtHnJ. Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strachey, Sir Edward
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, JA (Glamorgan, Gower
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Weir, James Galloway
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunt'n
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Arthur Walters, N. Dorset)
Wilson, F. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Wilson-Tod, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersfd
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Agg-Gardner James Tynte
Ambrose, Robert
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Blake, Edward
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Dalkeith, Earl of
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Fenwick, Charles
Field, William
Flynn, James Christopher
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Heath, Sir James (Staffords. NW
Higham, John Sharpe
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Labouchere, Henry
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Malley, William
Perks, Robert William
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Richards, Thomas (W Monm'th)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Russell, T. W.
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Toulmin, George
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.
White, George (Norfolk)
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wood, James

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Kearley.

PRIVILEGE.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) rose to draw attention to what he regarded as a question of Privilege, and to move:

> "That Lord Alington, a Peer of Parliament, has, by his action in connection with the recent election in North Dorset, been guilty of a breach of the Privileges of this House."

The House had by an overwhelming majority declared its opinion that for a Peer to interfere in a Parliamentary election was a breach of its Privileges, and he thought that when he produced the evidence on which he based his Motion, it would be obvious that there had been committed a breach of Privilege. During a recent election in North Dorset, Lord Alington, after the issue of the Writ, sent the following letter to his tenants—

> "Though I am unable to take any active part in the coming election in North Dorset, I

should wish the very good feeling which has always existed between my family and yourself to be further maintained by the support of Sir Randolf Baker, who,"—[he presumed "whom" was meant]—"I hope to see successful."

Now that was not a letter written without due knowledge that it was a breach of Privilege, for subsequently to sending it out, Lord Alington made a speech in which he declared that he had done nothing unconstitutional, nothing to be ashamed of, but something to glory in, and every time an election came he would issue a similar letter. Clearly the Rule had been broken in this particular case, and if no notice were taken of this proceeding the adoption of the Resolution which the House had just passed would be a sham and a farce. This was a broad question of principle, and Lord Alington, who formerly was one of the most popular Members of the House of Commons, by his own action in voting for the Sessional Order, showed that he attached importance to it. Now what was the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House going to do in reference to this matter? For him to decide to do nothing after the decision just come to was to take up an untenable position. Lord Alington had been using his powers as a Peer and as a landlord to induce his tenants to support a certain candidate, and they were bound to take notice of that fact. If they did not they would simply be inviting Peers to come on every platform and take part in every election. They ought emphatically to condemn the action of Lord Alington. He did not suggest that the noble Lord should be brought to the Bar of the House, although he would like to point out that if some unfortunate journalist had written a paragraph reflecting on the honour of any hon. Member, he would have been promptly summoned to the Bar and threatened with imprisonment in the Clock Tower for having been guilty of a breach of the Privileges of the House. Why should they make a difference in the case of a Peer who openly violated an Order of the House? In view of the fact that there would probably be a general election in the near future—he was glad to see that the Member for West Birmingham nodded his head in favour of that proposition——

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): I should like to know what I nodded my head at.

MR. DALZIEL: I understood the right hon. Gentleman to assent to what I was saying—that he was desirous of a general election.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not admit that I assented to that.

MR. DALZIEL: I am sorry I misinterpreted the right hon. Gentleman. I can only repeat that if we take no notice of Lord Alington's conduct, the Order becomes a sham and a farce, and it is ridiculous for the Leader of the House, session after session, to ask us to pass it.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON seconded.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Lord Alington, a Peer of Parliament, has, by his action in connection with the recent Election in North Dorset, been guilty of a breach of the Privileges of this House."—(*Mr. Dalziel.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the House would gain anything by pursuing this matter further. I remember that some years ago Lord Rosebery was attacked, after making a speech when an election was proceeding, and Sir William Harcourt, who was then leading the House, moved the previous Question. That, I think, is the course the House ought now to adopt. If the House adopts the Motion of the hon. Gentleman we can take no further action. We announce publicly that our Privileges have been violated, but we can do nothing more; we call public attention to the evil, but we do nothing to redress the injury which we have publicly advertised. We cannot summon a Member of the other House to attend at the Bar, and we cannot give him into custody. I therefore object to the House passing this Resolution. I regard the Standing Order as being, in practice, merely an indication of the view of the House that Peers ought not to act as commoners in the ordinary political contests of the country. It suggests that they should not so act after a Writ has been issued. But surely the hon. Member opposite does not wish to press the Order to its logical conclusion and to say that no Peer shall have any part at any time in dealing with affairs of the county or electoral division in which he resides, or in which his property is situated? All that is desired is to maintain the contention—it is nothing more than that—that it is desirable overt action shall not be taken by any Peer while an election is actually in progress. It would not be a dignified proceeding for this House to announce publicly that an injury has been done it, and that it can do nothing to redress it. Under these circumstances, and bearing in mind that the Standing Order does practically attain the object for which it was framed, I beg to move the previous Question.

Question put, "That the Question be not now put."

The House divided:—Ayes 257; Noes, 191. (Division List No. 2.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. H. O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middles'x
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J A. (Glasgow)
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, RtHnJ. A. (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles C. (Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir R. B. (Inv'rn'ss B'ghs
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin &Nairn)
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir EW (B'rySEdm'nds)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, RtHnLordG (Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nd'y)
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
Heath, Sir James (Staffords. NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, RtHnH. (Somers't E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Houston Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Midd. Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry C.
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, R. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W

Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W.J.H(Dumfriesshire
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir W. (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Smith,H.C (North'mb.Tynesde
Smith,RtHnJ Parker(Lanarks)
Spear, John Ward.
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.EH(Sheffield)
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir W. H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby,SirCharles G.E. (Notts.)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley,H.(Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd,SirW.H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B.Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Asquith,Rt.Hn. HerbertHenry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies,M.Vaughan- (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Ellice,CaptEC(S Andrw's Bghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans,SirFrancisH (Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N. E.)
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis Vernon
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C.E.H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Kearley, Hudson, E.
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)

M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan,J.Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley,Rt.Hn. John(Montrose)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col. John P. (Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, J. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Dowd, John
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Richards, T. (W. Monmouth)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, H. L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely,Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R.(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, T. C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, A. (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, D. A. (Merthyr)
Thomas,J.A.(Glamorgan,Gow'r
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills, Arthur W. (N. Dorset
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk,Mid.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, J.W.(Worcestersh., N.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse,SirJT (Huddersf'd)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Dalziel and Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

ELECTIONS.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices.

WITNESSES.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime or misdemeanour; and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the Sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid.

VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS.

Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker; and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same.

PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

OUTLAWRIES BILL.

"For the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time.

JOURNAL.

Ordered, That the Journal of this House, from the end of the last session to the end of the present session, with an Index thereto, be printed.

Ordered, That 500 copies of the said Journal and Index be printed by the appointment and under the direction of Sir Courtenay Peregrine Ilbert, K.S.C.I., C.I.E., the Clerk of this House.

Ordered, That the said Journal and Index be printed by such person as shall be licensed by Mr. Speaker, and that no other person do presume to print the same.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by His Majesty's Command during the Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1896:—

1. Explosions (Newcastle Emlyn).—Copy of Report by Captain J. H. Thomson, His Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an Explosion which occurred in an ironmonger's shop at Newcastle Emlyn, Carmarthenshire, on the 25th November, 1904.

2. Beck (Adolf) (Committee of Inquiry).—Copy of Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the case of Mr. Adolf Beck, together with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and facsimiles of various Documents.

3. Coal Supplies (Royal Commission).—Copy of Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the Coal Resources of the United Kingdom. Parts I. to XIII.

4. Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Vol. I.

5. Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Lothian, preserved at Blickling Hall, Norfolk.

6. Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report on the Manuscripts of Lady du Cane.

7. Mines and Quarries.—Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1903; Part II., Labour; General Report and Statistics relating to persons employed and Accidents at Mines and Quarries in the United Kingdom, and to the enforcement of the Mines and Quarries Acts.

8. Mines and Quarries.—Copy of General Report and Statistics for the year 1903; Part III., Output; General Report and Statistics relating to the Output and Value of the Minerals raised in the United Kingdom, the amount and value of the metals produced, and the exports and imports of Minerals.

9. (Prisons (England and Wales).—Copy of Report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons, with Appendices, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

10. Factories and Workshops.—Copy of Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for 1903. Part II. Tables.

11. Factory and Workshop (Draft Regulations — Docks, Wharves, and Quays).—Copy of Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Chester Jones, esquire, on the Draft Regulations for Docks, Wharves, and Quays.

12. Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Great Britain).—Copy of Forty-seventh Report of His Majesty's Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools for 1903. Part II. General Report and Appendices III. to XI.

13. Police (Metropolis).—Copy of Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1903.

14. Inebriates Acts (Inspector's Report).—Copy of Report of the Inspector under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1900, for the year 1903.

15. Workmen's Compensation.—Copy of Statistics of Proceedings under the Workmen's Compensation Acts, 1897 and 1900, and the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, during the year 1903.

16. Workmen's Compensation.—Copy of Report of the Committee appointed

by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to inquire into the Law relating to Compensation for Injuries to Workmen. Vol. II., Minutes of Evidence, with Index.

17. Judicial Statistics (England and Wales).—Copy of Judicial Statistics, Part I., relating to Criminal Proceedings, Police, Coroners, Prisons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Criminal Lunatics, for England and Wales for 1903.

18. East India (Trade).—Copy of Review of Trade of India for 1903–4.

19. East India (Statistical Abstract).—Copy of Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1893–4 to 1902–3. Thirty-eighth Number.

20. East India (Sanitary Measures).—Copy of Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1902–3 (Vol. XXXVI.).

21. Imperial Institute (Indian Section).—Copy of Annual Report of the Imperial Institute (Indian Section) for the year 1903–4.

22. East India (Tibet). — Copy of Further Papers relating to Tibet (No. III.).

23. East India (Excise). — Copy of Papers relating to the Excise Administration in Assam.

24. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of an additional Light Railway, in the county of Gloucester, in the borough of Cheltenham, and the abandonment of the construction of part of another Light Railway already authorised in the same borough (Cheltenham and District Light Railway (Extension No. 3) Order, 1904).

25. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of East Suffolk, from Melton to Bromeswell, Sutton Shottisham, Hollesley, Alderton, and Bawdsey (Woodbridge and Bawdsey Light Railway Order, 1904).

26. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending The Brackenhill Light Railway Order, 1901 (Brackenhill Light Railway (Extension of Time) Order, 1904).

27. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending The Tickhill Light Railway Order, 1901 (Tickhill Light Railway (Extension of Time) Order, 1904).

28. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending The Maidstone and Faversham Junction Light Railway Order, 1901 (Maidstone and Faversham Junction Light Railway (Extension of Time) Order, 1904.

29. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Essex from Southend by way of Rochford, Creeksea, Burnham, Southminster, Asheldham, Dengie, Tillingham, Bradwell-juxta-Mare, and West Mersea, to Colchester (Southend and Colchester Light Railways Order, 1904).

30. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending the Axminster and Lyme Regis Light Railway Order, 1899 (Axminster and Lyme Regis Light Railway (Further Capital Powers) Order, 1904).

31. Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the parish of Northam and the parish and borough of Bideford, in the county of Devon, in extension of the Bideford, Westward Ho! and Appledore Railway, and the working of that railway as a Light Railway under The Light Railways Act, 1896 (Bideford, Westward Ho! and Appledore Light Railway Order, 1904).

32. Railway Accidents. — Copy of Returns of Accidents and Casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several Railway Companies in the United

Kingdom during the three months ending 30th June, 1904, together with Reports of the Inspecting Officers of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain Accidents which were inquired into.

33. Railway Accidents. — Copy of Returns of Accidents and Casualties as reported to the Board of Trade by the several Railway Companies in the United Kingdom during the three months ending 30th September, 1904, together with Reports of the Inspecting Officers of the Railway Department to the Board of Trade upon certain Accidents which were inquired into.

34. Railway Servants (Hours of Labour).—Copy of Return, in pursuance of Section 4 of The Regulation of Railways Act, 1889, of Railway Servants of certain classes who were on one or more occasions during the month of October, 1903, on duty on the railways of the United Kingdom for more than twelve hours at a time; or who, after being on duty more than twelve hours, were allowed to resume work with less than nine hours rest.

35. Foreign Import Duties.—Copy of Statement of the Rates of Import Duties levied in European Countries, in the United States, in Japan, China, and Persia, upon the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom in 1904.

36. British and Foreign Trade and Industry. — Copy of Second Series of Memoranda, Statistical Tables, and Charts, prepared in the Board of Trade, with reference to various matters bearing on British and Foreign Trade and Industrial Conditions.

37. Muscat Region (Trade).—Copy of Report on the condition and prospects of British Trade in Oman, Bahrein, and the Arab Ports in the Persian Gulf by H. W. Maclean, Special Commissioner of the Commercial Intelligence Committee of the Board of Trade.

38. Unemployed in Foreign Countries. —Copy of Report to the Board of Trade on Agencies and Methods for dealing with the Unemployed in certain Foreign Countries by Mr. David F. Schloss.

39. Earnings of Agricultural Labourers. —Copy of Second Report by Mr. Wilson Fox on the Wages, Earnings, and Conditions of Employment of Agricultural Labourers in the United Kingdom, with Statistical Tables and Charts.

40. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings during the months of March, April, May, June, July, August, and September, 1904.

41. National Education (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to the Seventieth Report of the Commissioners, being for the year 1903. Section I.

42. National Education (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to the Seventieth Report of the Commissioners, being for the year 1903. Section II.

43. National Education (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to the Seventieth Report of the Commissioners, being for the year 1903. Section III.

44. National Education (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to the Seventieth Report of the Commissioners, being for the year 1903. Section IV.

45. Agricultural Statistics (Ireland).—Copy of Tables showing the extent in statute acres and the produce of the Crops for the year 1904.

46. Agricultural Statistics (Ireland).—Copy of Abstracts showing the Acreage under Crops and the number of Live Stock in each county and province of Ireland, for the year 1903–4.

47. Agricultural Statistics (Ireland) (Migratory Labourers).—Copy of Report and Tables relating to Irish Migratory Agricultural and other Labourers for the year 1904.

48. Evictions (Ireland). — Copy of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th September, 1904.

49. Evictions (Ireland). — Copy of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1904.

50. Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887 (Eviction Notices).—Copy of Return of Eviction Notices filed during the quarter ended 30th September, 1904.

51. Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887 (Eviction Notices).—Copy of Return of Eviction Notices filed during the quarter ended 31st December, 1904.

52. Banking, Railway, and Canal Statistics (Ireland).—Copy of Report

on the Banking, Railway, and Canal Statistics of Ireland for the half-year ended 30th June, 1904.

53. Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Ireland).—Copy of Forty-second Report of the Inspector for the year 1903.

54. Lunacy (Ireland).—Copy of Fifty-third Report, with Appendices, of Inspectors of Lunatics (Ireland) for the year 1903.

55. Congested Districts Board (Ireland).—Copy of Thirteenth Report of the Board, being for the year ending 31st March, 1904.

56. Royal University of Ireland.—Copy of Twenty-second Report of the Royal University of Ireland, being for the year 1903.

57. Local Government Board (Ireland).—Copy of Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Ireland, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

58. Ireland Development Grant Act, 1903.—Copy of Report of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland of all his Proceedings under the Act, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

59. Fisheries (Ireland) Acts.—Copy of Manual prepared for the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Ireland, on the Fisheries (Ireland) Acts.

60. Army (Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances).—Copy of List of Exceptions to the Army Regulations as to Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances sanctioned during the year 1903–4.

61. Military Prisons.—Copy of Report on the Discipline and Management of Military Prisons in 1903.

62. Army.—Copy of Amendments in the Rules of Procedure under the Army Act.

63. Army.—Copy of Approximate Estimate of Expenditure under the Military Works Acts of 1897, 1899, and 1901.

64. Army.—Copy of Order in Council defining the duties of the Army Council.

65. Army.—Copy of Order in Council defining the duties of the Inspector-General of the Forces.

66. Army.—Copy of Order in Council defining the duties of the Director of Army Finance.

67. Army.—Copy of Report on the trial of the Short Rifle by the Army and Navy.

68. Somaliland (Despatches).—Copy of Despatches, etc., regarding the Military Operations in Somaliland from the 18th January, 1902, to the 31st May, 1904.

69. Board of Education (Special Reports).—Copy of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 12. Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, including Reports on the Training of Native Races. Part I. West Indies and Central America, St. Helena, Cyprus, and Gibraltar.

70. Board of Education (Special Reports).—Copy of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 13. Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, including Reports on the Training of Native Races. Part II. West Africa, Basutoland, Southern Rhodesia, East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, Mauritius, Seychelles.

71. Board of Education (Special Reports).—Copy of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 14. Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, including Reports on the Training of Native Races. Part III. Federated Malay States, Hong Kong, Straits Settlements; Fiji, Falkland Islands.

72. Board of Education.—Copy of Regulations relating to the Royal College of Science, the Royal College of Art, and to Museums under the Board of Education from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905.

73. Board of Education.—Copy of Reports from University Colleges, 1904.

74. Board of Education.—Copy of (1) Grants paid in respect of School Boards under Section 97 of Elementary Education Act, 1870, (2) School Board Accounts, (3) List of Loans, for 1903–4.

75. Board of Education.—Copy of Report on the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Royal College of Science and Art, the Geological Survey and Museum, and on the work of the Solar Physics Committee for the year 1903.

76. Board of Education.—Copy of Lists of Secondary Schools, Science and Art Classes, and Evening Schools and Schools of Art, under the administration of the Board of Education, for the school year 1902–3.

77. Board of Education.—Copy of Report of the Board of Education for the year 1903–4.

78. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Distribution of Grants).—Copy of Annual Report on the Distribution of Grants for Agricultural Education and Research in the year 1903–4, etc.

79. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to investigate experimentally and to report upon certain questions connected with the Dipping and Treatment of Sheep.

80. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Departmental Committee). — Copy of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to investigate experimentally and to report upon certain questions connected with the Dipping and Treatment of Sheep, with Appendices.

81. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to inquire into and report upon the working in Great Britain of The Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1893.

82. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to inquire into and report upon the working in Great Britain of the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1893, with Appendices and Index.

83. Judicial Statistics (Scotland).—Copy of Report on the Judicial Statistics of Scotland for the year 1903.

84. Births, Deaths, and Marriages (Scotland).—Copy of Forty-eighth Detailed Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Scotland (Abstracts of 1902).

85. Sheriff Court Procedure (Scotland) (Departmental Committee).—Copy of Report of a Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary for Scotland to inquire into Sheriff Court Procedure, with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index.

86. Navy.—Copy of Memorandum relating to the Distribution and Mobilisation of the Fleet.

87. Peterhead Harbour.—Copy of Reports respecting Peterhead Harbour Works.

88. Meteorology.—Copy of Report of the Meteorological Council to the Royal Society for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

89. Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copies of Reports, Nos. 423 (Sierra Leone, Annual Report for 1903), 424 (Gambia, Annual Report for 1903), 425 (Ceylon, Annual Report for 1903), 426 (Gold Coast, Annual Report for 1903), 427 (Lagos, Annual Report for 1903), 428 (Bahamas, Report for 1903–4), 429 (Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, Annual Report for 1903), 430 (Mauritius, Annual Report for 1903), 431 (Seychelles, Annual Report for 1903), 432 (Barbados, Report for 1903–4), 433 (Southern Nigeria, Annual Report for 1903), 434 (Fiji, Annual Report for 1903), 435 (Straits Settlements, Annual Report for 1903), 436 (Grenada, Annual Report for 1903), 437 (Northern Nigeria, Annual Report for 1903), 438 (Jamaica, Report for 1903–4), 439 (Malta, Report for 1903–4), 440 (Bechuanaland Protectorate, Report for 1902–3 and 1903–4), 441 (British Guiana, Report for 1903–4), 442 (Trinidad and Tobago, Report for 1903–4), 443 (St. Lucia, Annual Report for 1903), 444 (Basutoland), Report for 1903–4).

90. Colonial Reports (Miscellaneous).—Copies of Reports, Nos. 28 (Reports on Rubber in the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone), 29 (Ceylon, Reports on the Results of the Mineral Survey in 1903–4 by Professor W. R. Dunstan, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.).

91. Straits Settlements.—Copy of Reports on the Federated Malay States for 1903.

92. Transvaal (British Indians).—Copy of Correspondence relating to the position of British Indians in the Transvaal.

93. Cyprus.—Copy of Annual Report on Cyprus for 1903–4.

94. Cancer Research (Colonies).—Copy of Correspondence relating to Cancer Research in the Colonies.

95. Fiji.—Copy of Correspondence relating to Native Taxation and the Communal System in Fiji.

96. Colonies (Preferential Trade).—Copy of Papers relating to Resolutions passed by Colonial Legislatures since 1890 in favour of Preferential Trade Relations with the United Kingdom.

97. West Africa.—Copy of Correspondence relating to the construction oe Railways in Sierra Leone, Lagos, and thf Gold Coast.

98. Crown Agents.—Copy of Accounts of the Crown Agents' Office Funds for the years 1900, 1901, and 1902.

99. British Central Africa.—Copy of Report on the Trade and general condition of the British Central Africa Protectorate for 1903–4.

100. Treaty Series (No. 6, 1904).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Germany, providing for the settlement by Arbitration of certain classes of Questions which may arise between the two Governments. Signed at London, 12th July, 1904.

101. Treaty Series (No. 7, 1904).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and China, respecting the employment of Chinese Labour in British Colonies and Protectorates. Signed at London, 13th May, 1904.

102. Treaty Series (No. 8, 1904).—Copy of Convention between the United Kingdom and Sweden and Norway, providing for the settlement by Arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the respective Governments. Signed at London, 11th August, 1904. Ratifications exchanged at London, 9th November, 1904.

103. Treaty Series (No. 9, 1904).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Switzerland, providing for the settlement by Arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the two Governments. Signed at London, 16th November, 1904.

104. Treaty Series (No. 10, 1904).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Portugal, providing for the settlement by Arbitration of certain classes of questions which may arise between the two Governments. Signed at Windsor, 16th November, 1904.

105. Treaty Series (No. 11, 1904).—Copy of Accession of Sweden to the International Copyright Convention, 9th September, 1886, and the Declaration of 4th May, 1896. 1st August, 1904.

106. Treaty Series (No. 12, 1904).—Copy of Accession of Cuba to the Industrial Property Convention, 1883, etc., 17th November, 1904.

107. Treaty Series (No. 13, 1904).—Copy of Declaration between the United Kingdom and Russia relating to the Constitution of an International Commission of Inquiry on the subject of the North Sea Incident. Signed at St. Petersburg, 25th (12th) November, 1904.

108. Treaty Series (No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Accession of Cuba to Arrangements respecting False Indications of Origin on Goods, and the International Registration of Trade Marks (Industrial Property Union). 1st January, 1905.

109. Treaty Series (No. 2, 1905).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and Russia respecting Joint Stock Companies and other Commercial, Industrial, and Financial Associations. Signed at St. Petersburg, 29th (16th) December, 1904.

110. Africa (No. 12, 1904).—Copy of General Report on the Uganda Protectorate for the year ending 31st March, 1904.

111. Africa (No. 13, 1904).—Copy of Report by Mr. A. E. Butter, on the Survey of the Proposed Frontier between British East Africa and Abyssinia, with a map.

112. Africa (No. 14, 1904).—Copy of Correspondence respecting Slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

113. Africa (No. 15, 1904).—Copy of Report on the East Africa Protectorate for the year 1903–4.

114. Africa (No. 16, 1904).—Copy of Report on the Construction and Working

of the Mombasa-Victoria (Uganda) Railway and Steamboat Service on Lake Victoria, 1903–4.

115. Africa (No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Further Correspondence respecting the Administration of the Independent State of the Congo.

116. Turkey (No. 3, 1904).—Copy of Correspondence respecting the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey.

117. Turkey (No. 4, 1904).—Copy of Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South Eastern Europe.

118. China (No. 5, 1904).—Copy of Report, by Consul General Hosie, on the Province of Ssŭch'uan, with two Maps.

119. Russia (No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Correspondence respecting Contraband of War in connection with Hostilities between Russia and Japan.

120. Russia (No. 2, 1905).—Copy of Correspondence relating to the North Sea Incident.

121. Sugar Convention (Commercial, No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Further Findings of the Permanent Commission established under the Sugar Convention of 5th March, 1902, Report of the British Delegate, and Appeal of His Majesty's Government against certain of those Findings.

122. Detention of the "Captain W. Menzell" (Miscellaneous, No. 2, 1904).—Copy of a Warrant issued by the Secretary of State on 4th December, 1904, authorising the detention of the ship "Captain W. Menzell" at Cardiff.

123. Emission of Smoke (Foreign Regulations) (Miscellaneous, No. 1, 1905).—Copy of Reports on the Laws in Force in certain Foreign Countries in regard to the Emission of Smoke from Chimneys.

124. Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3256 to 3323.

125. Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 619 to 628.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy presented, of Return of Proceedings during the months of October, November, and December, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 7th July, 1904; *Mr. Joyce*]; to lie upon the Table.

AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) ACT, 1899.

Copy presented, of Fifty-five Minutes by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland sanctioning Forms of Instruction for certain County Boroughs, Counties, and Urban Districts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PHARMACY ACTS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Order in Council, dated 2nd November, 1904, approving of a Regulation made by the Pharmaceutical Society of Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MILITIA ACT, 1882 (DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS, IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Return of descriptions of qualifications of Deputy Lieutenants lodged during 1904, as furnished to the Chief Secretary for Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND).

Copies presented, of Four Orders in Council, dated 2nd November, 1904, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Time Table of Examinations for 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Additional rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, making an addition to Rule 9 (a) of the Rules and Programme for 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the Examination in Music [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Additional Rule made by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland as to the French Course [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Two Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland with respect to the Urban County Districts of Ballymena and Omagh [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PRISONS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Order closing the Prison at Wexford under The General Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LEEWARD ISLANDS.

Copy presented, of Amended Prison Rule relating to the employment of female prisoners [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POSTAL AGREEMENT (MEXICO).

Copy presented, of Agreement between the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Post Office of the United States of Mexico for the Exchange of Money Orders, dated 4th February–18th March, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POSTAL CONVENTION (NETHERLANDS).

Copy presented, of Additional Articles relating to increase of maximum to the Money Order Convention of the 7th–14th October, 1871, between the General Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the General Post Office of the Netherlands [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS).

Copy presented, of the Postal Order (Colonial) Regulations, 1904, dated 29th September, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS).

Copy presented, of the Postal Order (Colonial) Amendment (No. 1) Regulations, 1904, dated 28th December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (SPECIAL EXCEPTION—OVERTIME).

Copy presented, of Order, dated 15th November, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 49 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception under that section to non-textile factories and workshops, or parts thereof, in which the making-up of any article of table linen, bed linen, or other household linen is carried on [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (SPECIAL EXCEPTION—NIGHTWORK.)

Copy presented, of Order, dated 9th August, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards, employed on the system of three shifts of not more than eight hours each in the processes of pressing and reeling cordite and nitrating and moulding guncotton carried on in non-textile factories [[by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (DANGEROUS AND UNHEALTHY INDUSTRIES).

Copy presented, of Regulations, dated 24th October, 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 79 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, in respect of the processes of loading, unloading, moving and handling goods in, on, or at any dock, wharf, or quay, and the processes of loading, unloading, or coaling any ship in any dock, harbour, or canal [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS).

Copy presented, of Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the certified

Inebriate Reformatory at East Hasling, Norfolk [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF SALFORD).

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Salford, altering certain Polling Districts in the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Lancaster altering certain Polling Districts in the Middleton, Stretford, and Widnes Parliamentary Divisions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Southampton altering certain Polling Districts in the Andover, New Forest, and Fareham Parliamentary Divisions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF DURHAM).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Durham altering certain Polling Districts in the county [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Lancaster altering certain Polling Districts in the Ince, Lancaster, and Westhoughton Parliamentary Divisions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF DEVONPORT).

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the borough altering certain Polling Districts in the borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF BERKS).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Berks altering certain Polling Districts for the several Parliamentary Divisions of the County [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Mary Ann Murray, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Ada Hanson, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of a Licence to be at large granted to Elizabeth Ann Holden, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney, E. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented of a Licence to be at large granted to Lucy Gould, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Home of St. John the Baptist, Pimlico, S.W. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of a Licence granted to Kate Ellen Shoesmith, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Home of Compassion, 63, Sutherland Street, Pimlico, S.W. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of Licence granted to Alice Robinson, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented, of a Licence granted to Sarah Wildman, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney, E. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE AUTHORITIES, ETC.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 11th August, 1904; *Mr. Charles McArthur*]; to lie upon the Table.

LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES.

Copy presented, of Statements of Accounts, and of Life Assurance and Annuity Business and Abstracts of Actuarial Reports, deposited with the Board of Trade during the year ended 31st December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 1.]

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) ACT, 1904 (RULE).

Copy presented, of Rule made by the Railway and, Canal Commissioners in relation to applications made under Section 3 of The Railways (Private Sidings) Act, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE FUND.

Account presented, of the General Lighthouse Fund, showing the income and expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 2.]

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Copy presented, of Regulations to be observed by the Admirals, Masters, and Crews of Fishing Vessels and Carriers forming the fleets belonging to the Port of Kingston-upon-Hull under Section 417 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

WEST HIGHLAND RAILWAY (EXTENSION FROM BANAVIE TO MALLAIG).

Copy presented, of Third Annual Report by the Board of Trade as to the condition and working of the Banavie and Mallaig Railway, the rates and charges for traffic, and the receipts and expenditure of any Company in working the Railway, for the year 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 3.]

EAST INDIA (EXAMINATIONS).

Copy presented, of Regulations for Examinations for the Civil Service of India [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending 30th September, 1904, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 4.]

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN ENGLAND).

Copy presented, of Return of all Loans raised in England, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 30th September, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 5.]

BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK ND BIRMINGHAM ACT, 1904.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, for the foundation of the Bishopric of Birmingham [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

COPYRIGHT ACTS, 1844 TO 1886.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th December, 1904, giving effect to the Accession of Sweden to the International Convention, 1886 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

DOCKYARD PORTS REGULATION ACT, 1865.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 24th October, 1904, amending the Regulations affecting the Dockyard Port of Plymouth [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EXPLOSIVES ACT, 1875.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, prohibiting, except under certain conditions, certain Fireworks of a dangerous nature [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD).

Copy presented, of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Magdalen College, Oxford, on 11th May, 1904, amending the existing Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 6.]

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD).

Copy presented, of Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on 15th June, 1904, amending Statute XV. (Pension Fund) of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 7.]

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD).

Copy presented, of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Balliol College, Oxford, on 26th May, 1904, amending (1) Statute III., and (2) Statute IV., and Schedule B. of the College Statutes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 8.]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACTS, 1878 TO 1904.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th January, 1905, specifying New Fees to be taken in respect of the Verification and Stamping by Inspectors of Weights and Measures, of Weights, Measures, and Weighing and Measuring Instruments [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT, 1878, AND WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (METRIC SYSTEM) ACT, 1897.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th December, 1903, approving a New Denomination of Standard Measure of length of Twenty Metres [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copy presented, of Orders in Council of 24th October, 1904, entitled The British Protectorates Neutrality Order in Council, 1904, The Foreign Jurisdiction Neutrality Order in Council, 1904, The China and Corea Order in Council, 1904, The Southern Nigeria Order in Council, 1904, and The Cyprus Telegraphs Order, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 10th February, 1905, entitled The East Africa and Uganda (Currency) Order in Council, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of the 14th November, 1904, entitled the British Protectorates Neutrality (Amendment) Order in Council, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 12th December, 1904, approving a statement of proposed new and revised appointments and alterations of salaries in the establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 24th October, 1904, directing that Registries of Sea Fishing Boats be kept at Port Talbot and Methil [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 10th February, 1905, confirming certain Bye-laws made by the Trinity House of Kingston-upon Hull fixing the Rates of Pilotage between the ports of Hull and Goole [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 30th January, 1905, providing for the establishment of Committees for the Training of Teachers [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY PENSIONS.

Copy presented, of Return showing the names of all Constabulary Officers now in receipt of Pensions, of all Head Constables, Sergeants, and Constables, and of all Widows and Children to whom

Pensions have been granted since the Constabulary Estimate for 1904–5 was prepared, with the amount and date of Pension in each case [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1855.

Copy presented, of Account for the year 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Copy presented, of Return of the amount of Notes issued more than forty years which have not been presented for payment, and which have been written off on the 8th December, 1904, from the total amount of Notes issued from the Issue Department of the Bank of England [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

Account presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1904, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 9.]

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.

Account presented, of Receipts and Expenditure of the Paymaster-General on behalf of the Supreme Court of Judicature in respect of the Funds of Suitors of the Court in the year ended 29th February, 1904, and of Account of the National Debt Commissioners for the same period in respect of Funds held by them on behalf of the Supreme Court of Judicature, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 10.]

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

Account presented, showing the gross amount received and expended on account of the Telegraph Service during the year ended 31st March, 1904, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 11.]

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

Account presented, of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Duchy of Cornwall for the year ended 31st December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 12.]

LAND REGISTRY (NEW BUILDINGS) ACT, 1900.

Account presented, showing the Money issued from the Consolidated Fund, under the provisions of The Land Registry (New Buildings) Act, 1900, and of the Expenditure; the Money expended and borrowed and the Securities created under the said Act, for the period ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 13.]

PUBLIC OFFICES SITE (DUBLIN) ACT, 1903.

Account presented, showing the Money issued from the Consolidated Fund under the provisions of The Public Offices Site (Dublin) Act, 1903, and of the Expenditure; the Money expended and borrowed and the Securities created under the said Act for the period ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Abstract Account presented, showing the Issues made from the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom in the financial year ended 31st March, 1904, for the Interest and Management of the Debt, for the Civil List, and for all other Issues in the financial year for services charged directly on the said Fund; with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 14.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 28th November, 1904, granting to Tom F. Dickinson, Sorting Clerk and Telegraphist, Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 21st November, 1904, granting to Joseph Livingston, Engineer, 1st Class, Engineer-in-Chief's Department, Post

Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 17th January, 1905, granting to Charles F. Williams, Second Division Clerk, Admiralty, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 6th September, 1904, granting to Alfred Webster, Clerk, Derby Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 2nd September, 1904, granting to Robert Henderson, Lineman, Engineer-in-Chief's Department, Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 11th January, 1905, granting to John Still, Inspector, Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 6th September, 1904, granting to Samuel J. Morton, Assistant Superintendent, Boston Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 6th January, 1905, granting to Alfred H. Beaumont, Town Postman, Leeds Post Office, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 17th January, 1905, granting to Henry G. Bartlett, 2nd Division Clerk (Higher Grade), Admiralty, a retiring allowance under the Act [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATIONS.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 26th August, 1904, declaring that for the due and efficient discharge of the duties of the office of Professor of Zoology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin, professional or other peculiar qualifications not ordinarily to be acquired on the Public Service are required [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1859.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 5th October, 1904, awarding a Special Pension to Sir Augustus W. L. Hemming, G.C.M.G., late Governor of Jamaica [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 3rd September, 1904, declaring that Richard Leamy, Labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 14th October, 1904, declaring that John W. Ginno, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 21st October, 1904, declaring that Benjamin Banks, Royal Small Arms Factory, Enfield, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 4th March, 1904, declaring that Frederick George Postans, Postmaster of Newmarket Post Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 29th October, 1904, declaring that William Gregory, Carpenter, Royal Carriage Department, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 21st October, 1904, declaring that John Foster, Boy Labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

COUNTY COURTS ACTS, 1888, AND SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (OFFICERS) ACT, 1879.

Copy of Order made by the Lord Chancellor, dated 25th August, 1904, directing that the Registrar of the County Court of Lancashire, held at Salford, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Registrar of the said County Court [by Act].

SUPREME COURT (RULES).

Copy of Rules of the Supreme Court, dated 1st October, 1904 [by Act].

DEEDS OF ARRANGEMENT ACT, 1887, (RULE).

Copy of Rule under the Act, dated 1st October, 1904 [by Act].

LUNACY.

Copy of Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of Patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the Visitors of Lunatics between 1st April, 1904, and 30th September, 1904 [by Act].

LUNACY.

Copy of Return to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made and the number of Patients seen by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ending on the 31st December, 1904 [by Act].

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Accounts of Exchequer Bills and other Government Securities purchased, and of the amount of Balances of Sums issued for the Payment of Dividends, etc., for the year ending 5th January, 1905 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 15.]

COUNTY COURT RULES.

Copy of County Court Rules, 1904 [by Act].

LUNACY.

Copy of Return of all sums received by the Visitors of Lunatics for travelling expenses, or upon any other account, from 1st January to 31st December, 1904 [by Act].

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD.

Copy of Accounts of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board for the year ending 1st July, 1904 [by Act].

POSTMASTER-GENERAL AND NATIONAL TELEPHONE COMPANY.

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum of the Postmaster-General dated the 14th February, 1905, setting forth an Agreement dated 2nd February, 1905, between the Postmaster-General and the National Telephone Company, Limited."—(*Lord Stanley*.)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

KING'S SPEECH.

Mr. SPEAKER reported His Majesty's Speech, and read it to the House. (*See* page 1.)

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

*MR. MOUNT (Berkshire, Newbury) in moving

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which

Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament;" said he was sure the House would extend to him a full measure of that indulgence which it had never failed to grant to those who, in preceding years, had been privileged to undertake the difficult and delicate task entrusted to him. The House would have listened with satisfaction to the opening sentences of the Speech from the Throne. The announcement that our relations with foreign countries were of a friendly character would be none the less welcome because of late years it had been not unfamiliar; and their earnest prayer was that for many years to come on these occasions a similar statement might be made. No lesson was necessary to convince this country of the advantages of peace, but had an object-lesson been needed in the horrors of war between two powerful nations, equipped with all the armaments which modern military science can devise, one had only to look at the struggle which, unfortunately, was still progressing in the Far East. However much they might admire the courage and gallantry of the soldiers and sailors engaged in that conflict, they could not shut their eyes to the sorrow and suffering which every battle, every skirmish, inevitably brought to many homes far removed from the scene of combat. In the course of that war there must have been many a moment of anxiety to other countries, lest they also should be involved in the contest raging in Manchuria. It was only by the strictest observance of the somewhat ill-defined obligations incumbent upon neutral Powers that such a danger could be averted, and the House must have noted with much satisfaction that His Majesty's Government had done all in their power in that direction. There was much in the Gracious Speech from the Throne which gave reason to hope that for many years to come peaceful and, what was more, friendly relations between this country and foreign Powers would be maintained.

A considerable portion of the passage dealing with foreign affairs was taken up by a narration of Agreements concluded between this country and other Powers, by which questions of possible controversy had been removed, he hoped, from all danger of decision by the dread arbitrament of war to the more peaceful solution by mutual agreement or reference to arbitration. It could hardly be supposed that the time would ever come when nations would be satisfied to submit to the decision of a Court of arbitration on all matters, no matter how important; but any extension of the principle of arbitration would be gladly welcomed by that House, and it would have been noted with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government had lost no opportunity of putting into practice those principles of which, in theory at any rate, all Members expressed so high an admiration. The House would have heard with pleasure the announcement of the ratification by the French Legislature of the convention between France and England. It would be out of place on the present occasion for him to say anything as to the differences for which a solution was found in that convention, or to deal in detail with the convention itself. All would admit that the true value of that convention was not confined to the fact that by it a solution was found of outstanding differences, but that it also lay in the discovery which was made by France and by this country that both nations were mutually anxious to find a solution of those differences mutually satisfactory to both. From that discovery had come a better understanding between the two countries, and the House would welcome the better feeling of friendship which had resulted from that convention and which had already borne valuable fruit. He felt sure the House would receive with scarcely less gratification the further announcement that Agreements with other countries had been made, by which certain matters upon which a dispute might possibly arise in future would be referred to arbitration.

In regard to the International Commission now sitting at Paris, His Majesty's Government had shown the same anxiety to maintain, wherever possible, amicable relations with all other countries. He would not venture to say a word as to the events the investigation of which had been entrusted to that inquiry, that would be highly improper while the question was still under consideration; but he did not think he would be going too far when he said that both the House and the country learnt, with intense relief, of the possibility of a peaceable and honourable solution of an event which had deeply stirred the whole of the British Empire. In regard to all these matters—the International Commission now sitting at Paris, the ratification by France and this country of the Anglo-French Convention, and the conclusion of arbitration Agreements with other nations—they saw the same desire on the part of His Majesty's Government to find an amicable solution upon matters of controversy before they reached an acute stage; and in all of them they found evidence upon which they might base the hope that for many years to come they would maintain friendly relations with all foreign Powers.

There was one part of Europe which, he regretted to say, still gave cause for anxiety, and from which their attention had been unduly taken by more stirring events happening further afield. The Balkan Peninsula had long been an unfortunate country, torn with racial and religious dissension, and, therefore, it was satisfactory to learn that something had been done to ameliorate the condition of that unfortunate country. Much was being done by the valuable work of the officers of the *gendarmerie* to which allusion was made, but much still remained to be done, and there was a not unnatural impatience at the slow progress which had been made there. It should, however, be more fully realised what the difficulties were and what the nature of the obstacles were which had to be removed. No reforms in that unfortunate country could be effective unless they had behind them not one or two Powers, but the whole Concert of Europe. However efficient or powerful that Concert might be, when it had determined on the specific reform it desired to initiate, it could not fail from its nature to be slow to set in motion, and he thought that they might congratulate themselves upon the fact that some improvement had been made and that the Powers were working in harmony in their endeavour to restore order out of chaos in that distracted district.

Turning from the Continent of Europe to India, he was sure the whole House would join in congratulations upon the successful issue of the political Mission to Lhasa. He would not discuss the causes which led to that Mission, they had been the subject of debate in the House, nor would he say anything as to the reasons which, in his opinion, more than amply justified its dispatch. But whatever hon. Members might think as to the inception of that Mission he thought all would join in congratulations upon the admirable way in which it had been carried out, and as to the gallantry and fortitude of the soldiers, whether belonging to the native Army from India or to the British Army, who fought side by side in that campaign. Had they wanted any proof of the manner in which the British soldiers or the soldiers of the native Indian Army were ready and willing to put up with the varying conditions which the service of the British Empire might demand, they could hardly have a better example than the two last expeditions in which they had taken part. Whether upon the burning sands of Somaliland or the snow-clad hills of Tibet, the soldiers had shown themselves ready to endure the greatest hardships in a manner well worthy of the praise and commendation of the House and the country.

Turning from foreign politics to domestic policy the House had heard, not with much surprise, that His Majesty's Government intended to lay before the House a proposal to remedy the inequalities which existed in the arrangement of the electoral areas in this country. It was more than twenty years since the last Redistribution Bill was passed by the House of Commons, and during that period there must have been many changes in the distribution of the population throughout these islands. Many towns had outgrown the Parliamentary boundaries whilst others had failed to keep pace with the rest of the country, and there were many other inequalities to which he did not need to allude. Whilst these inequalities remained unremedied he thought the House could hardly feel that it had done all in its power to ensure that equal distribution of representative power in the country which a country with a representative Assembly ought to have. To cure these evils would no doubt entail some self-sacrifice on the part of some hon. Members of the House, but he hoped that he should not be considered presumptuous or over-sanguine when he expressed his belief that that self-sacrifice would be willingly made.

He felt sure the House would desire to associate itself with the regret and sympathy expressed in His Majesty's gracious Speech with the distress and suffering occasioned by lack of employment during the past winter, and they all gladly welcomed the steps taken by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board to meet those evils. It should not, however, be forgotten that the want of employment during the winter, though it was this year abnormal, was an evil which almost invariably recurred, but he was sure that any proposal to put upon a permanent basis those temporary provisions which, even during the short time they had been in operation, had been shown to be of some value to meet the evils which they all deplored would be cordially welcomed by the Members of the House.

Among the remaining measures mentioned in His Majesty's gracious Speech were two dealing with local taxation, one a proposal to renew the Agricultural Rating Act and the other to amend the law of valuation. As he represented a constituency mainly dependent, directly or indirectly, on agriculture he desired to say a few words upon that question, which was one of much importance to that great industry. The expenditure charged upon local taxation was ever increasing and was such as would be a serious burden even upon a prosperous industry. It could easily be imagined how heavily such burdens pressed upon a declining industry like agriculture. But this was not all, because the incidence of the local rates not only pressed with relatively greater weight, in country districts, upon occupiers of land than on other classes of the community, but the proportion of the burden they were called upon to bear was actually heavier. If the national expenditure increased the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to apportion the taxes in a fair and equitable manner among the various classes of taxpayers, but this was not so in regard to local taxation, for however much the expenditure on local rates increased there was no alteration made in the apportionment of the burden, and in country districts the principal portion of that burden was placed upon the shoulders of those who derived their livelihood from the occupation of land. Would any one contend that these were the people best able to bear it? If he were to go into the question of the incidence of local taxation on the agricultural industry he feared that he should trespass unduly upon the time of the House and he would be travelling outside the proposals mentioned in His Majesty's Speech; he would, therefore, not deal with it further. But whatever hon. Members might think as to the form which a reform of local taxation ought to take, he thought they would all agree that any such reform should be accompanied by some simplification and co-ordination of the law of valuation, and that co-ordination and simplification he ventured to hope would be found in the Bill which would be laid before the House. In conclusion he thanked with all sincerity hon. Members for the patient manner in which they had listened to him and the kind indulgence they had extended to him in the responsible position which he had occupied that afternoon.

MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS (Sheffield, Ecclesall) said that, in rising to second the Motion so ably proposed by his hon. friend, he was very conscious of his own inability to do justice to the honour conferred upon him, but he gladly accepted the duty as an honour paid to the great constituency and city which three years ago sent him as one of its representatives to that House. Since he had had the privilege of being a Member he had received nothing but the greatest kindness and consideration from all sides of the House, and he did not think that kindness would be lacking during the few minutes in which he had to discharge his difficult and delicate task. His hon. friend had very ably alluded to their foreign relations, and he did not propose to trouble the House in going over the same ground, but he desired to associate himself with what had fallen from him as to their sense of thankfulness that their relations were peaceful with all the world. His hon. friends had alluded to the Arbitration Treaties and the French Agreement, which the Prime Minister described last session as "one of the greatest international transactions which we have to record," concluded by Lord Lansdowne and M. Delcassé, whose continuance in office they all rejoiced to notice. The great statesmen of both political Parties had recognised the great importance of a good understanding with their nearest neighbour. The late Lord Beaconsfield said—

> "A good understanding between England and France is simply this, that so far as the influence of these two great Powers extends, the affairs of the world shall be conducted by their co-operation instead of by their rivalry. But co-operation requires not merely identity of interest, but reciprocal good feeling."

They must all rejoice that that good feeling had been attained, and trust that it might long endure to the great advantage of both countries and to the peace of Europe.

He came now to the paragraph dealing with the form of representative government to be given to the Transvaal, which was receiving the earnest attention of the Government and of those administering the colony, and in so doing, he hoped he was not trespassing beyond his province if he ventured with great respect to tender to the Colonial Secretary their hearty congratulations on the manner in which he had discharged the important duties of the office since he was so suddenly called upon to take them up, owing to the resignation of his very eminent predecessor; and though, perhaps, those sitting on the opposite side of the House might not have agreed with all he had done he felt sure they would acknowledge the courtesy and consideration which he had always shown. In accordance with pledges given both in the terms of surrender that representative institutions leading up to self-government would be introduced, and also by the right hon. Gentleman the late Colonial Secretary, His Majesty's Government were prepared to take another step towards granting that full self-government to the Transvaal, which was their ultimate gaol. But the pledges given were that they would proceed gradually as circumstances allowed. Their desire was, while retaining an Executive nominated by the Crown, to concede the utmost liberty compatible with safety, and to remember that the inhabitants affected belonged to nations accustomed to freedom.

He would now venture to refer to one or two measures mentioned in His Majesty's gracious Speech. The first he would mention was rather a delicate one, namely, the difficulty which had arisen in Scotland with regard to ecclesiastical matters. He approached this delicate subject with much fear and doubt. English Members rather liked to leave Scotch matters for their own Members to deal with. A very difficult and unfortunate position had, no doubt, arisen and he thought almost all Parties agreed that some legislation was necessary for the efficient administration of the funds involved, and to promote peace and goodwill among all parties. A Royal Commission was inquiring into all the circumstances, and when their Report was received the House would be in a better position to judge the lines on which legislation should proceed.

With regard to Scotch education he believed there would not be much difference of opinion.

He came now to the paragraph in the gracious Speech dealing with the proposals for diminishing the anomalies prevailing in the arrangement of electoral areas consequent upon the growth and movement of population in recent years; and perhaps, as representing a large and increasing city, he could more forcibly voice the opinions of those large centres of industry than his hon. friend. In order to avoid injustice it was evident that from time to time it was necessary to make fresh arrangements, not too frequently, but when the disproportion had become flagrant. At the present time the disproportion was urgent and pressing, especially owing to the large increase of population round London, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, the counties of Durham and Northumberland, Glasgow and surrounding area, Staffordshire, Glamorganshire, Leeds, Sheffield, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and other cities. As an illustration, he had taken the fifteen largest constituencies, and the fifteen smallest in England and Wales returning one Member. In the fifteen largest there were, according to the register in force on 1st January, 1904, 372,426 voters returning fifteen Members; in the smallest fifteen, 47,951 voters returning fifteen Members. If an elector lived in one of the fifteen big, prosperous, and increasing districts his voting power was only one-eighth of that of the man who lived in one of the small and stationary boroughs. That was to say, it took 24,828 to return one Member in the one case, and only 3,197 in the other. He would not trouble the House with any further figures, but it was evident that there was a great injustice, and he could not think that the small boroughs could be so self-seeking as to desire that they should have a continuance of the anomaly.

The second place in legislative proposals was given to the evils arising from alien immigration, and on account of what happened to the Bill of last session he felt sure he should have the sympathy of the House in dealing with the question. There was nothing new to be said, but the evils continued. Undesirable aliens, mostly from Eastern Europe, were continually admitted into this country without let or hindrance. They brought with them destitution, crime, uncleanness and disease. They drove out the native dweller, and many, being unskilled and in a state of poverty, worked for a rate of wages below a standard upon which a native workman could fairly live. These were real grievances, especially to the native population in the East End of London. The Royal Commission had recommended that the State should regulate this traffic. Other countries and our own Colonies did so, and consequently we, who did not, got the refuse who could not comply with their standards.

Referring to the paragraph in the gracious Speech as to the establishment of authorities to deal with the unemployed, the hon. Member said we had had this question before us for many years. In all our centres of industry it recurred almost every winter, but until the present movement in London there had been no action taken to deal with it on a systematic basis. The end to be sought was this: to create some machinery by which our honest and hard-working men could be temporarily provided for without having to seek relief from the Poor Law, carrying with it disenfranchisement and loss of home. The scheme for London of the President of the Local Government Board had resulted in very admirable work. By it the Poor Law and local authorities had been brought together in joint committees which had been set up to separate applicants for employment into two classes (1) those who were temporarily out of work through no fault of their own, and (2) the ordinary applicants for Poor Law relief, and to endeavour to find work for the first of these classes. There was also a central committee so as to secure uniformity of action, which had done very useful work. The subject was a delicate and difficult one and care must be taken neither to interfere with the proper operation of the Poor Law nor to erect a permanent class of unemployed.

Another important measure promised was one to amend and extend the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. The House would remember that that Act introduced an entirely new principle, and one of very far-reaching importance, into the law regulating compensation for accidents, namely, that mere accident occurring in the course of employment should of itself, irrespective of proof of negligence or of defective machinery or plant, entitle the injured workman, or his dependents in case of death, to receive compensation according to the scale prescribed. The operation of the Act was restricted to certain of the more dangerous occupations. The scheme of the Act was to avoid litigation and that the amount of compensation should be amicably settled between the parties. The working of the Act had proved a great success and, though there had been litigation arising out of the wording of the Act, according to the Report of a Departmental Committee appointed in 1903 to inquire into its operations.

> "The amount of litigation has been very small when compared with the great number of cases settled by agreement."

The Committee have made a great many suggestions with the view of clearing up doubtful points of construction, and they have also recommended that the benefits of the Act should be further extended (as they were in 1900 to agricultural labourers) to certain other classes, including seamen (by Amendment of Merchant Shipping Act), carriers, workers in workshops where five or more were employed, with power to the Secretary of State to extend an inquiry to other kinds of employment. He believed that the Bill to be introduced would be found to largely carry out the recommendations of the Committee and trusted it would receive the generous support of the House.

The promise in the gracious Speech for legislation for remodelling the Board of Trade under a Minister of Commerce would be welcomed by the commercial world and by the chambers of commerce, who had for some time urged the necessity of having a Minister more directly in touch with the trade of the country, and with the Consular service. He had now only to thank the House very warmly for the kind way in which they had listened to him. They were told that this session was to be a tumultuous and bitter one. He hoped that the prophecy might prove to be untrue. They heard of wars and rumours of wars, and warfare was an essential element in their Party system; but during the short period he had had the honour of a seat in that Assembly he had noticed that it was not the speech spoken with venom and personal attack that carried weight and conviction, but that spoken with moderation and reasoned argument. Might he humbly, and with great deference and respect, plead that their deliberations might be more and more marked by patience and forbearance, and that they might all endeavour to put into practice the prayer which Mr. Speaker's chaplain so beautifully said at the commencement of each of their sittings, that in all their dealings with one another they might be influenced by the law of Christian charity.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Mr. Speaker, my first and most pleasing duty is to congratulate the mover and seconder of the Address on the manner in which they have executed the task entrusted to them. We have always been accustomed to speak of that task as one of unusual difficulty and delicacy. They are required with that very imperfect knowledge of the policy of the Government which private Members must have, to defend it, partly by direct assertion and chiefly by respectful anticipation and suggestion. I cannot imagine any occasion upon which that task could have been rendered more difficult than it was to-day. But I think that the time has come when, perhaps, we ought to modify the terms in which we tender the deserved guerdon of praise to the mover and seconder, and for this reason: we are no longer surprised to find among unobtrusive and, for the most part, silent Members of the House a great power of addressing the House, as we have seen to-day, with force and clearness. For it is, I think, one of the most noticeable Parliamentary facts of our day that, from practice in their constituencies, or some other reason, there are a largely-increased number of Members who have acquired that enviable art of which both the hon. Members have certainly shown themselves possessed; and I think that the House will agree with me that they deserve our approbation and our thanks.

I wish to interpose one word before I turn to make some comments upon the difficult situation we are now approaching. Since last we met we have lost from among us one I should not be wrong in calling of the most conspicuous and most illustrious of our number. Sir William Harcourt was a devoted Member of Parliament. He loved the House of Commons. He coveted nothing so much as to stand well with the House of Commons. He lived and died in its service, and in turn he commanded the admiration and respect and affection of nearly all its Members. Our debates will be the poorer by the absence, not only of a skilful orator and a learned constitutional authority, but of a fine sample—the last, I fear, that lingered in it—of the grand old type of statesmen.

Well, in opening the interrogatories with which the sitting of this day must necessarily be commenced, I would first invite the right hon. Gentleman to explain why Parliament is summoned so late? Now, I may be told that Easter is late; but what has that to do with it? If Easter is late it would only have given us the more time to discharge some of our most necessary duties. We have to examine the financial position of the country, which never more required careful examination. We have to master the Estimates which were passed, many of them in much confusion last year; and if there were any time over from this purpose, then there would have been a convenient opportunity of giving consideration to those legislative measures which we are led to believe that the Government reluctantly, and at great sacrifice to themselves, are maintaining themselves in office in order to pursue. Why, then, take a fortnight off our time? What was the urgent reason compelling that delay, and forcing the Government to deprive the House of Commons of a large part of its opportunity for discharging its most essential duties? The right hon. Gentleman will, of course, explain what the urgent reasons were for calling Parliament together later than usual.

In one respect we stand very much as we did this time last year; in this respect, at least, that the fiscal question still overshadows everything else; and it is not a little astonishing and significant that the two hon. Members to whom we have just been listening, have not said one word from beginning to end on the only question that the country is truly anxious and concerned about. I have no doubt that instructions were communicated to them to that effect, because no politician, left to himself, could make a speech at this time of day without touching incidentally, if not systematically, on the fiscal question. The country is still waiting—only, as events show, with increased impatience—for an opportunity of expressing its judgment on that issue. The country is still groping in the dark for the policy of the right hon. Gentleman; still wondering what may be the real bearing of those aspirations and desires so compactly expressed by the right hon. Gentleman, and which he, with a simple faith which nothing can quench, insists in regarding as a policy. Last session, as hon. Members will remember, we were put off with the plea that all this is outside the competence of the present Parliament, and we witnessed a series of lobby evolutions which were of no avail to the Government in the country, but which did much to damage the reputation and standing of the House of Commons. I hope that when we press—as we must, from the outset press—for a candid declaration of the meaning and intention of the Prime Minister, we shall not be put off by a reference to the aspirations and the desires expressed at this place and the other place, and that we shall not be met by any of those extraordinary Ministerial Resolutions to which we were accustomed last year, expressing the most unbounded confidence in every utterance of the Prime Minister, however inconsistent, on these matters, and at the same time our unflinching belief in the legislative capacity of His Majesty's Ministers. I say we shall press for more information in this House. We shall do more: we shall take the earliest opportunity of inviting the House to express its opinion that, in the interests of the trade and the prosperity of the country, the country should be relieved as early as possible from the confusion which metaphysical sophistications have caused, and that recourse should be had to the country in order that this matter should be decided in the public interest. You cannot go on with your formulas and Resolutions for ever. You cannot go on feeding the country on these Dead Sea apples, to offer which to the country is almost an insult. Sir, a situation so unthinkable as that of the Government at the present moment is unknown in our Parliamentary history. The feeling of the country has been demonstrated beyond all doubt or dispute, but the Prime Minister apparently holds that he need take no heed of it, and that he can go on in the feebleness and uncertainty which his position involves as long as his followers in this House do not mutiny against him. A Parliamentary majority is, no doubt, a great instrument and a necessary instrument for the Executive Government, but it is not everything. There is something behind any Parliament or any majority in any Parliament from which both Parliament and the majority derive their authority. I remember two lines from an old writer, in somewhat archaic language, which were once quoted with great effect by John Bright—

> "There is on earth a more auguster thing,
> Veiled though it be, than Parliament or King."

That "auguster thing" is the public conscience. The public concsience is greater than any constitutional machinery, and no man san say in this case that the public conscience is vague. But the line taken by the right hon. Gentleman is ill-advised in the interests of the Government themselves—it is as ill-advised as it is unconstitutional. That is disputed by some hon. Gentlemen, but I have a very good authority. Here is a statesman who says—

> "I have never observed in the history of this country that any Party or any Government have gained credit from hanging on to office, in the vulgar sense without power and with only the insignia of office, from hanging on to their places when they were deprived of all real influence on the course of events and when the general trend of public opinion was against them. Under such circumstances the Government may possibly do good administrative work"—possibly—"it may possibly continue to hold its tenure of office for one month, two months, six months, or even a year or more, but you will never find in the history of this country that this had the result of increasing the credit of a Government with those on whose favour their fortunes ultimately rest."

That was the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman only ten years ago almost to the day, on 11th February, 1895.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): 1895? What was your majority in 1895?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We never tried to stick to office. [AN HON. MEMBER: You could not.] What did we do? How did we show that we tried to stick to office? We did not attempt to stick to office when the feeling of the country was going against us. I say the Government, having put themselves in a false position, have no right to involve the House and the country with themselves; and in the observations I shall make I shall found myself upon the proposition that the political situation to-day is of such ingrained falsity, that it is so fraught with danger to the public interest, that to prolong it is a betrayal and usurpation of power. I do not say, Sir, that the fiscal controversy is alone responsible for the present state of things. I do not forget that behind it we have the fact that the Government have stretched their general commission from the country to the breaking point. What was the assurance given by the right hon. Gentleman to the constituencies in 1900? These are his words—that the electors had nothing to consider except the paramount interest which events in South Africa had necessarily excited. I could quote bushels of observations to the same effect, but these words are quite enough for me. This is no question of a mandate. I have never stood upon a mandate. A Government, of course any Government, has a general authority for ordinary purposes besides the particular purpose which is paramount at the time of the election. No doubt of it; but what was this case? It was a case of votes sought, and in good faith given, exclusively for one purpose — [HON. MEMBERS: Oh!]—exclusively for one purpose—and then faith broken and the majority used for stealing a settlement of most strongly contested questions. I pass by the inquiry what the value, what the efficacy, what the life of a settlement so obtained is likely to be; I will not enlarge upon that now, except to contrast the scanty attention which, after all, has been paid since then to the question of South Africa with the efforts made to extort from Parliament measures of the most momentous kind which were never hinted at in 1900. Can we wonder that a Ministry with such a career should be demoralised? The Prime Minister, indeed, is so satisfied with himself, and so satisfied that he is personally indispensable to the safety of the Empire that it would be a waste of time to dispute the fact with him; but the country is not so satisfied; and it is not satisfied especially when it sees him devoting as much zeal and conviction to pulling down his own schemes as to setting them up, creating Army Corps one day to destroy them the next, equally happy and equally claiming credit when building ships or when removing them from the effective list.

How completely the Ministry is out of hand is evidenced by a most—in his presence I have no hestitation in saying it —a most improper speech made by a subordinate member of the Board of Admiralty. He was apparently tired of his obscurity, and resolved to make a name for himself, and he has succeeded. Thousands of people who never heard of him now know of his existence. He became at once a European celebrity, and that was something gained, although it may have been at the cost of the damage that he did to the interests, and to the pockets, of the taxpayers of this country, and of other countries as well. Or take their relations with their fellow-countrymen. Now I come to the Secretary of State for War. We had the Secretary of State for War the other day passing judgment upon the by-elections. He attached no importance to them. [HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.] Quite so. With himself and his colleagues, or some of his colleagues perhaps, to be more correct, or with himself in office—we need not mind colleagues—what do the country want more? He said they had been overborne by classes of voters who were not friendly to England. Those who vote against the War Minister are enemies of England. *L'Etat, c'est moi.* But I would not attach more importance to this *dictum* of his than it deserves; and I wish to reassure my hon. friends, rebels and disloyalists, who have taken their seats to-day that there is no chance of the War Minister endeavouring to dominate the polling stations with his artillery, when he gets it, or his new shortened rifle. But it is significant that a Minister, a Secretary of State, makes a speech like that. It is significant of the state of mind of a Government which has gone on month after month against the opinion of the country. It is an admission, although an involuntary one, that this Ministry of destiny, graced with all the talents and enjoying a monopoly of patriotism—I am endeavouring to put in colourless language what I observe in their own speeches—that it has ceased to be a British Ministry in the sense in which we have known the term hitherto.

This is not an occasion on which to go far in the discussion of the fiscal question; but there is one new element in the fiscal entanglement which has been imported into it since the House rose last summer. In the month of August the right hon. Gentleman refused the request of the Member for Birmingham for a specially summoned Colonial Conference, on the ground that the machinery of periodical Conferences would suffice for the discussion of any outstanding questions between this country and the Colonies—a most sensible view to take. But in the month of October, only two months later, he suddenly announced that the calling of such a Conference, in which India was to be included, was to form a large part of the question which would be submitted to the country at the next election. So the right hon. Gentleman not only changed his views, but elevated his new view to a cardinal principle, in two months. I never knew a more thorough or rapid conversion, and it must have been effected under some overpowering influence. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will explain what led him to change his mind. Another critical incident has been the publication of a letter from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham to a friend of his, Mr Dooley, in which he said—

> "I do not myself recognise any difference between Mr. Balfour and myself. If we do differ at all, it is only a question of methods and tactics, but Mr. Balfour has advocated the great objects which I have in view as strongly as any tariff reformer could desire."

That is a very plain, expressive, comprehensive, and vitally important statement. What we complain of is, that the Prime Minister resorts to methods and tactics calculated to obscure this alliance, to disguise his real aims, to baffle this House—not to speak of the Opposition Members only—and delude the country, and that in his zeal for clever tactics he has so little consideration for the peace and welfare of the country, that he does not hesitate to prolong by his mystery and comparative silence on this point an agitation that is injurious. Let me say that if the question of tactics is introduced —as if the word "tactics" constituted an excuse—I am not sure it does not make the matter a great deal worse. Military tactics may be a very fine art, but to the ordinary man the word "tactics" suggests the art of deceiving those who are hostile to you. Such being the case, I do not think an appeal to tactics, as an excuse for a certain course of action, is likely to be successful. Now and here, in the presence of the House of Commons, let us have a considered answer from the right hon. Gentleman. If the policy of the Prime Minister is identical with that of the Member for Birmingham, as that right hon. Gentleman asserts——

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): No.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN The quotation is not perfectly correct. Though I do not know that it makes any difference, I will give it to the right hon. Gentleman in its verbal form. What I said was that I could see no difference in principle between my right hon. friend and myself. The word "principle" was omitted in the right hon. Gentleman's reading of the passage.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN; I do not know that that improves the matter very much. If the Prime Minister is agreed with the right hon. Gentleman in principle, the principle will include the general aims of the right hon. Gentleman. If the two policies are identical in principle why does the Prime Minister suffer it to be believed that men who reject the policy of the Member for Birmingham—not his methods or his immediate means of attaining his object, but his general policy—have only to go to the Prime Minister to find something which differs from it in kind? The right hon. Gentleman cannot have it both ways. If there is no difference in principle that is a thing we can all understand. Identity and difference existing simultaneously no man can understand. I observed a letter from the noble Lord the Member for Ealing, who can both speak and write in a very forcible and clear way which we all admire, regarding this same point—

> "There are," he said, "two sections of the Unionist Party, who hold irreconcilably opposed views on tariff questions—namely, the fiscal reformers, headed by Mr. Chamberlain, and the free-traders, headed by the Duke of Devonshire. Neither are stupid nor malevolent. Each of these two Parties, after a perusal of Mr. Balfour's speech at Edinburgh, contend that the opinions therein expressed are in accordance with the views they hold. One of the two sections clearly is wrong. Which is it?"

Well, which is it? That is a simple question, an answer to which would stop the whole of this controversy, so far as it concerns the immediate attitude of the right hon. Gentleman. Which is it of these two sections? I do not find that they follow quite the same lines. One section beseeches him to give an explanation, but the other section appears quite content that this preposterous spectacle should continue. We can gather from that circumstance which section gains by the transaction. Then what does the Prime Minister do? He falls back upon himself. He has no light or guidance or leadership to offer; his followers must take him as they find him and make what they can of him. He says, "You may examine everything I have said and written and you will find one consistent train of thought running through it, perfectly clear, perfectly intelligible, perfectly self-contained." Will the right hon Gentleman pardon me if I tell him there is no question of vindicating his consistency? What we want to know is what his opinions are. If a general gave an order which was followed by the two wings of his army attacking each other until the stronger one, headed by his most doughty warrior, was very near annihilating the weaker section, he would be a remarkable commander if he excused himself from giving any instructions that would terminate the mischief on the ground that it was only due to a misconception, as his orders from the first had been perfectly clear, perfectly intelligible, and perfectly consistent. We are entitled to press this aspect of the question from this side of the House. Is that doughty warrior to whom I have referred the effective, the authorised interpreter of the leader's will, or is it the noble Lord the Member for Ealing, or the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich? After all, the fighting will not all be done on one side, and the country as well as the House ought to know whom they have to meet. Until we get some definite light from the Prime Minister—and now is his opportunity for giving it—we shall conclude that the policy we have to fight is that announced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, and discerned by him in the announcement of the Prime Minister.

Are we to be told that none of these arguments and questions are relevant, and that the fiscal question is not before Parliament at all? I altogether challenge this view, and it appears to have gone pretty well out of sight. Even if it were technically true, this House is the grand inquest of the nation still, and it would be its duty to endeavour to prevent the wanton and protracted injury in which the Government's attack on free trade is involving the nation. What is the Government here for at all? What is its policy? Why was this Government reconstructed? It was to discredit and undermine the old fiscal system. Is not that a subject on which we are entitled to interrogate the Government and expect a straightforward declaration of their intentions? It is a wide question as well as a deep one. Do they contend that the prodigious rate of expenditure has nothing to do with this fiscal question? Here is a Government so hungry for revenue, owing to their own policy in other matters, that it has exhausted well nigh every source of taxation upon which it can lay its hands, short of protective duties. Is it to lead us up to the very brink of the precipice and then to escape criticism because it has not pushed us over? Are the protectionists on that Bench and behind it unaware of the origin of high tariffs in other countries? High tariffs were not brought about by heroic methods or arguments. Did anybody in any of these countries deliberately set himself to reverse, annul, and delete the maxim that taxes should be levied for revenue purposes only? Not at all. All that was required was to spend public money so fast that more and more revenue had to be raised somehow, and little by little revenue tariffs changed into protectionist tariffs. Nothing could be simpler. It is the universal story, and it could not be better put than it was put—I am afraid hon. Members will not think much of the place—at a dinner of the Cobden Club. The chairman said—

> "On the Continent of Europe Governments committed to an excessive military expenditure have naturally enough lent their aid to tariffs which conceal while they increase the burden of taxation."

It is not only on the Continent that this is taking place. The speaker went on to say—

> "But the arguments against this system by which the few are enabled to enrich themselves at the expense of the many remain absolutely unshaken, and I do not doubt that in the long run truth and reason will prevail."

That is to say that in protective countries the people will come to see what folly protection is. This chairman of the Cobden Club was the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. Poor Mr. Cobden's memory has been discredited, because his prophecies did not turn out true. But here is a Saul also among the prophets, and equally wrong. It is not only this fiscal agitation which has turned the world upside down that demands attention, it is the actual operation of the Government; and here I invite the attention of the Prime Minister to a consideration which seems to have completely escaped him when as Minister of the Crown he seeks to wash his hands of all effective complicity in the campaign against free trade. The policy which at long intervals he recites to his audiences outside the House is not only a matter of aspirations and desires and of half-sheets of notepaper and addresses for a general election. It is a living fact. It is a policy. It is in operation; it has been put into operation by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. It is a brilliant success. It has wholly stopped the dumping of cheap sugar. Judging from their public utterances, neither of these right hon. Gentlemen appears to be particularly delighted with this chicken of theirs. If it be disputed that this is the effect of their policy, I fall back upon another authority, who is the leading retaliator, the right hon. Member for West Bristol. He is even more strenuous as a retaliator than the

Prime Minister, because he wants to put the system in force without waiting for an election and with no nonsense whatever about additional powers. Speaking on the Address last year, he said—

> "The principle of the Prime Minister's policy was tried in the Sugar Convention, and I venture to say that it has been assented to in that convention by this House and by the country."

There are a good many Members on both sides who are thanking their stars that they did not give their consent. The right hon. Gentleman goes on—

> "I do not quite see why we should wait for a general election to try it in another instance."

I know nothing more creditable to the Prime Minister in the whole of this business than the fact that he resisted that most alluring invitation. He did not try it in another instance, and how thankful he must be now that he did not. But it is not a question of opinion; it is a question of fact. Under the convention what do you find? You find the canon that taxes should be raised for revenue only reversed, annulled, deleted; it does not bring one farthing into the Exchequer. Then you find retaliation adopted—

> "against the importation of those foreign goods which, because they are bounty-fed or tariff protected abroad, are sold below cost price here."

I quote those words from the sacred document itself, and they are an exact description of the material dealt with by the Sugar Convention. You find in a little protected backwater a shelter snugly provided for sugar refiners. Finally, the grand Imperial idea of the Member for West Birmingham comes in and you have the West India planter for whose benefit this fiscal curiosity was brought into existence. What more do you want? It is a microcosm; it is an express image of the policies of both right hon. Gentlemen. Of course, we admit that other things have entered into this matter that were not foreseen. It turned out that sugar was a food—a most unfortunate discovery for a Government which shrinks from putting a question of food taxation before the people of this country on the ground that they are not likely to accept it. But then it turned out also that sugar is a raw material. That is a still more unfortunate circumstance, because all fiscal reformers unite in a perfect chorus of disclaimers if any one suggests that they have their eye on raw material. Then, again, it sent prices up in consequence of limiting the sources of supply, which they have not foreseen—a not unusual consequence. They have said over and over again that prices would not go up. They tried to look as if they were unconcerned with that little fact. I have heard of a chemistry professor who, in a lecture to his class, invited their special attention to an interesting experiment. He had some sort of fluid in one glass and another fluid in another, and he said—

> "You will observe if I pour this into that the contents will become a vivid red."

He performed the experiment, and the result was a dark green, but he was equal to the occasion. He said—

> "Ah, gentlemen, a dark green, that is still more remarkable."

For our consideration the Prime Minister has written once more on the document which we are to carry bound about our hearts, misunderstanding at our peril,

> "I do not desire to raise prices for the purpose of aiding home productions."

I cannot quite accurately say he has done that in this case, because he has ruined a good many home productions. The Prime Minister's motives are beyond question, and the fact that prices have gone up contrary to his express wishes only shows what a slender safeguard the best of men's motives and aspirations are against the operations of natural laws and economic forces. On a famous occasion on the sea shore the courtiers desired that the tide should not rise, but the powers of nature went on notwithstanding. When we look at the Sugar Convention we understand why it is that the case for retaliation is kept so entirely in the abstract and kept in the future also. I desire to ask some questions as to the operation of the Sugar Convention. This may be very unpleasant, but I am afraid I cannot help it. Is all going smoothly with the Sugar Convention? The Permanent Commission in Brussels determines the countries to be met by countervailing duties—that is in our case total prohibition. Russia, Denmark, Argentina, and San Domingo have been placed under this ban. But now I understand that our ports are to be opened to sugar from San Domingo. Is this a change in mind on the part of the Brussels Commission? If this process is to be inverted we had better select some country from which we get a considerable quantity—Russia, for instance. I believe Russia has requested that she should be relieved from it. Is that course supported by the Government? Again, there are seventeen countries which the Commission has decided to put under restriction, and in accordance with our legislation their exports ought to have been prohibited. But the Papers laid on the Table show that we have appealed against that decision, and the matter is hung up until April. Surely the Government are not running away from their own masterpiece. I have endeavoured to show why the House is directly and immediately concerned, and the Government directly and immediately implicated in this great question which they have assured us is not to be touched or prejudiced or threatened by His Majesty's present advisers. But above the House and the Government and Parliament, and free from all technicalities and conventional relations and procedure stands the country insisting, with no doubtful voice, that an end shall be put to an unreal and mystifying controversy which is full of mischief from end to end. I apologise to the House for speaking upon a subject which was not referred to by the hon. mover and seconder, but I have already explained that it is the most important subject of the moment and that is why I have dwelt so long upon it.

Turning our eyes abroad, the absorbing event has been the deplorable war in the East. While admiring the courage and endurance of the combatants on both sides, the world has been shocked by the murderous nature of the conflict. I feel sure that both his duty and his disposition will lead the Foreign Minister to embrace the earliest available opportunity of throwing the influence of this country on the side of peace, and in the meantime to adhere to the strictest neutrality. I have nothing but commendation for the attitude of Lord Lansdowne in the Dogger Bank incident, in the arrangement of which matter we owe much to the friendly offices of France, and I trust that the submission of the ground of possible quarrel to a tribunal may be a fresh step up the staircase leading to a general system of international arbitration. In the Nearer East also, while there is no actual state of war, the condition of things is far from reassuring. The Mürzsteg programme hangs fire and works slowly, and the question is whether we and the other Western Powers ought not to endeavour to press some more drastic remedy for the flagrant misgovernment of Macedonia.

But we have not been without a little war of our own, which was a tragic comedy from beginning to end. The King's Speech makes allusion naturally to the question of the Tibet Expedition. We are all glad that the expedition has returned in safety, and we all recognise with a full meed of admiration the conduct of the officers and men engaged, but what we say is that it ought never to have been despatched. The more we learn of the circumstances of the case and of the inception of the transaction, and of the way in which the Government of India set themselves to use it, contrary to the instructions and solemn pledges of this country, for effecting a permanent interference in Tibet, the clearer we are on that score. I give the Secretary for India full credit for refusing to ratify the arrangement made at Lhasa, but it would have been better still if the Government had put down their foot earlier. Knowing the objective of the Indian authorities, and being strongly opposed to it, they yet suffered themselves to be goaded into proceedings which brought damage to the prestige of the country and involved the massacre of unarmed men. The officer in civil charge of the enterprise has been rebuked. But why rebuke the agent? Why was not your censure carried higher to the principal? Colonel Younghusband was well aware of the reasons of the enterprise, and evidently regarded the permanent occupation of the Chumbi Valley as the minimum to be obtained. Can we wonder then that he failed to understand at the eleventh hour that the countermanding of this plan was seriously intended. He is perfectly frank. "To limit the period of occupation to the Chumbi Valley," he says, "is a very serious sacrifice of the interests of the Government of India. The Chumbi Valley is the key to Tibet itself, and also the most difficult part of the road to Lhasa. With the Chumbi in our possession we have a clear run into Tibet." He evidently had this fixed idea in his mind, and knew it was also in the minds of the Indian authorities. But the House will remember when we discussed the matter last summer we heard nothing of that as an object of the expedition. We heard of one or two shepherds carried off, of one or two boundary pillars pulled down, of these naughty and recalcitrant Tibetans not being willing enough to come into our markets to trade. These were the reasons for the expedition given to us, and not that which evidently was from the first the main object. I do not think that is treating the House or the country fairly. But it is not Colonel Younghusband's fault.

Regarding Afghanistan I should like to know more about the precise objects of these two mutually complementary Missions. What are the main subjects for discussion? This is the more interesting because the Prime Minister has been making inflammatory and alarming speeches as to our dangers in that quarter—speeches not characterised by any special diplomatic graces; speeches of the "I could tell if I dare" order. Let him dare. We wish he would. There are cases in which plain words are less dangerous than cloudy hints.

I turn to South Africa, and I am glad to see the Colonial Secretary, because I have a long catechism to put to him. First of all, as to this new representative Constitution. Why is the Orange River Colony not to have the same treatment as the Transvaal? I have no opinion on the merits of this Transvaal scheme, for the reason that we do not know it; but surely it is advisable to avoid drawing distinctions between the two States. The Treaty of Vereeniging said as soon as circumstances permitted a representative system tending towards autonomy should be introduced. Of course, these words are applicable to both the Colonies. Why do we hear always of a mysterious system which is to be introduced into the Transvaal and nothing of the other, which formerly enjoyed complete self-government of a representative kind, and was an entremely well-governed country? Information is wanted also regarding the constitutional change in the Transvaal. The House should have an opportunity of discussing this new Constitution before it takes place. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will undertake that the House shall have a full opportunity of discussing this new Constitution before any step has been taken on the spot which precludes any alteration at the will of the House afterwards.

With regard to Chinese labour I would ask, Has any limit of numbers been fixed for the importation, and, if not, have the Government any intention of fixing a limit? Are they satisfied with the effect of the importation on the general peace, security, and morality of the country? The Colonial Secretary wrote a letter the other day in which he said there were only two Chinese women brought over from China. He was, nevertheless, pleased with the reports, which showed no ground for anxiety as to the spread of vice. But private accounts give a different complexion to the matter. I shall be glad if he will tell us all he knows of the matter. Assuming the Government are well pleased with the result of their policy, are they so well satisfied as to regard Chinese labour as a permanent institution in South Africa? Permanent, that is, so long as gold lasts. Is that the view of the Government, and, if not, when is the temporary experiment to come to an end?

On another subject, I would ask the Colonial Secretary, When does he anticipate that the claims for compensation will be adjusted and the free grants apportioned, and how are matters proceeding with regard to the refunding to persons on the spot of what they had to sacrifice for the convenience of the troops? Where notes had been given by British officers and others of the number of cattle, horses, and other property received—how far has he got in settling these questions? The last question I would put is this. Is there any information as to the first instalment of £10,000,000 of the Transvaal war contribution now a year overdue?

Now I venture to come, and I am glad to come very near home, in more senses than one. I come to the Scottish paragraph. That paragraph expresses substantially a course which I have no reason to disapprove of. I think the general idea is good, but I must say

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

it is slovenly. It may seem to be a small point, but it is one of importance. The Speech says—

> "A situation has arisen connected with the administration of the property belonging to certain ecclesiastical bodies in Scotland which requires legislative intervention."

Why should you speak of ecclesiastical bodies? In Scotland we call them churches. It is a shorter and, I think, a nicer word. A man likes to think himself a member of a church and not of an ecclesiastical body. He is not so proud of being a member of an ecclesiastical body. Is this an intimation that the State Church is the only institution which deserves that name? Then at the end of the paragraph it says—

> "The King trusts the proposals will tend to the efficient administration of ecclesiastical funds and the promotion of peace and goodwill."

Why, it treats Scotland as though it were the Balkan Peninsula, where you get everything in confusion. The Scottish people are more concerned about something else than the distribution, however much they may be interested in that of ecclesiastical funds. They care a great deal about the interests of religion. And unless the word "religion" is as improper to attribute to the Church as the word "church" itself, I do not see why it should have been put on so low a ground as this. While the purpose of the clause seems to be good, the language ill-c[illegible]is a supercilious feeling which is greatly to be condemned.

Under the head of Estimates and expenditure we come to the great question of the administration of the two great spending Departments. In regard to the Navy, we shall expect full explanation of the sweeping attack and disqualification pronounced against a large part of the Fleet. The Government since 1885 down to the present day have built many vessels which are now to be discarded. This may be good policy, but we await the professional statement of opinion. The country was not a little surprised to find that costly ships built and launched amidst their own plaudits by the present Government are pronounced by the Prime Minister to exist merely to embarrass British admirals and discredit the Navy. If that is so, there must be some discredit somewhere else than among the admirals. And as to the Army, we are entitled surely to assume that the Government, and especially the Secretary of State for War, are now prepared to lay before us their scheme of reorganisation, fully and absolutely approved by the Government. They will also endeavour to prove and vindicate the efficiency of the recast War Office. On this point most disquieting reports reach us; and these most important questions ought to be amply discussed, for they have excited an interest in the country which has passed through the stage of alarm and is rapidly approaching that of despair.

Of the other legislative references in the Speech, I notice that sometimes we are told there is to be a Bill, and sometimes a proposal. Is there any subtle difference between the two? Or is it merely for the sake of variety that one word is used in one clause and a different word in another? I would only single out one Bill for observation—namely, that on the subject of the unemployed. We all warmly share the sympathy which His Majesty expresses with those who have suffered from want of work so severely, and I can assure the President of the Local Government Board that it is our earnest desire to assist him in his efforts to make some permanent provision for meeting this great difficulty. Now, we have the unemployed at one end, and you are going to make alterations in the functions of Ministers at the other end; but I am astonished that in midway you have left out from your programme anything referring to the *status* of trade unions, and the whole of a question which so greatly interests the mind of the great mass of the regular working classes of the country. The rest of the programme is plainly intended for show rather than for work. Everything done in this session, save when done by consent, will lack complete authority, and the burden of our demand is that a state of things so prejudicial to the public interest shall as speedily as possible come to an end.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) said he rose to call attention to an omission on the part of the Leader of the Opposition in his speech. The right hon. Gentleman had not said one word upon the proposal of the Government to deal with the great evils of alien immigration. It was quite certain that that paragraph in the King's Speech had attracted the sympathy of every single Member on the Government side of the House, and of every supporter of the Unionist Party in the country. They had heard not one word of excuse from the Leader of the Opposition for the attitude of his followers towards the Bill introduced by the Government last session. Had it not been for that attitude, they would have had already on the Statute-book effective legislation to deal with this great evil which affected the working classes of this country. It not only affected the East End of London, it was a question which required a rapid settlement in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and other great towns. It was a subject in which the working classes had a legitimate and justifiable interest. He was aware that the matter had long been before Parliament; and he had never hesitated to state that it was greatly to be regretted that the Government had not dealt with it before. Happily, it had been mentioned three or four times in Speeches from the Throne; and they also had the declaration of a Secretary of State that he proposed to introduce a Bill on the subject. He expressed the earnest wish, which was not only that of himself and his constituents, but of the great proportion of his hon. friends, that that Bill should be introduced as soon as possible, and that it should be pressed forward day by day until it was passed. If the Opposition renewed their tactics of last session, he hoped the Government would not hesitate for a single moment to appeal to the country on this issue. If they did, he knew perfectly well what the answer would be to the tactics of the Opposition in endeavouring to frustrate a measure of this character.

The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition referred to the paragraph in the Speech from the Throne with reference to the abnormal distress caused by want of employment during the present winter. The Government, however, had announced that arrangements of a temporary character had been made to meet the difficulty, and also to provide machinery of a more permanent character. That was the situation, and he was glad to hear that the Government would have the support of the Opposition. At the opening of Parliament in 1893, when the Opposition were responsible for the administration of the country, he moved an Amendment to the Address on this subject; but right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Gentlemen who were then in the House voted against it. It was not only expedient to provide machinery of a permanent character to deal with this evil; they were also bound to inquire how it was that large masses of the people were unemployed last winter. Last year was an exceedingly bad year in his own constituency, 40,000 to 50,000 persons having to be supported by charitable relief funds organised by the Lord Mayor. Not only that, but in other parts of Yorkshire the distress was terrible. The people did not want charity; what they wanted was permanent employment. It was lamentable to read of the number of people in the country who were dependent on indoor and outdoor relief; and he rejoiced that the President of the Board of Trade had taken an intelligent interest in this deplorable condition of affairs. The policy of his right hon. friend was the policy which he had advocated in that House for many years. It was a policy they were entitled to ask the Government to pursue; and one on which he had not the slightest fear as to what the opinion of the country would be. It might be that in some constituencies it might not be successful at once; but in other constituencies which had studied the question for years, and which had felt the actual distress resulting from it, they would not have anything to fear. He rejoiced that the Government proposed to give effect to the repeated declarations of the chambers of commerce on this subject.

He regretted there was nothing with reference to the Army in the Speech from the Throne, especially with reference to the Militia and Volunteers. The Secretary of State for War stated at Liverpool last year that only a little common sense was necessary in order to realise the great services which the Volunteers had rendered to the country. He frankly said that the right hon.

Gentleman was not fair to the Militia and Volunteers. The responsibility was not with the Royal Commission but with the War Office; and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to put an end to the present suspense, which was operating so seriously on the efficiency of the Militia and the Volunteer Forces. They did not want the sympathy of words; they wanted the sympathy of acts.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said he desired to occupy some little of the time that must necessarily elapse before the Prime Minister replied on the debate, in calling attention to a subject of immense national importance; a subject which was not in any way alluded to in the Speech from the Throne, and which had not been alluded to by the Leader of the Opposition when he addressed the House. He referred to the physical condition of the people of this country. Just before the House rose last year a Report was laid upon the Table, together with a large body of evidence, dealing with this matter. It was the Report of a Committee which had been sitting for about twelve months before that date to consider the question of the physical deterioration of the people of this country. The Committee took an immense amount of valuable evidence and reported unanimously, making many excellent practical recommendations, some of which might be carried out by administrative methods, but some of which required legislation by this House. He could not at the present moment go at great length into the Report of the Committee, though he hoped he would have an opportunity of doing so this session; but if he did not speak now, he might never have a chance of doing so.

The conclusion to which the Committee came was, that there were causes, most of them preventable and all of them capable of treatment, which resulted in an enormous amount of physical degeneration. The medical evidence given before the Committee showed that children were almost all of them born healthy, notwithstanding the privations which their mothers might have had to suffer, but that the moment the child was born into the world the deterioration began. The first thing modern society did was to separate the child from the mother. The exigencies of modern industry necessitated the mother going to work, and she was therefore unable to perform those duties to her child which it was necessary to perform if the child was to grow up into a healthy man or woman. Although this country joined in the Congress at Berlin it was far behind the other countries who had joined in that Congress in the measures taken to prevent physical degeneration. In this country we had nothing beyond the law, seldom put into force, which required a woman to abstain from labouring in a factory or a workshop for one month after her confinement. Apart from the fact that a mother was taken away from her child by the exigencies of modern industry, it was a remarkable fact that those who were the mothers of the present day had mostly been educated in our public elementary schools, and yet hardly any one of them knew how to manage a child. He could not help thinking that a little less grammar and geography and a little more attention given to this subject would greatly benefit the country.

But even if the mothers knew how to manage a child they were unable to get a good substitute for human milk. The best substitute for mother's milk was pure cow's milk, but it was almost impossible in many places for the poor of the towns to obtain pure cow's milk, notwithstanding the fact that there were powers vested in the Local Government Board which could compel a supply of pure cow's milk to the poor in towns. As a rule, however, those powers were not put into force, and the result was that children from their birth grew up imperfectly and improperly fed; subject to all diseases, notably rickets, and suffering all kinds of ailments brought about entirely by want of sufficient and proper food.

When these children were three years old they were invited, and when five, were compelled, to come into the elementary schools, and the public authorities became cognisant of their condition. But they did not take the trouble to have a medical examination of these children when they came to school, and the result was that they came to school suffering from all sorts of complaints which rendered them physically unfit to take advantage of the instruction they received. In his opinion there ought to be a power, vested in the Central Education Authority, enabling them to withhold the payment of a grant until it was proved that the child was fit to take advantage of, and profit by, the instruction given. When Minister of Education he had frequently to tell the House that the greater part of the money devoted to education would be thrown away because the greater part of the children were not fit to receive the instruction for which the House voted millions of money every year. He was, however, never listened to, but, in the evidence given, there was a concrete case brought before the Committee which could not be overlooked. There was a school in Lambeth, ten minutes walk from that House, every child in which had been medically examined for the purpose of that Committee, and the evidence given of that examination was that 90 per cent. of the children attending that school were unfit to receive instruction. That might be a very bad case, but in various centres in the northern counties, medical examinations of the children had resulted in the finding of 50 per cent. of them being unfit to receive instruction. The most deplorable and melancholy fact about the whole subject was that while the child was still young and growing the mischief was done. If they could only ensure that at the time it was at school a child had its body well cared for, they could bring up a perfectly strong and healthy generation.

The remedy was so simple and so easy that they had only to adopt it, and in the existing generation they would have on the whole a greatly improved standard of young men and young women growing up. A great many admitted that it would be a most admirable thing, but said that they must not interfere with the liberty of the parents in this matter. His point was that as the law stood at present, although the parents were bound to maintain their children, no attempt was made to protect the child against its parents. The only society which was at present interested in these matters was a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, a very excellent society in its way, but the existence of which was a reproach to the State, which ought to be the society to protect the children. No new right for the children was asked for; they had now the right to be maintained by their parents in the first instance, and failing that they ought to be maintained by the State. All he asked was that this right should be made more effective, and that the State should perform its duties to the children as against the parents. When the children were under the control of the educational authorities, there was no difficulty in bringing pressure to bear on parents.

Upon the question of food the evidence before the Committee was that all the causes operating to produce degeneration in children paled before the one great cause of insufficient and improper food, and that it was of no use to remove other causes if this was not removed. There was no difficulty in ensuring that children attending school should be properly fed. It was not suggested that all the children in the country should be fed, but only those whose parents, after pressure, had been found to be unable to provide properly for them. He did not believe that the percentage of such parents was very large, because he observed that, as a fact, the Jews, the poorest community in this country, never sent a child to school underfed or improperly fed. The fact was, it was part of the Jewish religion to take care of the children. The Jewish mother suckled her child, and the Jewish father, instead of drinking his wages, would rather go without food himself than see his child do so. If the Jews could do that, he thought with a little pressure Christians could do the same. If parents could not feed their children, it seemed to him only reasonable that the local education authority should have the power to spend some of its money in feeding the children preparatory to teaching them, because it was the greatest cruelty to make a child pass through this training unless it was properly fed. That was the part upon which legislation was necessary. It was recommended by this Committee that power should be given to the local authority, if it saw fit, to spend some of its own money, some of the school funds in feeding those children who the local authority were satisfied could be fed in no other way. He thought it was a question of great importance to the community—quite as important a question as that of the adulteration of butter. He should have thought that the Government might have arrived at the conclusion that a short and simple Act giving this power to the local authorities would be beneficial to the Empire. How could they carry on this great Empire, if they allowed causes of this kind which affected the physical condition of the people to continue to operate, and thus prevent their having soldiers and sailors fit to serve for the protection of the Empire? He hoped some step would be taken this session to carry out the recommendations of the Committee, and put an end to this thing which was a scandal to the race.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton) was of opinion that the parents were not altogether to blame in this question of underfeeding. The defect was mainly noticeable in half-a-dozen centres of population. No doubt the majority of parents in the United Kingdom did feed their children properly, and in the case of the minority who were either too selfish or from some other cause did not provide their children with proper nourishment before sending them to school, the remedy, he thought, might be found in giving the children food and charging their parents with the cost. Wherever the race was found to be deteriorating, it was certainly the clear duty of the Government to take steps to stop the evil.

He congratulated the Government on their foreign policy, which had led to such friendly relations with the brave and plucky Japanese. It was a matter for congratulation that the foreign policy of the Government, in this respect at any rate, had been crowned with complete success; not that he liked to see a great nation humbled, but it was satisfactory that when attacked by an overwhelming and aggressive force our plucky ally had come out successful. Amongst the other matters referred to in the gracious Speech from the Throne he would like to point to the position in which we stood with regard to France. France was our nearest neighbour and he wished that in addition she were our warmest friend. It was difficult to see why she should not be. With so much in common, with institutions resembling each other so much, he looked forward to seeing the two countries bound together in bonds of closest unity.

He congratulated the Government on having at last recognised that the present arrangement of electoral areas required attention, and he trusted there would be such a Redistribution of Seats Bill as would deal justly with each part of the United Kingdom. It was not fair that in one district one man should represent 40,000 voters and that in another part of the kingdom another man should represent only 2,000. He trusted the Government would find time to deal effectually with this question. He rejoiced to find that the Aliens Bill was again to come before the House. It was of vital importance for the welfare of this country to exclude the inefficient, the immoral, and the diseased foreigner. This Bill, he trusted, would be dealt with in the House and not sent to a Grand Committee, where there was no machinery for dealing with obstruction. It was gratifying to see that it was proposed to extend the benefits conferred by the Workmen's Compensation Act. The Bill of 1896, introduced by Mr. Chamberlain, had proved an excellent measure. Its provisions, however, were confined to certain trades, and he hoped to see these extended. The proposal to establish a Ministry of Commerce met with his warmest support. It was one of the best ideas brought forward for a long time. Whatever was said about the fiscal policy, one thing was clear, viz., the necessity for watching over our industries in foreign countries. The Prime Minister was to be congratulated on the measure he had indicated his intention of introducing, and he (the speaker) trusted there would be no obstruction. If all would put their shoulders to the wheel and try to carry through the programme placed before them he believed the country would be the better and the happier in the end.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): said that, judging from the King's Speech, a younger, a more hopeful, and a more enthusiastic Government had never existed in this country. The session had been shortened by a fortnight, and, in view of the multifarious character of the work the House were expected to do and the number of Bills it was hoped they would pass, either the Government must be very full of hope as to the work to be done, or peradventure were looking forward to a dissolution and desired to place the country in possession of their programme for the future. His hon. friend who had just spoken had referred with delight to the prospect of a Redistribution Bill. But no such thing was promised in the Speech, nor did he believe there was the slightest prospect of such a measure being introduced this session—first of all, because the Government must be well aware of the difficulties of passing it, and, secondly, because there had been none of the precedent inquiries necessary. As one of the certain victims of any scheme which had been suggested, he would have to raise his voice in kindly but strenuous criticism, and perhaps less kindly and more strenuous opposition would come from the Nationalist Benches. If the proposal survived the opposition of the representatives of those small constituencies which in former times had sent most illustrious Members to this House, it would be fortunate indeed. The Government, doubtless, intended to propose certain Resolutions, not to introduce a Bill; those Resolutions would have to receive the most kindly and candid consideration, and he hoped they would get nothing more.

The inevitable allusion to the war between Russia and Japan prompted him to say that of the many lessons taught by the war—such as that the use of the sword and the bayonet was not at an end, that troops might still carry their colours into battle with advantage, and so forth—the greatest was that to-day, as of old, the sea was mistress of the land. It was to the acquisition and the retention of sea-power the success of Japan was due; it was because Russia had lost the sea, although she retained the power of transport by land, that the course of the war had been such as it had, and, as he believed, would be to the end. He recognised that the Government had "been careful to observe in the strictest manner the obligations incumbent upon a neutral Power," but many of His Majesty's subjects, disregarding the strict injunction of His Majesty's Proclamation, had entered upon a trade in contraband of war which was the less creditable to this country, because engaged in for the advantage of the country not allied to our own. In August last he referred to the shocking and flagrant case of outrage on the British flag—the sinking of the "Knight Commander," without examination or trial, upon the mere fiat of the commander of the cruiser that stopped her, on July 24th. Cases long subsequent to that had been tried and decided in the Prize Courts, but of the case of the "Knight Commander" nothing had yet been heard. The Government undertook that proper reparation should be immediately demanded, and there was no matter more urgently demanding explanation. As to the North Sea incident, although at first very doubtful as to the effectual nature of the representations made by the country, he in the end was convinced and still believed that the arrangement arrived at by Lord Lansdowne was a sufficient and proper one, that the tribunal to which the matter was referred was an admirable one for the purpose, and that we could await with confidence its decision to do justice between the parties.

With regard to Tibet, a certain disagreement had arisen. The Government had sought to abide by their undertaking that there was no idea of appointing a permanent Resident or annexing any territory, but Colonel Younghusband had departed from it, and had been censured for that. He still feared that it would be found impossible to continue a policy of abstention after warlike acts.

His belief was that when they went into a country like Tibet and destroyed the moral authority, the physical power of the Government of that country, and in fact the Government itself, they incurred a responsibility which in the end would force them to take further steps, and eventually to send a Resident and occupy territory. He did not wonder that a disagreement had arisen between the Secretary of State for India and, not Colonel Younghusband, but Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon was a very ambitious Viceroy, who, when he saw all the world annexing territory, said—"I will go one better; I will annex not territory, but the incarnate Buddha; I will have a divinity in my service. That is what I will do for my country." There was no doubt that it was with Lord Curzon's knowledge and acquiescence that this "defiance" of the authority of the Home Government by Colonel Younghusband had been carried on, and the attempt made to force down their throats a treaty, convention, or arrangement known to be contrary to their policy; and he thought that the hard words "defiance," "disobedience," and "disregard of authority," might more properly have been applied to the Viceroy than to the able and gallant officer who conducted the expedition.

According to the Speech, the Estimates had been framed "with the utmost economy which the circumstances of the present time admit." If that was so it would mean a saving of many millions. The finances of the country had got into such a state that if the expenditure went on during the next ten years at the same rate as during the last we should be face to face with national bankruptcy. He had put down an Amendment dealing with this matter, and no one would be more pleased than he if assurances were forthcoming that an entire change of our financial system was to be entered upon, and some better provision made for our monstrous Debt, funded and unfunded.

One paragraph in the Speech troubled him much. The improvement of the *status* of a public department simply meant an increase in the Estimates for that department—an increase in the Minister's salary and an increase of expense. A brand new Minister of Commerce was also promised—he supposed with a seat in the Cabinet. One objection to that proposal would be that it would increase the already too large Cabinet. But what in the name of wonder was a Minister of Commerce going to do for commerce? Commerce had flourished in the past not because of Ministers, but in spite of them. The shipping trade had managed to drag out its existence, not because of the action of the President of the Board of Trade, but because that Minister sometimes forgot there was a shipping trade. There was nothing a Minister of Commerce could do for commerce that commerce could not do better for itself.

There were two matters not mentioned in the Speech in which his constituents took a great interest. One was the Undersized Fish Bill. He hoped its omission meant that the Government had given that subject up. The other matter was the question of whether we were to go on with free trade or to have imposed upon us a system of protection whereby £21,000,000 of extra Customs duties was to be levied, £6,000,000 remitted, and the remainder left as a charge, which it was fondly believed would fall on the foreigner. Personally, he thought the position had been considerably cleared. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham could see no difference in principle between the Prime Minister and himself. But there was all this difference in principle, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was for protection, while the Prime Minister was against it. There had been too much ambiguity and uncertainty too long over this matter, but the Prime Minister's declaration at Edinburgh was plain and unambiguous that he was against protection and that he would never be the leader of a Party bound to protection. He (the hon. Member) congratulated himself upon that, because certainly if the Prime Minister were to become the leader of a Party by which protection was countenanced he (the hon. Member) would not have the advantage of being among his followers. But he took note of the Prime Minister's declaration and accepted it, as all were bound to do. He would not now argue the merits of the questions but he would read a most interesting account of a personal experience—not an expression of opinion—related by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. In November, 1885, the right hon. Gentleman said—

"I will tell you something that I do not think I ever have told in public before—a very curious incident in my commercial experience. The Americans had a duty of about 100 per cent. upon screws to protect that poor industry, to keep it in the country for the benefit of the working classes. In spite of the duty of 100 per cent. we were able to send screws there, and we did send very large quantities. What happened? The American manufacturers came over here and they said, 'We are making 100 per cent. upon our capital. If you continue to send screws to America we should, of course, be obliged to reduce our prices. That will shut you out, but will reduce our profits. That will not be good for either of us. Now let us make a bargain. We will pay you so much a year to sit still and not send a screw to America.' Well, they did it, and my firm received a handsome income for years. From the American manufacturers, protected as they were by the folly and stupidity of this protectionist legislation, we received a very considerable income to sit still with folded hands and send no screws to America. But after a little while these American manufacturers went to Congress, and they said, 'Here is a native manufacture deserving protection, employing a lot of the working people, in danger of being ruined by competition from abroad. You must raise the duties.' And they did raise the duties to about 120 or 150 per cent., and then, of course, our income ceased and we were shut out. But now I want you to see who are the losers in this thing. Not the American manufacturers, who were able to make 100 per cent. upon their capital and to pay a handsome subsidy, and not the foreign manufacturers who received the handsome subsidy. The only people who suffered were the working classes of the United States, who had to pay more for every screw that they used, and every manufacture in which they were engaged. Hampered and trammelled by the additional cost that was put upon their materials, they, and they alone, bore the burden of this tax upon their industry and their labour. Well, if other people chose to cut off their tails, are you going to be so foolish? I tell you that any proposal to tax commerce [I think that word should be "corn"] is a proposal to put rent in the pockets of landlords, and any proposal to tax manufactures is a proposal to put profits in the pockets of particularly-favoured manufacturers. I do not think that you will be led away by these absurdities."

The House would observe that that was not a question of individual opinion but a statement of fact in regard to certain things that occurred, and certain inevitable inferences to be drawn from them. Whatever the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman might be, unless he could explain away this story of the screws, it would remain as an object-lesson of the utmost importance in this question which was now before the country. Meantime, to this new religion of preference and protection and of duties which no one was to pay unless it was the foreigner, certain sacrifices were to be offered up. He was one of them. The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich was another, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University was a third. If they were sacrificed, no doubt others would be found, far more competent, to take their places, and do that work which they had tried to do. Yes, Sir, but they were not going without a struggle. Whatever might be the temptation to accept other seats, they could not abandon the people in their constituencies who had stood true to them. It would not be honourable to do so, and they did not mean to do so. They would not die without a struggle, and he was not quite sure that, as time went on, and the dissolution came about, their prospects might not change and the probabilities entirely alter. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham knew that his plan was rejected, not only by the people, but by the First Lord of the Treasury, in the most explicit terms, and it was because the First Lord had rejected it that he should continue to give his right hon. friend that support which he had hitherto given to him.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry I was not able to hear the whole of my hon. friend's speech. Had I done so, no doubt I should have seen that he was gradually leading up to that promise of support with which he concluded his observations. The few phrases I heard before that did not seem to me to be enthusiastically in favour of the present Government, but I daresay——

***MR. GIBSON BOWLES:** You are wrong.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I agree that it is not fair to judge a speech from a few sentences, and I abstain from inferential criticism. I content myself with thanking him for the promise of support, his accustomed support, which I gratefully receive. I am sorry that, through exigencies of time, which the House fully understands, I was not able to rise immediately after the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition and do my best to reply to the very numerous questions he put to me in his speech, but I do not know that any serious inconvenience has occurred to the right hon. Gentleman or the House through my observations being delayed. I am sorry I was not able, as it were, to give at once that meed of applause to the two speeches of my hon. friends who moved and seconded the Address, and that I am reduced to paying them a somewhat belated, but most well-deserved, compliment on the admirable manner in which they fulfilled their responsible duties. And, Sir, before I come to the necessarily controversial portions of my speech I should like to associate myself with the right hon. Gentleman in expressing on behalf of my hon. friends on this side of the House as well as on my own our regret on account of the departure from among us of one of the greatest Parliamentary figures that we have known in our experience. This is not the time to attempt any appreciation of the great Parliamentary abilities of Sir William Harcourt; but this I may say, with the assurance that it will receive the sympathetic support of every man in every quarter of the House, he was a vigorous controversialist; but in the utmost height of Party controversy, when feeling was running strongly, when he himself perhaps was taking, as was his wont, a leading place in the fighting line, he never allowed Party differences to mar the perfection of personal friendship, and no dialectical display, no strength of Party attack, made him forget for one moment that native and ineradicable kindliness which characterised the man. I am proud to say that he honoured me with his friendship for many years, and never was that friendship clouded even when our political differences were in their most acute stage. My experience is the experience of many men in this House; and the result is that I believe he is as much regretted by Gentlemen who sit upon this side of the House, and who throughout their whole political lives have differed from him in matters of public policy as he can be by those with whom he was politically associated.

Mr. Speaker, a very large number of questions were put to me by the right hon. Gentleman relating to many subjects, and touching upon many different parts of the world. He asked me about Tibet, and he seemed to indicate that in his view the Government at home should have passed a vote of censure upon the Government of India. I see no ground for that suggestion. The Government of India recognised, as I am sure they always will recognise, that the Government at home in these matters must be supreme, and they never for one instant departed from a correct attitude in regard to the policy to be pursued. On that, I think, I need say no more. With regard to Afghanistan, negotiations are now proceeding with the Ameer, and we hope that they will have a successful termination. The right hon. Gentleman indicated that in his view the Government were pursuing a provocative policy or something in the nature of a provocative policy in regard to Afghanistan. If that is, or was, his view, I can assure him that he is profoundly mistaken. It is a cardinal element, in my judgment, in any sound policy for the Indian Government that they should be on good terms with their neighbour on the North-West Frontier. That neighbour lies between them and a more powerful military empire. The friendship of the Ameer may do much for us; we can do still more for the Ameer. There is every motive, therefore, for a friendly relation between the two countries; and that friendly relation it is the earnest desire of His Majesty's Government to maintain and, if possible, to increase.

Hurrying hastily through the list of points the right hon. Gentleman made I find that he asked me a great many questions about South Africa. He asked me, to begin with, why we had delayed giving constitutional government to the Orange Free State while we were giving representative, not responsible, government to the Transvaal. Well, I will venture to point out that it is a case of one thing at a time. It is no small matter to frame a new Constitution, a wholly new Constitution, for a new colony. The task has weighted—I had almost said overweighted—the capacities of Lord Milner and his assistants; and it is premature, I think, even to suggest that we should deal with the Orange Free State until we have dealt thoroughly and satisfactorily with the more important and higher problem presented by the Transvaal. Then, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman asked me whether there would be an opportunity of discussing the Constitution which it is proposed to give to the Transvaal before any final step is taken. I do not intend to give any final answer on that point at present. My right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary informs me that, so far as he knows, there is no precedent for such a course; and in these circumstances I certainly should not bind myself by any premature and unnecessary pledge. Then the right hon. Gentleman asked whether any limit had been placed to the number of Chinese employed in indentured labour. No, Sir, no limit has been placed upon it; but the experiment of using Chinese labour is being most carefully watched by the responsible authorities on the spot, and if it should be found that the immigration of these labourers from any point of view was on the whole producing a balance of ill, the right hon. Gentleman may rest assured that we without hesitation should prevent any augmentation of their numbers. I may say—it is an interesting point—that the introduction of Chinese labour so far has been accompanied not only by an increase of white labour in the mines but by an increase of Kaffir labour.

Sir JOHN BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): Will the right hon. Gentleman say "in the mines?"

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: In the industries connected with the mines. The right hon. Gentleman further asked me whether we had heard any reports that the introduction of these Chinese labourers had produced any effects on the morality of the colony, or had indeed been associated with any manifestations of immorality. No such reports have reached us at all. He then asked me whether this was a permanent arrangement. Certainly I am not going to place a limit of time beyond which Chinese labourers should not be allowed to enter the country. But representative government is about to be given to the colony, and they will be able to give us most valuable advice upon the continuing need of these immigrant labourers. Then the right hon. Gentleman asked me whether the claims for compensation had been adequately dealt with. I am given to understand that the Commission which is dealing with these claims has nearly reached the term of its labours; but more precise information, I am sorry to say, I am not in a position to give him.

Then the right hon. Gentleman asked me one or two questions about the Sugar Convention. He asked me whether sugar from San Domingo is prohibited from entering the United Kingdom. It is not prohibited, because San Domingo has ceased to give a bounty. The second question he asked me was whether Russia had asked to be relieved from the penalty attaching to bounties under the Convention, and, if so, has this country supported that application. No application, so far as we know, has been made by Russia during the course of the last year, and there is no doubt whatever, according to our information, that Russia does give a bounty upon the export of sugar. I think the right hon. Gentlemen asked me about Brazil and some other countries. We have appealed against the decision because we do not think that these countries give too big a bounty. At any rate, we do not think it has been proved, and it ought to be clearly proved before the sugar from those sources is prohibited in this country. These are the questions which the right hon. Gentleman asked me in the course of his speech.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I should like to have an answer to the first question I asked the right hon. Gentleman—namely, why have we met so late?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I remember the question, but I was not aware that the right hon. Gentleman attached importance to it. There is nothing abnormal in the date on which we have met. There are plenty of precedents for a date of this kind. If a vote were taken by ballot as to whether we should meet on the 14th or the 7th or the 1st of February, I believe that the majority in favour of meeting on the 14th would be overwhelming, and I further believe that, if the secrecy of the ballot could have been broken, it would have been found that the right hon. Gentleman voted in the majority. As the right hon. Gentleman truly observed, the question which he has so good-naturedly interjected is not precisely germane to sugar. Let me go back to the Sugar Convention. It is a question which I think hon. Gentlemen opposite dwell upon with great pleasure. They think that this is a matter in which, to use the vulgar phrase, they have got the Government into a hole.

AN HON. MEMBER: The Government have got themselves into a hole.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think that is a more accurate way to put it. They think the Government, by endeavouring to abolish bounties, have got themselves into a hole; and they rejoice in seeing their opponents in that agreeable position. I take an entirely different view of the Convention, and if I wanted to show the absolute incompetence of hon. Gentlemen opposite to deal with an economic question, I should select the treatment of this question by the right hon. Gentleman and his friends, because I do not on this occasion dissociate them. The right hon. Gentleman evidently thinks that a policy intended to abolish foreign bounties for imports into this country is contrary to sound national policy and sound political economy. I venture to say he has against him every authority worth considering, past and present, whether they be politicians or whether they be economists, whether they be men looking at this problem with the impartiality of science, or men looking at it as a practical problem. Hon. Gentlemen opposite have against them the whole body of authority, and they have against them the authority of the right hon. Gentleman himself. I remember that the right hon. Gentleman made a speech in this House in which he told us that bounties were as bad as protective duties.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: To the country in which they are applied.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not the view of the right hon. Gentleman. He said—

> "These bounties appear to me to be bad; to dislocate trade, and so forth; above all, to punish the very nations who employ them."

The nations who suffer most, of course, are the nations who impose the bounties. But they are not the only sufferers, and they are not the only sufferers according to the right hon. Gentleman, and according to every economist who knows his trade.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): The right hon. Gentleman did not deny that foreign bounties had the effect of cheapening sugar here.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Who ever denied it? But is the hon. Gentleman so ignorant both of what great men in whom he believes, like Mr. Gladstone, have said upon this subject, and of the elementary economic aspects of the case, as not to know that the temporary benefit which the consumer may derive from the bounties is held by favour of the country which gives them, and that the bounty has the effect of restricting the area of production? Is it not in the power of nations who have put on bounties to take them off, in which case the British consumer loses all the benefit he derived from the bounty and all the benefit he might have derived from the increased area of production which would have existed if the bounty had not been imposed? I do not know, individually, that I rate the economic authority of Lord Farrer very high. He was, however, an able man, and he said what I have told you we all agree with, that these bounties are a shameful thing, and that they ought to be abolished, even though they raise the price of sugar. I do not know that I should say that if the rise in the price of sugar was to be a permanent rise, I would not allow other nations to give us sugar permanently cheaper. But the argument turns on the word permanently. It is surely the poorest kind of statesmanship which looks at the price of sugar in a given month or two months or three months, and does not look at the total production of the commodity throughout the world, and does not encourage free trade in that commodity for the benefit of the consumers in this country; and those Gentlemen opposite—who are ready to encourage what the right hon. Gentleman describes as a fiscal expedient as bad as protection, who are anxious to see this kind of expedient adopted by foreign countries so that we may obtain for a few months or years benefit from it—call themselves free-traders! They do not know what free trade is. There is not an economist, from Adam Smith downwards, who would not repudiate with contempt and indignation, the doctrines I have heard put forth and cheered to-night from that side of the House.

Now I come to what is perhaps an even more important subject than the attack upon the Sugar Convention. It is more important because it touches upon what is or is not the sound constitutional practice of this country. The right hon. Gentleman has repeated in this House the accusations which he and his friends have gone about the country repeating almost *ad nauseam* through the whole recess. And what is the nature of the charge they make against us in respect of constitutional usage? It comes under three heads. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman says that this Government is so feeble and discredited that it cannot carry out any effective policy. But how is that to be reconciled with the other charges made against us—that we are always carrying out very effectively measures to which the strongest objection is taken by the other side? I quite agree that a Government which exists only by the sufferance of an Opposition, which dare not produce a measure which the Opposition does not approve of down to the last comma, can hardly be called a Party Government at all; and certainly I should never consent to be a member of a Government who depended, not upon the loyal support of their friends, but upon the grudging and contemptuous assistance occasionally tossed to them by their opponents. But that is not the condition of this Government at present. It certainly was not its condition last session, in which, according to another portion of the diatribes of the hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, we were constantly and tyrannically trampling upon the Opposition. That may show great wickedness, but it does not show great weakness. I therefore venture respectfully to submit that the charge of feebleness—immorality if you like—may be dismissed for the present. Then the second charge against us is that we are carrying on the Government while the by-elections are going against us. I believe the by-elections have been going against us, and there is not the least doubt that we are carrying on the Government; so that the two propositions are quite accurate. But the question is, Are we in so carrying on the Government violating either the spirit or the letter or the practice of the Constitution? I do not think anybody who has considered the question can doubt what the answer should be. I will not discuss the Conservative Administrations. I will take my illustration from Radical Administrations. When Mr. Gladstone came into office in 1869 he disestablished a Church, he passed an Education Bill, he revolutionised the Army, and he did other things. I am not for the moment criticising or complaining of any of these measures. But in the years during which he performed these legislative and administrative feats he lost on the balance of elections no less than twenty-four seats. We have lost sixteen. Did Mr. Gladstone resign because he was losing by-elections? He not only did not resign because he was losing by-elections, but he said that would be a most improper reason for resigning. We will skip over the next Tory Administration and go to Mr. Gladstone's next Government. [AN HON. MEMBER: All wrong.] Well, I admit I have not checked these figures myself but I have no doubt that they are correct. But I go on to Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1880, which came to an end in 1885.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Montrose Burghs): I only wish to be allowed to say that the loss of by-elections was given to the Queen as a reason for advising dissolution.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think that gets over the letter Mr. Gladstone wrote to Lord Granville, in which he said it was not a sufficient reason, and that it would be a bad precedent for a Government to go out simply because by-elections had gone against it without considering other motives. Now I come to Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1880, the last considerable stretch of power he enjoyed. That Government passed a Coercion Act, a Land Act, made the Kilmainham treaty, bombarded Alexandria, abandoned Gordon ["Oh, oh!"] —I am not attacking Mr. Gladstone. After all, why should I? I am narrating incidents which made that Government, for good or for evil—we need not quarrel over which it is—very remarkable in the history of the country. In the course of the tenure of office by that Government Mr. Gladstone lost on the balance nineteen seats at by-elections, and we have lost, as I have said, only sixteen. [AN HON. MEMBER: But how many have come over?] Of course hon. Members may have changed their opinions though constituents have not. Some Gentlemen who have sat on this side now sit on that, and in Mr. Gladstone's time there were times when similar events, regrettable or not, occurred. But that is totally irrelevant to the constitutional question. Is a Government at liberty to go on while the balance of by-elections is against it? I say all precedent, all law, all common sense shows that it is for the House of Commons, and for the House of Commons alone, to determine whether a Government shall receive that measure of support which will enable it to carry out the duties entrusted to it by the Sovereign and expected from it by the country.

There is one further argument which has been used. We have been told we have no mandate; and by a mandate I understand is meant that some kind of bargain was made by the then Government that they would do nothing in the way of legislation—["Cries of No, no"]—then what is meant by it?—nothing in the way of legislation—and that they would only finish the war in South Africa, and as far as they could carry out a settlement there. We have been told that we went to the country on a single issue, and that we have no right to go beyond it. [AN HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear!]. That is exactly what I say. Now really this argument transcends both common sense and history. In the first place, the election was in 1900, and I do not believe that you will find an instance of that argument being used until hon. Gentlemen came to express their dislike of the Education Act of 1902, and then they furbished up this strange weapon of political warfare. I have already said on another occasion that if this apocryphal bargain ever had been made between the Government and the country in 1900, the time to call attention to it was when, after the Speech from the Throne, business began; but, as I have already pointed out, the chief or only complaint was not that the legislative programme was too full, but that it was too meagre. Then I come to 1902, and refer to the right hon. Gentleman's speech in the discussion on the Address. He said of the Education Bill that it would lead to a great deal of controversy, but there was not a word about its being *ultra vires*, not a suggestion that we had no right to bring it forward. That you cannot bring forward an Education Bill without a great deal of controversy is quite true; but there is a total absence of any thought of this argument, which was not invented until some months later. But that is not all. The National Liberal Federation passed a resolution at the end of 1901, or early in 1902, complaining of the abortive Education Bill of 1901, and saying there ought to be a big Bill passed. Really it is absurd in the face of facts like these to try to make out that there was a pledge between the Government and the constituencies. What did the right hon. Gentleman say in his election address? He said the question now before the electors in this Kingdom is not the narrow question which concerns the war, or the South African question; it is the question of the spirit in which the legislative affairs of the country should be carried on.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The important thing there is not what I said, but what you said.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not wish to say who is the more important person. At all events, the right hon. Gentleman's words are worthy of some consideration—even he will admit that. I cannot hope that this absurd constitutional mare's-nest has been completely destroyed; no doubt it will appear in Liberal leaflets and Radical placards all over the country; but I think that any man who knows the constitutional history of the country for the last thirty or forty years will see that no more hollow pretence was ever made than this, that for the sake of the emoluments of office we are violating constitutional precedent and practice.

Then I come to what I suppose the right hon. Gentleman thought the main portion of his speech, that which dealt with the fiscal controversy. He fell foul of my two hon. friends the mover and the seconder of the Address because they did not anticipate his bad example, and drag quite irrelevantly into a debate on the King's Speech of 1905 what can, as a practical matter, only concern Parliaments to which that Speech is not addressed. If they had gone outside the four corners of the King's Speech and if they had anticipated the example of the right hon. Gentleman, and plunged into this subject, in my opinion they would have transgressed the practice and precedent of the House, and would have gone very far beyond what I think is relevant to our debates. I have protested more than once against this practice of dragging the fiscal question into the discussions of a Parliament which is not going to deal with it, because quite obviously it is as utterly irrelevant as a debate, let us say, on Home Rule. Indeed, it is more irrelevant and for this reason. The right hon. Gentleman tells us, indeed it is the whole basis of his speech, that we do not in any sense represent the country, and that when the election comes he and his friends will come into office. Therefore, if we are to discuss any policy which is not to be dealt with by this Parliament, the policy we ought to discuss is not our policy but his policy. And while the right hon. Gentleman professed himself very much befogged as to what is our policy on the fiscal question, I truly and sincerely from my heart and conscience assure him he cannot be nearly so befogged as I am as to what policy of Home Rule is held by hon. Gentlemen opposite. I do not in the least know how that argument is to be answered. Perhaps the right hon. Member for East Fife will give me an answer. Why is it more relevant to the debate on the King's Speech in 1905 to discuss differences or supposed differences on the fiscal question on this side of the House than on the same Speech and at the same time to discuss Home Rule and the differences, real or supposed, that prevail among hon. Gentlemen opposite? There is absolutely no distinction of theory or practice between the two, and if one may be discussed so may the other. However, I propose to say a few words in answer to the right hon. Gentleman's observations on this question, though I think it necessary to put in this caveat as to their relevancy. They are not relevant, but I will deal with them. The right hon. Gentleman, I notice, does not say that he is unable to understand the policy which I have recommended to the country. He leaves that depth of ignorance to be professed by the right hon. Member for Montrose, whom I have never been able to enlighten, great as have been the efforts which I have devoted to the task. The Leader of the Opposition does understand, but he says my policy is a policy of aspirations. That is a very old criticism. Every policy is, I presume, a policy of aspirations until it is carried into effect. His policy as regards Home Rule is a policy of aspirations. He does not agree with the Member for Fife that Home Rule is an academic question. He thinks it a vital and important question. Yes, but it is a question of aspirations, the aspirations, in fact, of the Irish Party and those whom they represent. What criticism of a policy is it to say that it is a policy of aspirations?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I never said so.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Excuse me. The right hon. Gentleman may not have intended to say so, but I can assure him that he did say so. It is the only thing in the nature of criticism of my policy that I can find in his speech.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to repeat the question, which I call a plain question, that I asked. Is it according to his idea of what is right that when an hon. Member or anyone else—when anyone who differs entirely from the principle of fiscal policy recommended by the Member for Birmingham comes to the right hon. Gentleman and imagines that he has found at his hands a policy of another kind altogether, does he think it right that he should allow him to understand that that is so, while practically and substantially the principle of his policy and that of the right hon. Member for Birmingham are identical?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I confess I should like to have that on half a sheet of notepaper. Can anything reasonably be asked of the Leader of a Party more than that he should, to the very best of his ability, explain, in the clearest language he can command, his own position? You may say that my language is obscure and that I indulge in metaphysics, but I do my best. Is it not extraordinarily inconsistent—when the gravamen of your charge against me is that I cannot explain my own position—to ask me to explain somebody else's? If my poor powers of expression are totally inadequate to the first task how can you throw upon me the burden of the second? I really do not think that anybody, except the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose, has failed to understand what it is I recommended to the country. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh!"] At all events, having devoted much time to it, I am, from the lack of the necessary gifts, or the necessary education, or the necessary practice, incapable of putting it either more briefly, or clearly, or more precisely. I believe any man, with an impartial mind, can understand it without the smallest doubt.

AN HON. MEMBER: What is it?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have given it you on half a sheet of notepaper. I cannot imagine any way of bringing it home to hon. and right hon. Gentlemen if the ways I have used are ineffective. If I had had time I would have put it in words of one syllable.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: "Yes" or "No" would do.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: "Yes" or "No" is not an answer to that question; and, failing that method, I entirely decline to attempt—although I admit it is my duty to explain my policy to the best of my ability, I do not admit that it is my business to explain anybody else's policy. Who are these gentleman who, in view of what is going to happen after the next election, are putting us through this course of cross-examination, and subjecting us to these inquiries? Why is the process not to be reversed? I have, at all events, honestly tried to explain my policy. Have you tried honestly to explain your policy? There was one happy period of about eight hours in which a rejoicing country thought they had the utterance of a Liberal Leader on this question. But the timid bathers withdrew their reluctant feet from the cold water and before the day was out there was a storm and flood of denial with regard to it from which we learned that that which everybody—including the right hon. Gentleman's best friends—had blessed as an authoritative statement of Liberal policy was really no more than notes of undelivered speeches by a gentleman of position. If Lord Spencer's statements are repudiated as an authoritative statement of Liberal policy. [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] No? I thought they were—who was the man to whom it was addressed?—let somebody else with greater authority step into Lord Spencer's shoes and tell us what it is that the country, which they say is clamouring for their advent to power, wishes them to do. There are plenty of questions about which we are in doubt. You have not told us what you are going to do with the Education Act. You do not know, or at least you have not told us, what are your plans for dealing with the Licensing Act. I am sure you have made no plan as to what you mean to do in respect of Chinese labour. We have not the smallest conception whether you still think you ought to disestablish the Welsh Church, which you tried to do before. You have not told us whether you still desire local veto, which you tried to pass. You have not told us whether you mean to pass Home Rule, with which you have wasted two Parliaments in trying to deal. This is a degree of ignorance which surely requires some illumination from some person, if there be such a person. I have put a few questions we should like answered. I believe half a sheet of note-paper would do it, properly applied. For my part, I entirely reject the idea that we stand here to be cross-examined as to what is to be done in the next Parliament, while hon. Gentlemen opposite are to sit there merely in the position of cross-examiners, and not in the position either of witnesses or criminals in the dock.

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

I have now, I think, adequately dealt with every part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, except one, and that was, as I thought, a most unnecessary and gratuitous attack upon my hon. friend the Member for Hampshire. My hon. friend has not been very long in an official position, but he has been long enough to show how valuable his great abilities and industries are and can be, to this country; and why the right hon. Gentleman, who has plenty of people to attack on this side—there is always my right hon. friend the Member for Birmingham—should have singled out my hon. friend for this most ungenerous animadversion I am unable to understand. As I came into the House a friend of mine gave me a quotation from the late Mr. Bright which seems to me to be absolutely relevant to this issue, and with which I shall conclude my observations to-night. It runs as follows. He is dealing with an Opposition anxious to get into office and of whom the Leaders made an attack on one of the junior members of the Government. Mr. Bright said—

> "If I were the hungriest of the hungry I would scorn to get into office over the prostrate body of the youngest member of the Administration."

Motion made, and Question, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Asquith*)—put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 15th February, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the Borough of Liverpool (Everton Division), in the room of Sir John Archibald Willox (Chiltern Hundreds). — (*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Chairman of Ways and Means reported, That, in accordance with Standing Order 79, he had conferred with the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords, for the purpose of determining in which House of Parliament the respective Private Bills should be first considered, and they had determined that the Bills contained in the following List should originate in the House of Lords, viz.:—

Abertillery Urban District Water.

Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company.

Alexandra Park and Palace.

Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement.

Barry Railway.

Blackpool Improvement.

Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways.

Bridgewater Canals.

Bristol Blind Asylum.

Buenos Ayres Grand National Tramways.

Cardiff Railway.

Central Electric Supply.

Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation.

City of London Electric Lighting Company.

Clacton Improvement.

Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners.

Commercial Union Assurance.

Cordoba and Rosario Railway.

County of London Electric Supply Company.

Dearne Valley Railway.

East Cowes Gas.

East London and Lower Thames Electric Power.

Entre Rios Railways.

Formby Township.

Gosport and Fareham Tramways.

Great Central Railway.

Great Central Railway (Pension Fund).

Hastings Harbour.

Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment).

Hastings Tramways.

Hessle Gas.

Hessle Urban District Council.

Humber Conservancy.

Hythe Corporation.

Leeds and Liverpool Canal.

Littlehampton Urban District Council.

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council.

London and India Docks Company.

London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation).

Mansfield Corporation.

Marylebone Chapels.

Matlock Bath Improvement.

Medway and Thames Canal.

Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies.

Metropolitan District Railway.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District).

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers).

Metropolitan Railway.

Mexborough and Swinton Tramways (Extension of Time).

Mortgage Insurance Corporation.

Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site).

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation.

Nine Mile Point Railway.

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply.

Nottingham Corporation.

Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation.

Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways.

Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage.

Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation).

Rhymney Railway.

Sandgate Urban District Council.

Sheffield University.

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting).

South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.

Southend and Colchester Light Railways.

South Lancashire Tramways.

Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board.

Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation).

Tees Valley Water Board.

Torpoint Urban District Water.

Tralee Urban District Council.

Truro Water.

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.

University College, London (Transfer).

Weaver Navigation.

Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time).

Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas.

West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers.

Whitby Urban District Council.

Workington Harbour and Dock.

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES CONGESTED DISTRICT AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.

Petition from Wester Ross, for continuance; to lie upon the Table.

MACRAE, JOHN JACOB ANDREW.

Petition of John Jacob Andrew MacRae, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

REDDI, ARJANA.

Petition of Arjana Reddi, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

SUGAR TAX,

Petitions for repeal; from Blackburn; Glasgow (two); Halifax (two); London; and Peterborough; to lie upon the Table.

VARATHANUNTHAJEE, VIJAGA, SAHIB.

Petition of Vijaga Varathanunthajee, Sahib, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS ACTS, 1883 TO 1902.

Copy presented, of the Patent Rules, 1905, dated 20th October, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

Copy presented, of Report on the state of the Finances of the University, made by the University Court, for the year 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 17.]

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh for the year 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 18.]

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow for 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 19.]

PRISONS (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Regulations, dated 20th August, 1904, made by the Secretary for Scotland for the Measuring and Photographing of Prisoners [by Act]; to lie upon the Table

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of the Heavy Motor Car (Scotland) Order, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND TRAVERS' FOUNDATION.

Accounts presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1904, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 20.]

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 TO 1903.

Copy presented, of an Order, entitled, The Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing Place Revocation Order of 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Loan Societies.—Abstract of Accounts for Loan Societies in England and Wales to 31st December, 1903, furnished to the Central Office for the Registry of Friendly Societies [by Act].

Intermediate Education (Ireland).—Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure for 1903, with Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 21.]

Royal University of Ireland.—Copy of Account of Receipts and Expenditure of the Royal University of Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 22.]

PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES (ELECTORS, ETC.) (UNITED KINGDOM).

Address for "Return showing, with regard to each Parliamentary Constituency in the United Kingdom, the total number and, as far as possible, the number in each class of Electors on the register now in force; and also showing the Population and Inhabited Houses in each Constituency (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 69, of Session 1904)."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

SANITARY INSPECTORS AND INSPECTORS OF WORKSHOPS.

Return ordered, "showing what local authorities in the year 1904 had appointed (1) in London (*a*) female Sanitary Inspectors, distinguishing those whose duties consist entirely or principally of duties under the Factory and Workshops Act, and (*b*) male Sanitary Inspectors whose duties are solely duties under that Act; and (2) in the rest of England and Wales (*a*) female Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors of Nuisances, and (*b*) male and female Inspectors of Workshops who are not also Inspectors of Nuisances; the number and salaries of the officers appointed to be shown in each case."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

BREWERS' LICENCES.

Return ordered, "of Accounts of the number of persons in each of the several Collections of the United Kingdom licensed as Brewers for sale, *i.e.*, Common Brewers, Victuallers, Retailers of beer to be drunk on the premises, Retailers of beer not to be drunk on the premises, and Brewers of beer not for sale, particularising each class in each Collection; and of the number of Licences issued to Victuallers and Retailers of beer to be drunk on the premises and not to be drunk on the premises; and stating also the quantities of malt, unmalted corn, rice, etc., sugar, including its equivalent of syrups, etc., hops and hop substitutes, used by Brewers of beer for sale, and of malt and sugar used by Brewers not for sale, from the 1st day of October, 1903, to the 30th day of September, 1904."

"Of the amount of Licence Duty paid and Beer Duty charged from the 1st day of October, 1903, to the 30th day of September, 1904, distinguishing Brewers for sale from other Brewers."

"Of the number of Brewers for sale (i.) who use malt and hops, or hop substitutes only, and (ii.) who use malt with substitutes for same and hops or hop substitutes paying for Licences, from the 1st day of October, 1903, to the 30th day of September, 1904, separating them into classes, according to the number of barrels of beer charged with duty calculated at 1·055 degrees gravity, viz.: under 1,000 barrels; 1,000 and under 10,000; 10,000 and under 20,000 20,000 and under 30,000; 30,000 ar under 50,000; 50,000 and under 100,0(100,000 and under 150,000; 150, and under 200,000; 200,000 and under 250,000; 250,000 and under 300,000; 300,000 and under 350,000; 350,000 and under 400,000; 400,000 and under 450,000; 450,000 and under 500,000; 500,000 and under 600,000; 600,000 and under 700,000; 700,000 and under 800,000; 800,000 and under 900,000; 900,000 and under 1,000,000; 1,000,000 and under 1,500,000; 1,500,000 and under 2,000,000; 2,000,000 barrels and over; showing separately, in each class, the quantities of malt, unmalted corn, rice, etc., sugar, including its equivalent of syrups, etc., hops and hop substitutes used; and stating also the number of bulk barrels of beer produced, and the amount of Licence Duty paid and Beer Duty charged in each class."

"And, of the number of barrels of beer exported from the United Kingdom, and the declared value thereof, and where exported to, from the 1st day of October, 1903, to the 30th day of September, 1904, distinguishing England, Scotland, and Ireland (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 37, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish*).

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND).

Copy ordered, "of Account of the Receipts and Payments of the Accountant-General of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, in respect of the Funds of Suitors in the said Court, including therein Funds to the credit of Lunacy Accounts, in the year to the 30th day of September, 1904; together with a Statement of Liabilities and Assets, and Particulars of Securities in Court, on the 30th day of September, 1904."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

NATIONAL GALLERY (REPORT).

Copy ordered, "of the Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the year 1904, with Appendices." — (*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES FUND, 1903–4.

Copy ordered, "of Accounts of the Civil Contingencies Fund, 1903–4, showing (1) the receipts and payments in connection with the fund in the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904; (2) the distribution of the capital of the fund at the commencement and close of the year; together with Copy of the Correspondence with the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

Copy ordered, "of Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom for each month during the year 1905."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

ALIEN IMMIGRATION FROM THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

Return ordered, "of the number of Aliens that arrived from the Continent at Ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1905."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

Copy ordered, "of Account showing the gross amount received and the gross amount expended in respect of the Telegraph Service from the date of the transfer of the telegraphs to the State to the 31st day of March, 1904 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 49, of Session 1904)."—(*Lord Stanley.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

The Unfunded Debt.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, what is the total amount of the Unfunded Debt, and what are the separate amounts in Exchequer Bonds under The Capital Expenditure Act, 1904, and under other Acts, in Treasury Bills, and in other securities.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The total amount of the Unfunded Debt at the present moment is £81,633,000. It is made up as follows:—Exchequer Bonds, Issued under The Capital Expenditure Money Act, 1904, £6,000,000; and raised for the War, £20,500,000; Treasury Bills, Including £13,000,000 raised for the War, £21,133,000; and of the Bills issued to meet deficiency of Revenue, which have to be repaid before

31st March, 1905, there are still outstanding, £4,000,000; War Loan, which has to be redeemed in 1910, £30,000,000; Total £81,633,000.

Land Purchase in the West of Ireland.

MR. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the failure of the Land Purchase Act to effect the re-settlement of the people on the grass lands in the West of Ireland, he will bring in a Bill to confer on the Congested Districts Board and the Estates Commissioners compulsory powers of purchase.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) It is premature to allege that the Act, which has been little more than a year in operation, has failed to effect the occupation of untenanted lands in the West of Ireland. The last published Report of the Congested Districts Board shows that satisfactory progress had been made during the year ended 31st March, 1904, in the acquisition of lands in scheduled districts with a view to the provision of new holdings and the improvement and enlargement of existing holdings. I have no doubt that this satisfactory rate of progress will be accelerated in future years. The reply to the second part of the Question is in the negative.

Case of de Tiége.

MR. EMMOTT (Oldham): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government have received a Copy of the judgment of the Appeal Court at Boma in the case of de Tiége; and, if so, whether they will communicate it to the House.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) It appears, on inquiry, that Monsieur de Tiége is not a British subject, and His Majesty's Government have therefore no right to prosecute special inquiries into the case.

BALLOT FOR BILLS AND MOTIONS.

Ordered, "That no Bills, other than Government Bills, be introduced in anticipation of the ballot, and that all Members who desire to ballot, whether for Bills, or for Motions, for Tuesday, 21st February, and Tuesday, 28th February and Wednesday, 22nd February, and Wednesday, 1st March, do hand in their names at the Table during the sitting of the House on the first and second day of the session, and that a copy of such Notices be handed in, at the latest, during the sitting of the House on the third day of the session.

"That the ballot for the precedence of the said Bills and Motions be taken on the third day on which the House sits at a convenient time and place, to be appointed by Mr. Speaker, and that the presentation of Bills on the fourth sitting day to be taken as soon after Twelve o'clock as Mr. Speaker may deem convenient."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

*MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): I propose to conclude my speech by proposing the following Amendment which stands in my name on the Paper—

> "And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question having now been fnlly discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay,"

Before I proceed to say anything about the Amendment I should like to offer one or two comments on some passages in the remarkable speech which was delivered by the Prime Minister last night. I regret I do not see the right hon. Gentleman in his place. The Prime Minister appeared to be very much shocked at two things—in the first place at the suggestion that there is anything anomalous, not to say improper, in the constitutional situation, and next at the introduction into the debate upon the Address of so irrelevant a topic as the fiscal question. The right hon. Gentleman, unlike other people, sees nothing in the history or in the present condition of the House of Commons, elected in the year 1900, but the effects of the ordinary leakage which in the course of time always tends to diminish a great majority. And as to the fiscal question, why, to judge from his speech, or speeches rather, the fiscal question has no meaning or, indeed, no existence for him, except as a probable subject of discussion in the next Parliament, and a possible matter for decision in the next Parliament but one. I must say, so far as I can form a judgment, there is no man in the Empire who has less excuse for making either of those assumptions than the Prime Minister himself. For let us remember that when this House was elected in 1900 Lord Salisbury was the Prime Minister. Where is the Ministry and where is the Party that Lord Salisbury left to his successor? The one, the Ministry, has disappeared. Nothing would have surprised the country more in the year 1900 than if they had been told that they were voting for installing on the Treasury Bench the Gentlemen who at present occupy it. The Ministry has disappeared, and you have to look and search about for most, at any rate, of its more distinguished and experienced members in all sorts of unexpected quarters—below the Gangway, not always sitting together, of this House and of another place. The Party! What has become of the Party? [UNIONIST MEMBERS: "Here we are," and "Where is your own Party?"] We are able to render a fair account of ourselves. What has become of the Party there? The Party there, as every man I am addressing knows, is split and sundered beyond the salving power of any formula. ["No, no!"] But I should like to ask the Prime Minister, if he were here—[Loud Liberal cheers, during which Mr. A. J. BALFOUR arrived]—I will ask the Prime Minister, now that he is here, what in his view is the disruptive force which has shattered both his Government and his Party? As every one of them but the Prime Minister knows, it is this very fiscal question—a question as undreamt of in 1900 as the constitution of the present Ministry—undreamt of, I mean, by any rational being as a living issue in British politics—which has proved its disruptive power. That is the question which the Prime Minister affects to regard as of the most microscopic interest.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Oh, no! It is very interesting.

*MR. ASQUITH: Ah! as a speculative and academic topic; but for the practical purposes of present day politics, the right hon. Gentleman affects to regard it as of the most microscopic interest and most remote relevance. It is in the same spirit of illusion, I will not say of make-believe, that the right hon. Gentleman dealt last night with the rather delicate topic of the by-elections. He admits they have gone wrong, but he sees nothing in them that is abnormal or even of any special significance. What are the facts? The facts are that since the election of 1900 there have been fifty-three seats in Great Britain in which the electors have had the opportunity of either affirming or reversing the opinion they expressed at the general election. In 1900, of those fifty-three seats, fifteen were Liberal and thirty-eight Conservative and Unionist. At the present day, of those fifty-three seats, thirty are Liberal and twenty-three Conservative. And that means—because really the figures of the voting are much more remarkable—that there have been summoned into the electoral field and on the side of the Liberal Party at the by-elections, as compared with the general election, an accession of no less than 70,000 votes, or between 35 and 40 per cent. of the whole votes polled. In the last fourteen months there has been a gain of nine seats. I agree that even the Prime Minister does not go as far as the Secretary of State for War, who attributed this series of mishaps to the exceptional predominance in these particular constituencies of the "enemies of England." I should prefer to describe these so-called "enemies of England"—and history will describe them as such—as the enemies of political equivocation.

These "enemies of England," as the right hon. Gentleman will find, are pretty impartially distributed among the constituencies of the country, and, unless all the omens are deceptive, are likely to continue to show their enmity whenever they have an opportunity of doing so. The Prime Minister is preserved by a sense of humour, and by a regard for the amenities of political controversy, from resting his case upon any such hypothesis as that. The right hon. Gentleman says that this has always happened, especially under Radical Governments, and they have never paid any attention to a long series of electoral disasters as a ground for a dissolution; and by way of maintaining that proposition the right hon. Gentlemen rather unhappily took the period between 1868 and 1874. He said quite accurately that there was a net loss to Mr. Gladstone's Government of twenty-four seats, but he did not point out that of the twenty-four seats so lost nine were lost in the final year of that Administration—between March, 1873, when Mr. Gladstone resigned, and the Tory Party were either unwilling or unable to take his place, and February, 1874, when he finally dissolved. The right hon. Gentleman, when he said that Mr. Gladstone did not look upon these by-elections as an important factor in coming to a judgment as to the expediency and propriety of a dissolution, made a statement which I noticed at the time was received with the greatest surprise by Mr. Gladstone's biographer. With the assistance of my right hon. friend I have refreshed my own memory, and I find that the right hon. Gentleman's statement is not consistent with fact and history. What happened was this. The letter will be found in the second volume of Mr. Gladstone's "Life," page 485. In his letter to the Queen announcing the intention of the Cabinet to dissolve Parliament in February, 1874, he placed in the very forefront of the grounds which had moved them in doing so this expression—

> "Mr. Gladstone laid before the Cabinet a pretty full outline of the case as to the weakness of the Government since the crisis of last March, and the increase of that weakness, especially of late, from the unfavourable character of the local indications."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I suppose that the right hon. Gentleman by "local indications" means by-elections?

*MR. ASQUITH: Mr. Gladstone did.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Mr. Gladstone did use the word "by-elections" specifically in the letter to Lord Granville, which dealt with the constitutional point. The reference quoted by the right hon. Gentleman does not deal with the constitutional point.

*MR. ASQUITH: I am citing the grounds which Mr. Gladstone gave to the Queen. At any rate, here is Her Majesty's responsible First Minister on behalf of his Government advising her to dissolve Parliament; and the first ground which he suggests is the unfavourable character of these "local indications." It accounted for the growing weakness of the Government since its defeat, and this is the first ground that he alleges. So that, whatever may be said in defence of the Prime Minister's constitutional position, at any rate let us have the authority of Mr. Gladstone as he himself defined it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must contradict the right hon. Gentleman. I must say specifically that Mr. Gladstone laid it down that it was not a reason, and that it would be an evil precedent to make it a reason when the Government lost by-elections. That is my statement, and it is a true one.

*MR. ASQUITH: I do not think it possible to have a document of higher authority than the statement made by the First Minister to his Sovereign as to the grounds on which he advised her to take such a serious step as dissolving Parliament.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): Have you a record of it?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Mr. Gladstone made two statements.

*MR. ASQUITH: It is the letter to the Queen which is published in Mr. Gladstone's biography.

MR. CHAPLIN: By whom?

*MR. ASQUITH: I do not know what the right hon. Gentleman means by that. We have the authority of his own account; there is the document *in extenso*, and the right hon. Gentleman can read it if he likes. There is a third thing which apparently the Prime Minister resents more than the two suggestions I have hitherto dealt with. That is the notion that there can be in the mind of any reasonable and intelligent man a doubt, a shadow of a doubt, as to the exact meaning and scope of his own fiscal policy. The right hon. Gentleman regards it as an outrage on common sense that there should be any doubt, but all the same such doubts do exist. They are entertained *bona fide*; they are not felt merely by the malevolent or the stupid; they prevail in his own Party as much as in the Party of his opponents. I should have thought that this matter was worthy of more investigation. My right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition last night quoted the statement of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, in a letter to a correspondent, that there was "in principle" no difference between the Prime Minister and himself. The Prime Minister in his speech made no reference to that. That surely is a very plain question. Do you or do you not agree with the right hon. Member for West Birmingham that in point of principle there is no distinction between your position and his? [OPPOSITION cries of "Answer."] I say that this is a plain question which does admit of a monosyllabic answer. Let the House remember that there is no sort of doubt what is the principle of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham's policy. I am going to state it in terms to which I believe he will himself assent, for I may say that I have been a careful, even a laborious, student of his speeches. The policy of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, as I understand it, is in principle made up of two heads. In the first place, the abandonment, in the interest of British trade, of the antiquated system of so-called free trade, which he has told his audiences over and over again that we alone persist in pursuing in defiance of common sense and the common practice of the rest of civilised mankind. In the second place, the creation, in the interests of Imperial unity and strength, of a preferential system based on the taxation of foreign corn and flour. I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman will differ from me.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.); If the right hon. Gentleman appeals to me, I beg to say that I neither accept nor deny.

*MR. ASQUITH: I must be content with that answer, but I regret to see that the malaria of ambiguity, one of the most contagious poisons in the political atmosphere, is beginning to cross beyond the Gangway and to attack those who at any rate hitherto have been completely free from its maleficent influence. I will take, however, the right hon. Gentleman's answer; he does not deny. If he wants chapter and verse, I would refer him to the speech which he made at Limehouse in December last. He said there, "I am going to submit to the country two issues"—and they are precisely the two issues I have just described. I do not make that quotation with a view of suggesting that the right hon. Gentleman was guilty of anything in the nature of arrogance in using the first person singular, and in regarding himself as the arbiter of the situation. On the contrary, I think that he showed true political instinct, for it is better to have plain language. It is the issue raised by the right hon. Gentleman, and no other, that the country will regard when the election comes to be held. But I want to know from the Prime Minister, does he or does he not agree in principle with these two propositions? If I may slightly expand them I would ask, does he, as he has more than once suggested, think that it is only stupid and antiquated prejudice which historical associations and sentimental follies have engendered in the mind of the people of this country that prevents them from accepting a change in their fiscal system which involves the taxation of food? Does he or does he not sympathise with the efforts which the "missionary of Empire" is making to dispel the clouds and cobwebs which at present prevent our people from looking for fiscal salvation in that particular direction? They are very plain questions, and not difficult to answer.

But the matter does not rest there. I said something about the condition of the Party opposite. It is quite true, I admit, that it is no longer embarrassed by those difficulties of nomenclature and classification with which it had to contend last year. The fence, of which we have all heard, which was then crowded with dubious and balancing figures, is now altogether vacant. A considerable number of them, including some of the most respected names in this House, unable to face the choice that lay before them, have resolved to commit political suicide, and no longer are appealing to their constituents to return them. Another large and important section have become out-and-out followers of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. Whether they call themselves protectionists or not, they are in favour of preference *sans phrase.* But as to the rest—those whom I may call the pure Balfourians with or without Chamberlainite hankerings—we know very well the formula of the pure Balfourian:—"I am in favour of the clear and statesmanlike policy which has been indicated by the Prime Minister, and for the moment at any rate I take my stand upon that. But at the same time, do not let it be supposed that I do not regard with cordial, and even with ardent, sympathy the patriotic efforts which the right hon. Member for West Birmingham is making to introduce a still more extended change in our fiscal system." That, put in more elegant language, will in substance be the staple of the election addresses of a considerable number of hon. Gentlemen opposite. What is the pure Balfourian? He is a man who, having tried for a year to live up to the Sheffield programme, now finds an exhaustive statement of his fiscal creed in that lucid and comprehensive sheet of notepaper which was exhibited at Manchester. I want to imagine one of those Gentlemen at the approaching election appealing to the electors for their confidence. What is he going to say? Of course, he will begin with the conventional little prologue about retaliation—about the importance and the supposed necessity, never discovered until the right hon. Member for West Birmingham proposed to tax food—[Cries of "No."] well, it may have been discovered as a matter of scientific interest, but it was never advocated as a practical policy in this House—he will begin with the importance or necessity of what is absurdly called "recovering our fiscal freedom." That particular topic will not last him long, for the simple and sufficient reason that, apart from the sugar duty, no human being has yet been able to suggest when, where, and how, in respect of what commodity, or against what country, this doctrine of retaliation is to be given practical effect. There are two or three elementary questions in regard to it, which I put a year ago in this House, and which no one has yet attempted to answer. Are you going to create a general tariff which is to be applicable at the will of the Executive of the day? Or are you to have two tariffs, as so many protective countries have, or are you, as is much more probable, to remain exactly as you are? In other words, are you to remain with the power which we have never surrendered, and never shall surrender, of dealing as we please and in regard to the merits of each particular case, and with each foreign country, subject to the control and consent of the House of Commons? I do not believe the true Balfourian would pass a satisfactory examination in those questions; and I think he will soon leave the unpromising topic of retaliation, and draw out the only other arrow in his quiver, and that is the colonial conference.

The Prime Minister went through the whole of his speech last night without a single reference, direct or indirect, to the colonial conference—a really remarkable achievement even for so accomplished a master of the art of opportune taciturnity. What are the pure Balfourians going to say about the colonial conference? And here I should like to put some plain questions to them, and to the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. Are our representatives to go into this conference, as far as the fiscal question is concerned, with blank instructions? Are they to raise the fiscal question on their own responsibility, or are they to wait until it is raised by some one else? Are they to be authorised to make any proposal, and, if so, what, on behalf of the Imperial Government? Are they to have authority to entertain in principle any proposal made by any one else which involves the taxation of the food which comes to us from abroad? And, above all, is the next Parliament, assuming a conference to be held, and the fiscal question to be discussed at it, and assuming some provisional scheme to be arrived at—is the next Parliament to be disabled from acting on any conclusions which the conference may come to? Is it to have its first and only practical result, at the earliest, after another general election here, and after a series of elections throughout the length and breadth of the Empire? I know that the Prime Minister would answer the last question in the affirmative. He has said so more than once. But what is the opinion of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham? I read his speech at Luton, in which he stated with unanwerable cogency and force the practical objections to this preposterous proposal. He pointed out that it would involve interminable delay; that the whole trade of the country and of the Empire would be hung up in suspense for years and years until the final settlement was attained; that in the meantime other issues might and probably would arise; and that, whether you regarded the maintenance of the existing system or the introduction of a new one as the first interest of the Empire, this scheme of a general election referendum was absolutely impossible. I should like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman has modified or withdrawn any of those objections. In his speech at Gainsborough after the Prime Minister had reiterated his original position, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham did not renew his objections; but he used a remarkable phrase. He said—

> "You are asked to meet your own friends and relations and see whether, both having the same object—namely, to unite the Empire more closely together—you can find some means of doing so on the basis of a preferential policy."

Thus, the conference, as it is contemplated by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, is to proceed on the basis of preferential policy. One would like to know from the Government whether in their view, if they are responsible for the conduct of the conference, the representatives of Great Britain will be authorised to treat on the basis of preferential policy. The issue is, What instructions are our delegates to receive? This leads up to the conclusion to which I ask the House to come—namely, that this intolerable confusion, menacing and perilous as it is to our industry and Empire, can only be cleared up in one way, and that is by a prompt and direct appeal to the people. That brings me to my Amendment, which is very short and in these terms—

> "And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question having now been fully discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay."

In moving that Amendment I believe that I am in the happy and perhaps unique position of making a proposition which, if it could be discussed and decided on its merits, would receive in this House a practically unanimous vote of assent. The right hon. Gentleman last night imagined a secret ballot being taken. Suppose we had a ballot on this Amendment now. I should count with great confidence on the vote of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. I should even be sanguine of obtaining the vote of the Prime Minister himself; because I do not really believe that in their heart of hearts and mind of minds either of those right hon. Gentlemen contemplates the prolongation of the existing state of things without apprehension and alarm. Is there any candid disputant who will deny the modest statement of fact that this matter has been very fully discussed, not, I admit, in this House, but in the country during the last two years? When I say that, I do not for a moment imply that argument is exhausted or the evidence closed, or that the last word has been said. Nothing has been more remarkable in the course of this two years controversy than the additional strength which has been given to our case, day by day and month by month, by our industrial experience. From the very beginning many of us thought that this so-called movement of tariff reform was vitiated by bad history, bad logic, and bad arithmetic; as it has gone on it has been further condemned by bad prophecy. Almost every one of the predictions which were made, and confidently made, when the campaign was started have been falsified by the actual experience of the two years that have since elapsed. But it will not be denied either, I am sure, that the controversy is not in any sense academic, not in any sense even of that much-abused term; for let us remember that these changes were put forward by the authors of them, and by no one with more emphasis, and, indeed, vehemence of language than by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, as of vital importance and imperious urgency. The right hon. Gentleman has hardly made a speech without uttering a note of warning as to the evil consequences which must happen to us if we do not adopt this new departure; and even the Prime Minister, when he was putting forward the comparatively nebulous formula of the Sheffield programme, even he announced —and that was nearly two years ago— that he was in favour of a fundamental reversal of our fiscal tradition. Well, now, Sir, one set of tariff reformers say that the existing state of things is sapping slowly, but surely, the very foundations both of our trade and our Empire; the other set, the Prime Minister and his particular followers, say that it leaves us defenceless, like an army without quick-firing guns in the presence of our better-equipped rivals and enemies on the battlefields of international trade. On their own showing, then, both wings of the party of so-called fiscal reform are in this dilemma — either a great part of what they have been talking on the platforms during the last two years is idle and insincere rhetoric, or they are deliberately prolonging a situation which is full of the gravest dangers both to our commerce and our Empire. And yet, Sir, I know very well—at least, I suspect very strongly — that there is no Amendment which will be moved to this Address which is likely to bring together in the division lobby to oppose it a larger number of the Party opposite. That is one of the ironies of the position. Dr. Johnson said of a celebrated criminal of his day, who spent his time in literary activity between sentence and execution—

> "Depend upon it, Sir, when a man is going to be hanged in a fortnight it concentrates his mind wonderfully."

In the same way experience shows that there is no expedient which is more effective for concentrating a majority, particularly a disintegrating majority, than anything which brings nearer to their doors the shadow of a dissolution. Therefore, I am not surprised, or I shall not be surprised, if hon. Gentlemen turn out in great strength in the division lobby. Yes, because when the accused is able to dominate the tribunal he naturally gives himself the benefit of the doubt. But, Sir, whatever the division may be, there is no man in this House, whether he believes in a fiscal change or whether he does not, there is no man in this House who does not know that the uncertainty and the unsettlement which now prevail are in the highest degree prejudicial to the best interests of the British Empire. The idea that this controversy can be allowed to go simmering on from general election to general election, both here and throughout the Empire, is an idea which I venture to submit to the House is preposterous in theory and unworkable in practice. The people recognise that, whatever may be the formula that politicians devise, the real issue for them is between preference and no preference, between drawing freely for their supplies upon all sources or only upon some, between the taxation and the free admission of corn and flour and meat. They know the facts; they have listened to the arguments; vast interests, industrial and Imperial, are involved in and wait upon their decision. Let them decide.

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question having now been fully discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay.' "—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): None of us on this side of the House complain that the right hon. Gentleman has chosen the earliest moment open to him to bring before the House the Amendment, the advent of which has been so loudly proclaimed. The right hon. Gentleman has brought before the House a clear question of confidence in my right hon. friend the Prime Minister and in the Government which now exists, and we are as ready and anxious as he to have the verdict of the House on that question. [OPPOSITION cries of "The Country."] He inquires of my right hon. friend what has become of the Party to the leadership of which he succeeded. That, Sir, is what the division on this Amendment will show. We shall see then whether there is any foundation for the taunts which the right hon. Gentleman has hurled across the House, or whether the disunion which has become chronic, so chronic that it no longer excites attention, on the benches opposite has spread like the malarial affection to which he referred to this side of the House. I confess that I think not less extraordinary than the speech in which the right hon. Gentleman has supported his Amendment were the terms of the Amendment itself. The Amendment is, as he said, a brief Amendment. It declares that the fiscal controversy having now been fully discussed for two years, an immediate appeal to the country upon that issue is desirable. Yet from beginning to end, whenever he touched on the fiscal question, the right hon. Gentleman complained that he was still without light, without understanding, without knowledge as to what were the issues involved or the proposals which we submit. The right hon. Gentleman in his opening remarks referred to the answer which my right hon. friend the Prime Minister made last night to a demand for an immediate dissolution based upon the figures of our electoral returns. The right hon. Gentleman thought he had disposed of the quotation which my right hon. friend made from Mr. Gladstone's letter to Lord Granville by producing another quotation from Mr. Gladstone in a letter to the Queen, which on a cursory and careless perusal may appear inconsistent with it. It is not my business to reconcile Mr. Gladstone's seeming inconsistency. That he would have shown that his later letter to the Queen was not inconsistent with his letter to Lord Granville no one can be more confident than I. But I am content to recall the actual words of his letter to Lord Granville in which he dealt with this demand as a constitutional problem. He said—

> "A Ministry with a majority, and that majority not in rebellion—"

[Cheers.] I expected those cheers. I invite my hon. friends to take note of them. Is the Party in rebellion? The division lobbies will show. This at any rate we do know. We have received from our hon. friends on this side of the House a constant and loyal support which has enabled us to do the work which we were sent here to do, and to place on record, both in our relations with foreign Powers and in the legislative sphere, great and far-reaching measures which, in our opinion at any rate, are of the utmost consequence to the future of the country. But I will return to the quotation from Mr. Gladstone—

> "A Ministry with a majority, and that majority not in rebellion, could not resign on account of adverse manifestations, even of very numerous constituencies, without making a precedent, and constitutionally a bad precedent."

I think that is conclusive as to Mr. Gladstone's views on the subject, and if he attached more importance to elections after he had been defeated in this House, well, we will not wait for any further test. If you withdraw your confidence from us we will resign the duties with which we are at present charged. The right hon. Gentleman is now clamorous for a dissolution upon the fiscal question. I contrast his attitude with that, I think, of himself, and certainly of his friends, when this question was first brought before us in its present form for our consideration. Lord Rosebery—I quote with hesitation any Leader of the Party opposite for fear that what is the manifesto of to-day should be disavowed by the Chief Whip to-morrow—but I presume I may still class Lord Rosebery among the Liberal leaders. [AN HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] Faint assent from a recent adherent of the Party, who, perhaps, will pardon me for saying that he is not yet competent to speak in their name, but a nod from the right hon. Gentleman who preceded me may encourage me to proceed. What was Lord Rosebery's first observation on this question? He did not say that the question was so urgent that you must have recourse to the country at once, but his one absorbing fear was lest the country should be rushed into a premature decision.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): What was the date of that.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That was on November 9th, 1903. Hon. Gentlemen opposite are now agreed that it would have been wrong to bring this question to an immediate issue in November, 1903; but such a change, it is contended, has now taken place that a moment's delay is ruinous to the country. I confess this exact apportionment of the time necessary to the consideration of a great question does not seem to me capable of the scientific precision which the right hon. Gentleman arrogates to his calculations. I suspect that if we lived in the Palace of Truth we should find the change in his view to be due not to any regard to the merits of the question itself, but to some calculation which he has drawn from recent electoral successes which leads him to think, on general grounds, that the present is a desirable time for a general election. What constitutional justification is there in practice or precedent for this new theory that when some great question is being discussed in the country an immediate appeal to the electorate is necessary? Take this very question of fiscal reform. Was that course pursued when the great revolutionary change from which our present fiscal condition dates was enacted? No, Sir; the Parliament which carried out those fiscal changes met with no conception whatever that it would be called upon to perform any such task. The country was not consulted on this issue until after the change had been made. I do not criticise the action of Sir Robert Peel. I do not desire to say whether in the circumstances of his time he acted rightly or wrongly; history has not dealt altogether kindly with him in that respect, but, at any rate, in the circumstances of to-day, my right hon. friend has chosen the more liberal course, the more democratic course, of saying that the Government will propose no change until an appeal has been made to the country, and the country itself has given him authority to deal with the question. When did the right hon. Gentleman develop the doctrine that when a question has been sufficiently discussed you must take the immediate decision of the country on the subject? I will tell the House he has developed it in opposition; he would have repudiated it with scorn when he was in power—or, rather, I should say, when he sat upon this side of the House. There is power and power; and, weak and discredited as the Opposition are pleased to say the present Government is, there has not been a day of its existence when it has not had greater confidence in this House, a freer power and a greater influence on legislation and administration than the last Liberal Administration could arrogate to itself at any point in its career. The right hon. Gentleman had not discovered the sanctity of this doctrine when he was a member of the last Administration. Home Rule was discussed, some of us thought sufficiently, and the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues thought more than sufficiently; but, when the Home Rule Bill was rejected in another place, did the right hon. Gentleman appeal to the country on that issue? No, Sir; there was nothing from which the Liberal Government would have shrunk more; and they were right, because when an appeal was made it was shown that they had not the confidence of the country on this subject.

I invite the attention of the House to the terms of the Resolution. It is one calling on the Government to appeal to the electors on the policy they intend to pursue in the future. I should have thought that in the circumstances it would have been more in accordance with precedent and constitutional usage that in the Resolution to which the House is asked to commit itself some indication should have been given of the policy which our successors would pursue. If the subject has been sufficiently discussed, why should not the Opposition tell us clearly in the Resolution itself what are the principles to which they adhere, and what is the mandate they seek from the electors? We are driven to investigate their speeches to get some glimpse of what their policy would be. In his speech to-night the right hon. Gentleman confined himself to pure negation, and made not one single constructive proposal, not one single suggestion, for dealing with any of the admitted evils of our present social or industrial state. But we are not left wholly in ignorance of his views, because the right hon. Gentleman has made many speeches. What is the mandate for which he asks? To stimulate bounty-fed competition with our own industries, to maintain our present system of free importation without free exchange. According to their own constitutional maxims, that is the only subject with which the Opposition would be entitled to deal if, as the result of the adoption of this Amendment, they came into power.

The right hon. Gentleman says we are to make an appeal at this moment, because the present state of uncertainty is disastrous to trade and industry. But almost in the same sentence he boasted to the House that we never had had two such magnificent years of trade as the last two years, and that the Board of Trade Returns were sufficient to dispose of the whole case for fiscal reform. The right hon. Gentleman has no positive proposals to make for admitted evils. What is his answer to the statement that we have 13,000,000 of people on the verge of starvation? He says you must have more education and drink less. Manufacturers are to be told, if they find increasing competition in all their markets, that the reason they do not do so well as before is that they are lacking in enterprise, education, and adaptability. Where, according to the right hon. Gentleman, are manufacturers in such circumstances to go to learn their business? To Germany, a country where a high protective tariff has, we are told, killed all incentive, energy, and enterprise. The reason why the American or German manufacturer is more ready to adapt himself to circumstances, to sacrifice capital invested in machinery that is no longer the best, to embark new capital and run new risks, is because he has some security that he will enjoy the fruits of his labour, and will not be subjected to competition which is artificially produced and artificially stimulated. I am not afraid for the future of our industry if we have fair terms and no favour. But we have not got them, and under our present fiscal system we are making no advance towards obtaining them.

The policy of the right hon. Gentleman and his friends may be summed up in much less than the proverbial half-sheet of notepaper. It is, "Do nothing, change nothing, shut your eyes to all that is passing around you. Neglect the signs of the times; do not attempt to forecast the future, but cling [OPPOSITION cries of "To office"] with all your faith and all your strength to the wisdom of your ancestors and the tradition of sixty years ago." His Majesty's Government are not prepared to adopt that attitude in face of the problems with which we are confronted. We are not content to sit still and make no effort to remedy a state of things which no candid man can view without some anxiety, and to leave, without any attempt at redress or remedy, evils which every man is forced to admit. My right hon. friend the Prime Minister has asked on his own behalf and on behalf of his Government for greater liberty in dealing with fiscal questions. He has asked that we should cut ourselves adrift from the growth which has crystallised around our present fiscal system, and that we should resume to ourselves the liberty which, as the right hon. Gentleman said, we have perhaps never constitutionally lost, but which requires nothing less than a revolution in our fiscal system to use effectually. We ask for greater liberty in respect of the taxes which are imposed to meet the expenditure of the State, and to render effective negotiations which may be undertaken with foreign Powers in regard to our commercial relations with them. The right hon. Gentleman professes his inability to understand how we could use such a power if we got it, and he administered an interrogatory of several questions as to the exact methods and means which might be adopted of putting it into operation. I do not propose to respond to that interrogatory. I think that a man who, on going into negotiations with foreign Powers, lays down beforehand exactly what he will do and what he will not do, and who pledges himself not to consider this means or that, but only to move in one particular path, has done his best to render his negotiations abortive before they are begun, and to render improbable the attainment of the very object for which he has set out.

I will say in a word what appears to me is the only reasonable position for any Government to take up on this question. We desire to have full liberty to make the representations which are demanded by our trade, to enforce those representations by effective measures of fiscal change, if persuasion and argument prove ineffective, and to employ whatever methods are needed in order to carry that policy to a successful issue. The right hon. Gentleman says that this need for a power of retaliation against those who treat our commerce unfairly is a new discovery, invented by my right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham in the course of the last few years.

MR. ASQUITH: If the great invention is to be attributed to its real and original discoverer, I think it is the hon. and gallant Member for Central Sheffield.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir; will the right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his fiscal researches, refer to a not unknown book by Adam Smith? Will he ask the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose, who sits next to him, to point out the relevant passages in the works of John Stuart Mill, or, if for the opinion of mere economists he does not care, will he read the weighty words of Lord Salisbury, addressed to his Party and the country on more than one occasion, with his unrivalled experiences of foreign affairs and of these very commercial negotiations? Lord Salisbury pointed out that we had voluntarily deprived ourselves of the only means of making our representations effective, that all around us negotiations for commercial privileges and reciprocal arrangements were going on, that each country showed great anxiety to obtain the best terms possible from the others, but that none of them cared about us. Why was that? It was because we went empty-handed to market, and he who goes empty-handed to market will come empty-handed away. We have voluntarily given up the only means of influence which we possessed, and, therefore, the representations which we have made have been treated with neglect, or waived aside with a polite refusal. I am unable to understand the attitude taken up in this matter by hon. Gentlemen opposite, who consider themselves to be the heirs of Mr. Cobden's policy, and the true prophets of his doctrines; and who, I suppose, would defend as warmly his French treaty as they would denounce any attempt on our part to purchase a similar treaty to-day by similar methods of negotiation. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose shifts uneasily in his seat. He has been the special champion of these methods of negotiation. What does he say in his life of Cobden? He says—

> "It is not enough, therefore, to remove our own protective duties, though Peel may have been right under the circumstances of the time in saying that the best way of fighting a hostile tarriff is by reforming your own. It is the business of the economic statesman to watch for opportunities of inducing other nations to modify duties on imports; because the release of the consumers of other nations is not only a stimulus to your own production for exportation, but has an effect in the supply of the imports which you declare to be the real object of your solicitude."

I can guess the right hon. Gentleman's reply to this argument. He would say that the treaty with France was not a treaty with France only, but with all the world, that the benefits were not exclusive to France, but were given to all other nations. Yes; that is the reason why, with no other nation in the world, have we since been able to make an equally satisfactory arrangement. We had already given them all we had to give before entering into negotiation. So much for that branch of the question.

There remains one other purpose for which His Majesty's Government desire greater liberty of fiscal action. It is in order that they may seek freely in every way open to them and along every line, without having one single line closed, to promote a closer union between ourselves and our colonial possessions beyond the seas. I wish I could convey to the House some sense of the profound importance which I attach to this side of the question. It is, I believe in my heart of hearts, big with the fate of Empire; and I can conceive no subject demanding more than it does the earnest and dispassionate attention of our country, and more fraught with good or evil for the future of our Empire and of the race of which we are a part, none on which a wrong decision come to now, permanently and finally, would bring more certain disaster in the future, or a heavier weight of responsibility for this generation in the eyes of posterity. The last century was remarkable for the growth of national feeling and for the building up of great and still growing nations, and it was only with the closing years of the century that that national feeling became merged, or I would rather say expanded, into a great Imperial and world policy on the part of the great Powers of the world. I beg the House to consider what is to be our future position. We are 40,000,000 of people in these islands, a race endowed with much energy, great activity, great enterprise, a race of born colonists and explorers and leaders of men, who have played a big part in the past in the development of the world. What part are we to play in the future? If you look only to these islands, they are already over-shadowed in area, population, and resources by great Powers in Europe and America. But beyond the seas we have new nations of our own blood and kinship, growing into force and strength. We have vast possessions in other climes, not suited to white colonisation, which render the Empire capable of producing almost everything that we want and of developing a great and increasing inter-Imperial trade. What is to be the future of this great inheritance? We cannot stand for ever as we stand now. Forty or fifty years ago it seemed impossible that peoples and nations so widely scattered should be for ever closely linked in the bonds of common government and common purpose, and the statesmen of those days thought their highest duty was to prepare the way for the peaceful and friendly separation of those who sooner or later must part. Are any of us prepared to accept that solution of the problem to-day, who will bid farewell for ever to the hope of maintaining these scattered portions of our race still bound together for a common purpose, and by a common tie? If we are not prepared to sacrifice that great ideal, would it not be mad of us to close the door on any road by which we may approach it, to refuse to consider any suggestion which has for its object this closer union?

The right hon. Gentleman complained that the Prime Minister had said nothing about the proposal for a Colonial Conference. My right hon. friend was replying to the Leader of the Opposition, whose only reference to the subject, I think, was an inaccurate reminiscence of an answer my right hon. friend gave in the House last year. My right hon. friend is alive, no one more than he, both to the great possibilities and perils of the future. We have a great problem to deal with, such as has never confronted any race in the history of the world. He desires that we should enter into conference with our fellow-subjects from across the seas, freely, unfettered—listen to all they have to say, and bring our views and our arguments to bear on them. [OPPOSITION cries of "What are they?"] The right hon. Gentleman called that proposal for a conference a preposterous and fantastic scheme, but afterwards explained that he is all in favour of a conference, only it must be of a different kind. If he has his way the Government of the United Kingdom are to issue to all the self-governing Colonies an invitation to attend a conference to discuss affairs of common interest, but they are at the same time to inform the Colonies that the particular subject that interests the Colonies most must not be mentioned. I suppose he will have a detective at the door to examine these colonial representatives, and see whether they have in their pockets any scheme which suggests preferential relations, and, if so, to exclude them. The subject which has excited the greatest common interest throughout the Colonial Empire is to be tabooed at this great Conference.

MR. ASQUITH: I never said so.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Then I do not know what the right hon. Gentleman said.

Mr. ASQUITH: I have always said exactly the same thing. In the first place the quotation that was made was on the proposal that we should have a Colonial Conference summoned for this purpose, and for this purpose alone, with no reference whatever to the Colonial Conference as now proposed.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR dissented.

Mr. ASQUITH: That was the proposal.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No.

Mr. ASQUITH: It was so understood. What I have said, and say now, is that in any Colonial Conference any constituent member of the Empire can, of course, raise any question which they regard as important. We ourselves, if we go into such a conference must send our delegates with definite instructions as to what attitude they are to take.

*Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I do not lay any stress on the word now when I say that that is now the position. The colonial representatives are welcome to come and raise this question if they like, but the right hon. Gentleman warns them beforehand that if they do he will have nothing to do with them, he will not entertain it for a moment. No matter what arguments they may adduce, what facts they may bring to his knowledge, what offers they may make, what sentiment they may represent in other parts of the Empire, he and his Party refuses to touch the accursed thing, and any representations they may make will find him deaf to all their offers.

Mr. ASQUITH: In regard to the taxation of food.

*Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Then with what power or influence would he go to urge on those colonial representatives other questions in which we in this country are greatly interested, but in which our colonial kinsmen perhaps see the common interests of Empire less clearly? What chance will he have of persuading them to take a larger share in the responsibilities and liabilities of the Empire? The idea of such a conference as that is indeed as preposterous and fantastic a scheme as, in his own words, has ever been evolved from the brain of a statesman. But I appeal from the right hon. Gentleman to wiser and more far-seeing heads in his own Party. Lord Rosebery, anticipating the proposal for such a conference, said—

> "One thing was certain, that before any real change was made in our fiscal system we must, as a practical measure, have a conference around a round table or square table, as the case might be, a private conference,"

And I agree with him, private—

> "not for the delivery of speeches to the gallery, but a real and business conference between the best financial and commercial experts of this country and of the Colonies to say whether such a new system of tariffs was practicable and advisable or not."

That is our view, and we must have a conference at which neither our representatives shall have their hands tied, nor the colonial representatives. I regret that such a proposal should, even for a moment, have become a matter of Party controversy or a dividing line between the two sides of the House. I still hope that from amongst the members of the Party opposite many will be found who will listen to wiser counsels, and take their share in endeavouring to frame by constructive statesmanship bonds of union amongst the British race whereever it may be found. But if it is to be a Party issue I know of no Party which, by every tradition of its existence, by the faith which its leaders have preached, by its daily principle and past practice, has a greater claim to make that policy their own than that to which I have the honour to belong.

Mr. ELLIOT (Durham) said that it was a melancholy thing that the question whether or not the Colonies should be heard should be made a matter of Party controversy. But the question, if he mistook not, had been already settled, and a conference would in due course be held, whichever Party was victorious at the polls. He must say he regretted the tone that had lately become common, amongst those who advocated these new fiscal reforms, with reference to our colonial relations. A repeated attempt was being made to persuade our fellow-subjects in the Colonies that the home country was shutting the door upon them, and treating them badly. The reverse was the truth. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said we must remember we were a small country, with greater areas and rapidly growing populations round us. Did he forget that in spite of those disadvantages our Fleets, our commerce, and our trade covered every portion of the world? And how? By the methods we had followed during the past forty years. By the fact that as traders and merchantmen we had looked to the enterprise and the energies of our own race, and had looked to the removal of restrictions to secure the pre-eminence we now enjoyed. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken as if he had never looked back to the system in our Colonies in former times. When a different system prevailed our relations with the Colonies were not such as they were now. Then, indeed, there was much trouble, and there would be again if there was an attempt to revive the worn-out and exploded commercial policy which formerly prevailed. Were we to be asked to enter into negotiations which would hamper the individual Colonies in the exercise of that freedom which they now enjoyed, and which left them as free as we were to enter into negotiations and to make arrangements for themselves? Those who knew the Colonies best knew that they would be indeed unwilling to depart from that system. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had talked of the desire to give freedom to this country in regard to trading matters with the rest of the world. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman: In what respect were we hampered at present? Could we not put up and down the taxes upon any import whatever except sugar? There for good or evil, we had lost our freedom. The results, which would be shown by more experience, would make us better aware of the effect of the Convention. Let the House recognise this, at all events, that the Convention had not freed our hands but had tied them in regard to the commodity of sugar. The British Government, by the methods known to and approved by the House and the people, except with reference to sugar alone, could make what arrangements it chose. We had supreme command of the taxing of commodities which came into, and, for that matter, of commodities which went out of the country, except sugar.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN made a remark which was inaudible in the Press gallery.

MR. ELLIOT: During the currency of the Convention, are we not bound by its terms?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The terms do not include any provision that we shall raise or lower the tax on sugar.

MR. ELLIOT asked whether there was any commodity besides sugar which came to this country as to which we were under a similar disability. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would answer that question. He himself knew of none. Therefore, do not let us talk of regaining our freedom in this country. That was the way to tie our hands and not to gain our freedom.

He wished to say one or two words on the Amendment to the Address, and upon the position in which that Amendment put the House, and also on the position in which the country found itself. His right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had dealt with the question of fiscal reform in a vague and perfunctory fashion. He did not blame him for taking that course. It was not suitable for him to go into the wide and extensive and, to a certain extent, the detailed policy which had been put before the country. But the policy had been before the country for nearly 100 years, and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or any Gentleman on the Front Bench, desired that the policy should have been fully discussed it might have been tabled, and it might have been gone through point by point. They might have considered one point after another in relation to duties on imported manufactures and duties on the commonest articles of the food of the people, and after a proper and enlightening debate they would have seen the proper and straightforward course for the Government to have pursued. That policy had been before the country, and it was because of the fact that the policy had been before the country that it became material for the House to review the situation.

He had begun to think that it was hopeless to get from the Prime Minister a simple answer to the question whether he was for or against the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. Of course, he was told when he left the right hon. Gentlemen's Government, which he did with great sorrow, that he was showing a want of confidence in the fiscal policy of the head of the Government. He felt that want of confidence still, but he should have been glad if in time past some efforts had been made to remove that want of confidence. His right hon. friend the Member for West Birimingham had detailed his policy. There was no mistake about his position. He entirely disagreed with his reasoning and his conclusions. He believed his policy would injure this country in its material prosperity, and that it would tend to produce bad relations between the Central Kingdom and our Colonies, and also have a demoralising influence on British policy. At the same time he admired his frankness and the ability with which he had presented his policy to the country. But they had a right to know what the Premier thought and believed as to the merits or demerits of that policy because he was claimed as a supporter of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. If anyone was claimed as a supporter in his own presence, and he did not condescend to negative the claim, he gave some kind of approval to it. Ever since this controversy began he had looked not only at the reasoning of his right hon, friend at the head of the Government, but also at the conduct of the Government in dealing with the matter. What was the use of, he was about to say pretending, not to be in sympathy with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham when in the constituencies they did all they could to bring forward, and press forward, the representatives of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman. He had heard mutterings and grumblings from hon. Members who asked why he did not cross the floor of the House, and make his speeches from the other side. He would tell hon. Members that he would do so the next time he rose to catch the Speaker's eye if the Prime Minister told the House that his policy as to the fiscal question was that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. This position he had taken in that House, and on the platform. He would not remain a member of any Party which made a system of antiquated protectionism a principal part of their policy.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have never claimed the Prime Minister to be an antiquated Protectionist.

MR. ELLIOT reminded the right hon. Gentleman that he had claimed that in principle the Prime Minister was a supporter of his policy. If that were so, and the Premier said it was so, he and not a few others would find it necessary to cross the floor of the House at once. This was not a question between one right hon. Gentleman and another, but a question of policy. Was the House to be kept alive in order that tactics might be pursued rather than that it might aid effective debate and discussion of the great issue in the mind of the public and in which alone the public was interested? They had been told on the one side that it was the duty of the Prime Minister to dissolve, and on the other side that it was his duty to prolong the existence of the House of Commons. They had heard of precedents as to the influence of by-elections and as to what Mr. Gladstone had or had not done, but, after all, these were subsidiary to the great principles which every one of them knew ought to govern the case. What was the distinct feature of the House? It was that they were not speaking merely as individuals, but as representatives, and that whenever a great change had come over the whole condition of things, it should be followed by a dissolution. In this case they had not only changed the Sovereign, but the Prime Minister and the Ministers who were his chief supporters. The whole conditions had changed, in fact, and a new policy was now before the country. He sympathised enormously with the difficulties in which the Prime Minister was placed. But he must say that it was with a feeling of deep despondency that last night he had heard the right hon. Gentlemen treat a very serious question, which the country regarded as serious and on which the country was feeling deeply, as a matter of Party chaff. What they wanted, and what they had a right to expect from the Prime Minister, was a little guidance on the main issue. He wished to speak of the right hon. Gentleman with great respect, and he regretted more than he could state that the right hon. Gentleman had not seen his way to take a firmer line, and to lead the public on this great issue. But the right hon. Gentleman had not done so. He knew that the Prime Minister was feeling how essential it was that his Party should be kept together. That was from no selfish interest of the right hon. Gentleman's own, but from what he conceived to be his duty. His own Party feeling was not so intense as to make him feel that the business of the country could not be carried on if this or the other Prime Minister were not in power. He believed that this was a self-governing country, and that if half-a-dozen Prime Ministers were to disappear, the country, though it might suffer great loss, would find some way of getting on. What they could not afford was that the best minds and characters among them should not take the place that belonged to them, but leave the country in the net of mystifications set before them in the unhappy policy presented by the right hon. Gentleman. To say that this was not a case in which there was difficulty within the Party was, as everybody knew, contrary to fact. In every constituency in the country at the present moment there were many hundreds and even thousands of men who had been good Conservatives and Liberal Unionists all their lives, and who were now determined to go over to the other side rather than enable the Government to carry into effect the fiscal policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. Therefore, he appealed once more to the Prime Minister to see where he stood on this matter.

This vote would be taken—he hoped the House would remember it—and rightly taken for or against the fiscal policy of the right hon. Member for Birmingham. The country liked to look at things rather broadly, and they would know that real free-traders, men who were prepared to sacrifice something for free trade—old co-operation, for instance, with friends and relations—must vote for the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's intervention certainly had not tended to clear the position, either one way or the other. It seemed to him to make the connection somewhat closer between the Government Bench and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. Well, where were they ? Where were they in this House, and in the constituencies ? The constituencies had a right to be taken into the confidence of the Government. Was preference to be made effective at once as representing the views of the Government ? If the Government wished to stand clear with the country, let them answer that question. He hoped that in the coming struggle, which ought not to be very far away, the people would look upon this as the greatest issue ever put before them for many a long year. He hoped that they would do as they had done eighteen or twenty years ago on another great issue. There could not be a doubt—as every right hon. Gentleman on the Government Bench knew in his heart—that if the country was fairly consulted, on the question of free trade on the one side, and the fiscal policy of the right hon. Member for Birmingham on the other, the country would give an enthusiastic and overwhelming verdict in favour of the case for free trade.

*MR. DAVID MACIVER (Liverpool, Kirkdale) said that the Amendment moved by the right hon. Member for East Fife had been enforced by a reference to the by-elections ; but he should like to point out that the policy of both the Prime Minister and of the right hon. Member for Birmingham had been utterly misrepresented at these by-elections. That was within the knowledge of all, and he thought that the Prime Minister had some reason to complain of the speech which had just been made by the hon. Member for Durham for the misrepresentations therein made. He remembered well what the Prime Minister said at Sheffield. He was present and listened to that speech, and had also read the pamphlet "Economic Notes," and had heard all his speeches in public and in the House. To his mind these were perfectly intelligible, and it was quite clear—he spoke his own views—that the Prime Minister sympathised with the policy of the right hon. Member for Birmingham. The Prime Minister at Sheffield pointed out that the old fiscal theory had broken down in practice, and that the time had come when that policy ought to be reconsidered. There were, as he understood the Prime Minister to have said, certain difficulties in the way of adopting the wider policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, and that these difficulties hung round the question of the taxation of imported food, which would be a necessary part of preference. He thought he was right in his recollection that the Prime Minister's statements were not in any sense hostile to anything said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, but rather pointed to this: that the proposal to tax imported food was in his opinion one which the country was not at the present time prepared to accept. He agreed with the Prime Minister that to-day this country was not prepared to go the whole length of the right hon. Member for Birmingham; but the time was coming when that policy would be less misrepresented and better understood. He was heartily in support of the policy of the Prime Minister. It seemed to him that the Prime Minister's views were clear and definite, and that the policy of recovering our powers of negotiation with those countries which at present did not treat us fairly was of the very greatest value, and might well stand apart by itself. As a tariff reformer he welcomed that policy. He, however, did not regard the two policies as antagonistic. The policy of retaliation was in itself a wise one, and it seemed to him that those who sought to defend the present fiscal system of the country must necessarily find themselves on the horns of a dilemma. They were bound to show either that they were the only depositories of wisdom, or that all other countries which were protectionist were foolish. Now he did not think that they could show either the one or the other. He believed that business men—not of narrow, but of wide experience,—were thoroughly convinced that our competitors in Germany and the United States understood their own business interests quite as well as anybody in this country, and that they were by no means the fools hon. Gentlemen opposite imagined them to be.

Reference had been made to the by-elections. They had one coming on in Liverpool next week, in the Everton Division. It was said that one ought not to prophesy unless one knew, but he was as certain as he stood there that, if all other questions were eliminated, the fiscal reform candidate would win that great constituency. The Liverpool constituencies were mostly in favour of the retaliation policy of the Prime Minister, while others also approved the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. Being connected with the shipping trade, he was in a position to tell the House that the leading shipowners in Liverpool, almost without exception, were not only in favour of retaliation, but also looked with a kindly eye on the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. They included such men as both the present and late Chairman of the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association, as Sir Alfred Jones the President and Mr. Welsford the Chairman of the local branch of the Tariff Reform League, and practically very nearly the whole of the steamship owners who were engaged in the general cargo trade. There was however, no rule without an exception, and the exception frequently proved the rule. Who were the people who were opposed to them? There was one Gentleman whose name was known to this House—Sir William Forwood. He had taken a conspicuous part in Liverpool in endeavouring to raise an agitation against the fiscal policy of the Unionist Party. Sir William Forwood was formerly a partner in the firm of Leech, Harrison & Forwood, but the West Indian shipping business in which he was at one time engaged had been sold by his successors to the Hamburg-American Company; and the firm of Leech, Harrison & Forwood remained the agents of the company. That ought to keep Sir William Forwood quiet, because he could not possibly speak with authority as a Liverpool shipowner. He did not in the least suggest any corrupt influence on the part of Sir William Forwood, who was far too high-minded for that; but he thought that Sir William's former association with the firm of Leech, Harrison & Forwood, who were now so closely connected with the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, was not unlikely to have affected his views. Mr. Charles Booth, junior, read a paper in Liverpool the other day, and took a view in opposition to those he had endeavoured to express; but it should be remembered that a far wiser man, his senior partner, the Right Hon. Charles Booth, the chairman of the great shipping company of which he was one of the directors, was a member of the Tariff Commission. Another gentleman, whom it would not be fair to name, because he had not as yet taken any conspicuous part in opposing the policy his brother shipowners believed in, was interested in the China trade, and had very close and intimate relations with the North German Lloyd. They employed Chinese labour also largely in their ships, but he did not blame him for that. He thought these circumstances would probably keep that gentleman quiet. His case was that the people in Liverpool who had most to do with the general cargo carrying trade were almost, if not absolutely, without exception in favour of the policy of the Prime Minister. He could assure the House of that; he knew the people and spoke with full knowledge of their views. Why was it so? Because all in the shipping business who were engaged in the general cargo carrying trade had seen and felt the increase in foreign competition and in unfair competition. The South American Republics, for instance, were growing in prosperity, wealth and importance. At one time, the importation of manufactured goods was almost entirely British; now Belgium, Germany and the United States were, thanks to their fiscal system, making a heavy inroad into that business. The result was that these Republics were now trading more largely with the Continent and the United States than with us. They in Liverpool knew the reason why; and for business reasons, whether they were Unionists or Liberals, they were almost without exception in favour of the policy of the Prime Minister. The returns of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board furnished a very fair indication of the general trade of the country. The Chairman of the Board the other day pointed out how great the increase in trade had been; but he wished to point out what the character of the increase was. The returns of the Board showed an increase in almost every item of revenue except one. Everything which competed with the agricultural and manufacturing industries of this country showed an increase. Although the dock rates and town dues on imports last year as compared with the year before showed an increase of £13,353, the receipts from exports showed a diminution of £1,156.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight) asked if the hon. Member had seen the figures which showed an increase in the trade of Liverpool of £36,000,000.

*MR. DAVID MACIVER said he did not know to what figures the hon. and gallant Gentleman referred; but they did not affect his argument. Their free trade friends were never weary of telling them that all was well with the trade of the country. He would endeavour to prove that this was by no means the case, and he would call as a witness Mr. John Williamson, a gentleman not of his politics, but a well-known Liverpool shipowner of great experience, who was till quite recently a director of the Cunard Steamship Company. At the 27th annual meeting of the Chamber of Shipping, held in London on the 5th of February last, Mr. Williamson read a most important paper, which deserved their very serious attention. He pointed out that the statistics of exports as usually presented related only to values, and that such statistics might sometimes be misleading, inasmuch as prices of the raw materials for our industries were subject to very considerable fluctuations. For instance, as happened some twelve months ago, cotton rose in price, and immediately the value of every bale of manufactured goods went up because the price of cotton had gone up, but nevertheless a bale remained only a bale although its export value might have increased. The same kind of thing was true of other manufactures, and, of course, when raw material went down the process would be reversed. Quantities might remain the same, although statistics based upon value seemed to show either an increase on the one hand or a decrease on the other. Mr. Williamson pointed out that the true basis for statistical comparison was not value, but volume. Mr. Williamson, at the cost of much tedious labour, had succeeded in transforming the Board of Trade statistics of value into statistics of volume for every year since 1869 down to the end of 1903. Looking at it from a shipowner's point of view, he took the trouble of turning the Board of Trade values into tons of twenty hundred-weights as regards dead weight cargo, and into tons of forty cubic feet as regards measurement cargo. The results were most remarkable, and showed that, taking the whole of our export trade, foreign and colonial together, we had, so far as our manufacturing industries were concerned, been losing ground steadily for the last sixteen or seventeen years. He began with the year 1869, and gave every year separately, but for the sake of brevity he would merely give the round figures of every tenth year. The exportations of manufactured goods in 1869 came on this basis to 5,497,000 tons; in 1879 they were 6,065,000 tons; in 1889 they were 8,927,000 tons; but when they got to 1899, a "change came o'er the spirit of the dream." Hostile tariffs were then effectually doing their work and our exports of manufactured goods showed a drop of about a 1,000,000 tons. The position had steadily worsened since, and our exports of manufactured goods last year were another 1,000,000 down. He thought that was a state of things which no free trader could by any possibility explain away. Mr. Williamson's figures made it clear beyond any sort of reasonable doubt or question that as regards manufacturing industries the export trade of the country was, under our existing fiscal system, going steadily and rapidly to the bad. His figures showed 7,942,000 tons for 1899, and only 7,092,000 tons for 1903. The figures for 1883 were 8,342,000 tons, and the conclusion therefore appeared inevitable that our manufacturers were to-day doing less export business than they were twenty years ago. The increase of our exports consisted absolutely and entirely of coal.

The shipowners of Liverpool were, as he had said, almost unanimously in favour of the policy of the Prime Minister and of the greater and grander policy of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. Why were not all business men in favour of it? The reason to anyone who "knew the ropes" was perfectly obvious. The banker, the broker and the middleman wanted to earn commissions. Capital was cosmopolitan, and from a banking point of view there was more money to be made in financing the business of our foreign competitors than in helping traders at home. The banker made legitimate profits out of all financial transactions of every kind involving a money payment for importations. Comparatively speaking, he got nothing if we paid for importations with our wares. He got much when we paid for them by transfer of securities. Improvement of the export trade in manufactures was therefore by no means specially desired by some of our banking friends. Their interest did not lie in that direction, nor was it particularly wanted by those shipowners who never carried manufactured goods, whose ships were not good enough for the job, and who had no ambition higher than coal carrying. Such shipowners were either indifferent to the proposals of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham or opposed to them, and the reason was obvious—they had nothing to gain. They might even have something to lose if by any chance these proposals led to others, such as might well arise if our existing fiscal system came to be so completely reversed that the country woke up to the fact that excessive coal exportations were perhaps not altogether desirable. There were those who believed that in sending abroad large quantities of the more valuable qualities of South Wales coal we were parting for an inadequate consideration with national capital which could never be replaced. To the Liverpool shipowners, who expected to make their living out of the carrying of British products, fiscal reform would make all the difference in the world.

The real difficulty in the way of the policy of the Prime Minister and that of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham was that there were a number of vested interests which it would not suit to see the present conditions altered. The fiscal policy of this country could not be varied without affecting those who made their living out of the existing state of things. To such it was a matter of life and death that the country should continue on the present system, but this was not in the interests of the people of this country. This free-trade country of ours—Great Britain—was the only civilised country in the world of which it could truly be said that one third of the people were underfed and living upon the verge of hunger. He looked upon the free food cry as one of the greatest impostures of the age. The free-fooders did not seek to diminish the burdens on our food in any way. They did not seem to care what burdens fell upon the producers in this country. It was only the protective taxation of food that they objected to; and when they declaimed against food taxation, it was the taxation of foreign food that they meant. Now, whatever doubt there might be as to the incidence of the duties levied by the Customs, there could be no doubt whatever as to the incidence of local taxation. Whether the burden was distributed equitably or not, it was all paid by ourselves. He had had some difficulty in finding out what the rates and taxes amounted to, but he found, according to the Local Taxation Returns, that the local taxation of England and Wales in 1902–3 was £129,206,784. Much of this was a charge upon the food-producing and manufacturing industries of this country. The actual sum drawn from the people of this country in the shape of local taxation was larger than that drawn from them in normal years by Imperial taxation. Let us free the food we grow at home, and let us free our manufactures. As a business man, he asserted that what governed the incidence of Customs taxation was almost entirely the question of supply and demand. The countries which sent corn to us could not sell it elsewhere except against import duties much higher than any which were suggested by the right hon. Member for Birmingham. Such import duties as had been suggested would not have the slightest effect in reducing the volume of importation. The shilling import duty on wheat had no effect in raising prices, nor did the remission of the duty cause prices to go down; and he believed that a two shilling duty on wheat would have no more effect. Such a duty would not be large enough to restrict the supply, and the foreigner, confronted as he would be with the competition of free colonial production, would have to reduce his price sufficiently to enable him to sell his wares. The working man certainly would not suffer. The larger duty which would fall upon flour as a manufactured article would tend to encourage the importation of wheat. Wheat would come instead of flour. The shipowner would have more to carry, which would mean more work at the docks, more work for our milling industries, and cheaper offals to help to feed the cattle of our agriculturists. The interests of the country were bound up with the interests of the argiculturists, and it was one of the most serious factors in the present situation that the number of people engaged in agricultural pursuits should be diminishing.

The sugar-refining industry was brought to ruin by unfair competition, but the Sugar Convention had already had some effect in bringing about a better state of things. Personally he regarded the Convention as a somewhat clumsy free-trade device, and he would have preferred to see countervailing duties. As to the contention that the Convention formed any part of the wider policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, one had only to point to the fact that it contained provisions which prevented the giving of any preference to our Colonies to show how absurd the contention was. The pretence that the Convention had had anything to do with the rise in the price of sugar was an absolutely hollow one. The quantity of sugar previously received from countries that were now prevented from sending was so small compared with the total quantity consumed that it could have had little or no effect on price. In conclusion he desired to express his strong disapproval of the Amendment before the House, and his hearty support of the policy of the Government.

*Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) said that in regard to what had been said by the hon. Member who had just sat down he wished to state that he had been informed by one of the large shipowners he had named who was a supporter of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, that protection would not be a good thing for the shipping trade, although he believed it would be a good thing for the country as a whole. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a speech which seemed to be of great importance, and he had dealt at considerable length with the question of colonial preference. The right hon. Gentleman accused the Opposition of desiring to exclude the discussion of colonial preference at the suggested conference, but when a Liberal Government came into power they would be willing to discuss any questions of that kind introduced by any Colony. What they complained of was that the Prime Minister would not state whether, if a scheme involving the taxation of food was recommended by the suggested Colonial Conference, he would recommend it to the country or not. It was trifling with the British Empire to talk about such a conference without first of all settling whether they were going to tax food or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was perfectly straightforward upon this, for his contention was that they ought to decide this question first, but the Prime Minister, in order to keep a semblance of Party unity, adopted another attitude, and it was because of his manœuvring with this question that the country had become disgusted with the present Government. The case of Lord Peel cited by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was absolutely different to the present situation, for Peel resigned when he changed his mind and the Opposition of the day agreeing with him in his new policy declined to take office. In the present case a new question had been sprung upon the country by the Member for West Birmingham. The Prime Minister had stated that he regretted the raising of this issue, but it had been raised, and it would be the principal issue at the next election; and yet the Prime Minister was putting off the next election upon no grounds which he could explain to the House, and in the hope that something would occur in his Party to give it a better appearance of unity than existed at the present time.

He wished to speak upon this matter from a business point of view. The best that could be said about the new fiscal proposals was that they would help some trades whilst they would injure others. If they helped agriculture, they would certainly injure the general body of consumers because they would have to pay more for their food. They might help the earlier stages of the iron and steel trade, but only at the expense of the tin-plate and machinery trades. The real question they had to consider was, were those trades which would be injured of greater magnitude and importance to the country than the trades that would be helped? The silk and glass trades which would be helped by protection were very small and minor trades, but great trades like the iron and steel industry, as a whole, would certainly be injured by protection. The cotton trade would be ruined by protection, the woollen trade would be made worse, and the greater trades as a whole would suffer under a protective system. Under these circumstances each trade wanted to know definitely what was going to happen. A feeling of uncertainty was a very bad thing for trade, and the matter ought to be settled by an appeal to the country. Although they were allowed to discuss the question they were not allowed to decide it upon the fair and square issue of protection and free trade. A great deal had been said about Cobden, but Cobden was never afraid of debate in the House of Commons, and he converted the country to his views about the Corn Laws by constantly debating the question in the House of Commons. Why the Government and the tariff reformers were afraid of debate in the House and a division on a fair and square issue he could not understand. It was monstrous that such a great change, affecting every man, woman, and child in the country, should be debarred from their decision.

As to how the cotton trade would be affected, he had never heard even the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham attempt to show how protection would do any good to the cotton trade, which had nothing to gain but everything to lose by protection. The export trade of cotton from this country for every man, woman and child amounted to between 35s. and 40s. per head; for Germany the amount was from 5s. to 6s.; France, 3s. 7d.; United States, 1s. 6d.; and Russia, 2¾d. The exports varied inversely with the amount of protection. Those figures did not form a very strong argument in favour of protection. Why were they able to beat other nations in the cotton trade? Because the cost of mills, machinery, and plant in this country was so much lower than in foreign countries. With regard to the United States, it was a very curious fact that wages should have been so largely reduced at Fall River, whereas they were talking about an increase of wages at home. It had been calculated by experts that the cost of even a 5 per cent. all round duty on food and manufactures would amount to a tax on the cotton industry of £600,000 per annum. The cotton trade was threatened by two different changes, the one proposed by the Prime Minister, which was an unreal policy backed by consistent arguments; and the other put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, which was the real policy backed by extremely inconsistent arguments. At present the greater part of cotton trade was good and Lancashire appeared to have made up its mind that the country was not going to have protection, for it was rapidly extending its cotton mills. Far-sighted men, however, most naturally recoiled from new ventures, because they did not know what the new tariff was going to be; and even if protection would be for their advantage it was of the utmost importance that they should get this matter settled.

Just one word about the matter as it affected other nations. There had, of late years, been a tendency to recoil form protection in foreign countries, because high protective duties meant a diminution of exports. In America they were talking about the reduction of the tariff, but the most important case at the present time was the case of Germany. The Chancellor of the Exchequer talked a good deal about Germany and the German protective system in modern years, but the trade and exports per head of the population decreased from the time that protection came into force until the period of 1892 when the tariff was reduced. For the years, 1882–3–4, the amount per head was £3 10s., in 1890–2 £3 3s. 2d., and the great increase had come since and was now, for 1900 to 1902, £4 0s. 2d. per head. Now they were putting up the tariff again. That must check the export trade. He did not think there was an economist in Germany who pretended anything else. They were increasing their agricultural duties. The effect of this new tariff had been undoubtedly to make Russia, Austria, and Switzerland, the three neighbours of Germany, put up their tariffs. He thought we might learn a lesson from this. Retaliators might learn the lesson that when they put up their tariffs their neighbours were liable to do the same. He maintained that it was very important that we should settle this matter without delay. The question of protection was trembling in the balance in other countries as well as here. It was very noticeable that the campaign of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had been welcomed by protectionists in all nations and in our own Colonies. In the campaign textbook of the United States of America, much use had been made of the statements as to the decadence of this country, which had been so largely made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. England had been the one great argument by which free-traders all over the world had stood. If we gave way there might be an orgy of protectionists in other countries. If we stuck firm to our free-trade practice he was as convinced as he could be that, before long, both in the United States and in Germany, there would be a recoil from protection, and that they would resort to a system in which tariffs would be less than they were to-day. He hoped this question would, without further delay, be put to the country, and that the country would decide upon it.

MR. PURVIS (Peterborough) said hon. Members on his side of the House were very much impressed by the hurry indicated by the Amendment that the fiscal question should be submitted to the people. Why was it absolutely necessary to have a general election without further delay? There was, he suspected, something behind the proposal, and the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife had added to the suspicion. He and his friends were strongly of opinion, and the opinion was growing stronger every day, that the Opposition had a lurking fear that time was on the side of the tariff reformers. That lurking fear told them that they should try to snatch a short spell of power before time had done its work. They wished to snatch a verdict amid the confusion—the natural confusion—in the public mind, caused by the novelty of the proposals. If they were not afraid that time was working against them they would not be so desirous of a general election. Why raise this terrible stir throughout the country? The tariff reformers proposed to tax goods from foreign countries, because foreign countries taxed the goods which we sent to them. He denied the accuracy of the term "free trade" as generally used. Free trade was a perfectly free exchange between different countries, but we had no such thing here in England. Virtually free trade did not exist. It was a complete misnomer for their opponents to call themselves free-traders, and he said that they were sailing under false colours. On the other hand he denied that the term "protectionist" applied to the class to which he belonged. Protection was an old exploded policy by which certain products were protected from fair competition, and not unfair competition by foreign countries, as was the case now. There was a cry about the taxation of food by free-trade politicians. It was not intended to resort to the old sliding scale which put 38s. 6d. on the quarter of wheat and raised the tax to 50s. That was protection with a vengeance—protection of home industries from the competition of foreign countries. The shilling a quarter duty which was imposed in 1902 had no effect whatever on the price, and he submitted that the imposition of a two shilling tax would not have had an appreciable effect. But even if there was any increase in the price of food by such a tax the impost would be counterbalanced by the remission of taxation in other ways. That would be protection in the proper sense of the term. These were easy things to realise, but their opponents gave them the go-by.

The increase in the price of sugar was due to an accidental cause—namely, the short crop of beet. When bounties were paid on beet sugar by foreign countries cane sugar could not compete against it, and the result was that our great sugar industries in the West Indies were ruined. That was not all. The importation of beet sugar already refined had the effect of destroying the sugar-refining industries of London, Bristol, and Greenock. It was all very well for their Cobden friends to say that cheap sugar was so much the better for our confectioners and jam makers, but now the cry of distress arose from them and kindred trades. The time had arrived for foreign countries to withdraw bounties on sugar. The confectioners had built up their prosperity on a false foundation of cheap sugar, which was obtained far below its cost. What had happened to the confectionery trades only showed the effect of dumping and the necessity for fiscal reform. The same effects would be felt by every other industry unless we were wise in time and put an end to dumping of every sort before it was too late. Our Colonies had only shown us the way, and why should we scorn their counsel and co-operation. We must learn to think Imperially, for he believed that if our Colonies began to make reciprocity treaties with foreign nations the idea of Imperial trade, one system of defence, one Flag, one Throne, would be gone for ever. That must not be, and when the proper time came the House and country would declare that it should not be.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said that the statements made in the course of the debate were most amazing. The hon. Member who had just sat down had commenced by saying that owing to the extraordinary situation at present, certain industries, formerly very flourishing, were suffering very greatly. The hon. Gentleman said that these industries had built up their prosperity on a false foundation; but that was not very consoling to them. Who could tell whether or not they were built on a false foundation? They must not begin examining these things too closely. If they did so with the whole national trade they would land themselves in very curious conclusions. His hon. friend said that considerable prosperity had been enjoyed by the sugar-manufacturing industries, and now he admitted that they had been destroyed. There were valuable witnesses on the other side who said that delay in bringing this issue to the country had prevented the Government redeeming the pledge given to the House. The Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that this new policy would not be introduced in the present Parliament, but their own supporters did not confirm that at all, because the new policy was going strong at the present moment and formerly prosperous businesses in the country were suffering. He had been greatly amazed at the line of argument taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, considering that the right hon. Gentleman was an eminent exponent of Parliamentary procedure. The right hon. Gentleman had said scarcely anything at all about the Amendment, which practically set forth that we had carried on this discussion long enough and that it ought to be decided by a reference to the people of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, had made the most protectionist and preferential speech that any right hon. Gentleman holding his position had delivered in the House for the past sixty years. It was little less than shocking for the chosen representative of the trade of this country under free trade to go almost out of his way to lay down the foundations for protection and preference—the very policies which were not to be spoken of in this House for a year or two. He thought that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer only reflected on the injury he might cause to the vital interests of this country by even talking in that way he would be a little more careful in what he said in the House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was, in his opinion, not free to take that tone, seeing the position he held in the Government. The right hon. Gentleman was supposed to be a follower of the Prime Minister and they could not get him to admit that his policy and that of the Prime Minister were the same.

The Prime Minister's attitude was very curious. He was asked by his own supporters to state plainly whether he agreed or not with the right hon. Member for Birmingham, and he refused to give any answer, but sat strangely silent. He supposed the silence of the right hon. Gentleman gave consent. It was said that the Party's allegiance to the Government depended on whether that pledge was given, but the Prime Minister did not give any indication, even by a nod of the head, of the mind of the Government on this matter. That was a state of things that could not be prolonged. It was so early in the session that the House had not had time to exactly realise what was the situation; but if they saw what was going on outside, they would recognise that the situation here was nothing more than a farce and could not be prolonged. The Government were not able to keep the promise they had made to prevent the discussion of the fiscal policy. Large experiments were being made in the way of protection.

He wished to say a word in regard to a certain business which had been affected most disastrously by the policy which the Government were pursuing—he meant the growing and distribution of tea. A most powerful deputation had been organised in connection with that business. He had nothing to do with that deputation himself, but it had gone to three different members of the Government in succession for the purpose of laying before them the case of their ruined industry. First, they went to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who indicated that he was limited at present by the condition of the finances, but there might be a change in the condition of the country which would enable their burdens to be reduced. If that promise was to be given to large businesses, ought not the Government to take steps to enable the promise to be fulfilled? He believed that the promise was that two-thirds of the duty on tea would be taken away, although they had the Government deciding to put on an additional duty. Between the promise and the performance a great national industry was brought almost to ruin. Then the deputation went to the Secretary of State for India, who took the opportunity of making the most interesting speech on tea he had ever heard, but the right hon. Gentleman did not give the deputation any help. He said that their sufferings were inevitable, that the people were saturated with tea, and that if the tea-growers were practically ruined the Government could not help it. It was for the general good! What a position for a Government to take up!

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN asked if the hon. Gentleman was referring to him?

MR. LOUGH said his complaint was that they could not get the Government to listen to what they said. They were talking about the Prime Minister and the Secretary for India, but they were not present. He understood that the deputation from this ruined industry next went to the Colonial Secretary and, so far as he could make out, they got no more satisfaction from him. The only other Secretary of State which the deputation could wait upon was the President of the Poor Law Board who might find for them an ultimate refuge in the workhouse! This was not a matter on which to joke. The hon. Member for Peterborough had spoken of another ruined industry, although there were others which had been most injuriously affected by the state of indecision which existed in the public mind in regard to the fiscal policy. This was the great finance market of the world, and the state of the money market had been most injuriously affected by the situation and the condition of the national funds. That condition could not recover until the country adopted some settled policy, and until the great financiers knew in what direction the country would proceed. Our great national financial securities were not alone affected; the difficulties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of our municipalities, and of everybody engaged in commerce, were increasing. It was extremely difficult to start any new enterprises, and he believed that the ranks of the unemployed were greatly swelled by the extent to which industry was affected throughout the country by the prolongation of the existing situation.

He thought the Government ought to give a more reasoned answer than they had done to the appeal which had been made to them. Precedents had been referred to, but these were not of any great help. They were in an entirely new situation from that in which they were forty or fifty years ago. The people were tired of this fiscal question and wanted to have a general election, and have this subject brought to an issue at once. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, however, made a long speech on quite another subject. In their secret hearts he believed that the Government were aware that the farce could not be carried on too long. The Government ought to consider the feelings of the country. See how the private business of the country was being affected, and how the business of this House was being thoroughly disorganised by postponing the dissolution. Why should any time be wasted? The Government ought to decide what was the most convenient time for taking this important step. There was another reason, which might not appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, but which was a very substantial one. The beginning of the year was the best period to consult the opinion of the people of the country. If the question were delayed people who were now entitled would not be able to vote. This was the time when a vital question of this kind should be referred to them. He thought some members of the Government ought to give the House an answer as to what was the real Ministerial mind with reference to the Amendment. No one would deny that there was not a feeling of unrest and unreality and that there was a situation which it would be to the interest of the country to put at rest.

* MR. COHEN (Islington, E.) said he had followed the debate with the closest attention, and had, during the period he had been in the House, rarely heard a number of speeches so little calculated to support the contention which the speakers had in view. His hon. friend and colleague charged the Chancellor of the Exchequer with being one of the members of the Government who did not explain the position. He would have expected that his hon. friend would have been the last to make that charge against the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who did not state that the Government were disinclined to consult the electorate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer devoted

one of the most powerful passages in his extremely powerful speech to showing why the decision of this question should not be hurried. The right hon. Gentleman's contention was that the electorate should have the facts fully and squarely before them. The hon. Member for Oldham said that the Government had shown themselves unwilling to allow the fiscal question to be discussed in the House; they were frightened, he said, of the decision. As a matter of fact, during the two days of the session the House had been discussing scarcely anything else but the fiscal question. He did not say that that was desirable; indeed he did not think it was. He thought that the time of Parliament could be better disposed on other matters which had been submitted to it. He would not say that the time of the House had been wasted, but it had been spent wholly and exclusively on a question which the present House of Commons would not decide. They would have done better to have concentrated their attention on the very urgent questions which had been submitted to them in the Speech from the Throne, and which would not have aroused such an amount of Party feeling as did the fiscal question. There was the question of the unemployed, that of valuation, and other questions which were referred to in the gracious Speech from the Throne. He was not confident that all these questions would be discussed, because of the concentration of the time of the House on an issue which had been repeatedly declared by the members of the Government as one which would not be decided by the present Parliament.

In the extremely powerful speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife, he was good enough to state the several divisions into which, according to him, the Unionist candidates would be divided at the next election and he referred mainly to the candidates whom he called not very elegantly "pure Balfourians." If he understood the right hon. Gentleman's contention, he himself avowed himself a "pure Balfourian. "By that he meant that he agreed with every word which the Prime Minister had said at Sheffield, Edinburgh, and Manchester. Although he did not differ from everything that had fallen from the Member for West Birmingham, yet he would not be able to follow him with that absolute concurrence with which he was able to support the Prime Minister. He understood that the Prime Minister was anxious for a Colonial Conference. The right hon. Gentleman wanted to know what the Colonial Governments were about to offer in return for advantages they asked from this country. He was anxious that preference should be given to the Colonies, but he was not willing to pledge this country beforehand to give preference to the Colonies, until he knew that they were about to give in return a preference which he believed would be beneficial to the entire Empire. That was a business-like attitude to adopt. He had been brought up on the Stock Exchange and spent a great portion of his time there, and the first maxim—he might almost say the first axiom—taught him was that he should not indulge in a certain loss for a doubtful profit. There would be nothing more prejudicial to the interests of the Empire at large than that the working classes of this country should acquire the idea—he would not say the conviction—that their food was being made dearer simply for the purpose of promoting the prosperity of the Colonies. He did not believe that the Colonies wanted that, and he did not believe that that was the intention of the Government. Accordingly he supported the proposal of the Prime Minister, because he had stated over and over again that he desired to send the representatives of this country into a conference with the Colonies unfettered and unbound. They wanted to know what the Colonies had to offer, what their concrete proposals were, and what they were prepared to exchange for the preference which he himself was only too anxious to extend, and which, in his opinion, the Colonies would be glad to accept, in order to promote real union between the Colonies and the mother country. He thought that the Government should not be afraid of submitting that issue to the country when the proper time came. He very much deprecated that the time of the House should be wasted in discussing the fiscal question instead of proceeding with the questions of the unemployed, valuation, and redistribution, which he considered were very urgent.

*MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) said he did not know how the Chancellor of the Exchequer would appreciate the speech which had just been made when he thought of the one which he himself had delivered a few minutes ago, when he appealed to a united Party to support him in the division lobby. If they did support the right hon. Gentleman it would mean that the Unionist Party pinned their faith to the policy of protection and nothing but protection. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman was a long tirade in favour of protection, and in the course of it he tried to bring in other countries in order to assist the Government and draw a false trail over the real issue. The right hon. Gentleman had tried to drag the Colonies into a domestic affair of this country. No statesmen did so much harm to this country and the Empire as those who were following the right hon. Member for West Birmingham in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had reproached the Leader of the Opposition and the right hon. Member for Fife because they deprecated the way in which the Colonies had been dragged into this discussion. Hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House approved of Colonial Conferences from time to time. It was not the right hon. Member for Fife who wished us to go to these conferences with tied hands; it was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham who said—"If we are not going to lose the Colonies we must tax the food of the people here; if we do not give the Colonies a preference we shall lose them, and in order to give them a preference we must tax the food of the people." As one familiar with the Colonies he could emphatically declare that there was a considerable amount of opposition in every colony to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. He did not doubt that the desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite to promote the prosperity of the Empire was just as great as that of hon. Gentlemen who sat in opposition, but hon. Members must remember that our Colonies were independent States and that our relations with them in the future were not to be those of treaties, but what they always had been, relations of brotherly love and affection. We were deeply attached to our Colonies, and they to us, and he was satisfied that this suggestion for the taxation of the food of the people did not in any way come from the Colonies. There were no starving millions there. In their manufacturing industries they had an eight hours day and 8s. a day, and often far more; the farmers were all well-to do and were the very last men in the world to ask English labourers who had to struggle on on a few shillings a week to tighten their belts, in order that they might get a little extra profit on their wheat, or, so far as South Australia was concerned, on their wine. This demand never came from them. In Canada and New Zealand they had differentiated between British and foreign goods by imposing a tax on the latter, and in that way given a preference to British goods, but what was it worth?

With the permission of the House he would like to read a letter from a personal friend, a prominent member of a New Zealand House—

"It angers me very much to read references to 'what the Colonies have done,' 'New Zealand's noble action,' and all the rest of it, and I am amazed that those opposed to Mr. Chamberlain's scheme should not have taken the trouble to examine and analyse just exactly 'what New Zealand has done.' New Zealand has done nothing—for England. New Zealand never intended to do anything—for England. New Zealand says in the Act itself that for value received she is willing—nay, anxious—to chuck England to everlasting blazes. That is New Zealand as represented by Seddon and his infernal Act.

"The Act does not reduce duty on British goods. It simply increases duties on foreign goods. Three months before he introduced the Bill, which he forced through at one continuous sitting of thirty-six hours directly after its introduction, Seddon observed—5th August, 1903, *Hansard*, Vol. 124, p. 262—'At the Conference of Premiers in London, it had been proposed that a rebate of 10 per cent. should be made on British merchandise carried in a British ship; but he had been afraid it would weigh upon their own struggling industries, and proposed, as a remedy, increasing the tariffs on goods from other nations. This course would not increase imports from the mother country but would check imports from alien countries.' Yet that was the course followed in this Bill which, he *called* loud and long, was essential if England was to be saved from overwhelming ruin. Section 13, too, simply means that if America, we will say, or Germany, would remove the duty upon our meat or wool, we would make a corresponding reduction upon American boots or German pianos, and the British manufacturers could whistle.

"I am opposed to Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, whether for Britain or for the Empire, and I voted against Seddon's Bill with both hands. But if I had been a supporter of Mr. Chamberlain I must have voted against Seddon all the same. For his Act is from first to last nothing but an excuse for another measure of protection for New Zealand spoon-fed industries (so-called), and to pass it in the name of Imperialism amid all sorts of maudlin blubbering about 'the dear old Motherland' was sickening hypocrisy, of which even Seddon might be ashamed. On top of all this he has the assurance to declare that if England will not 'reciprocate' that is by taxing food stuffs (see same pp. *Hansard*) or by exempting our loans from stamp duty (Vol. 123 p. 573), New Zealand 'will be driven to make arrangements with other countries.'

"This precious Act could only be forced through (1) at one continuous sitting of thirty-six hours; (2) at the fag-end of the longest session on record; (3) in which long hours and legislation by exhaustion had reached their high-water mark; (4) as a question of dissolution or not, for Seddon made it a No Confidence Motion, and you know what that means. So if you ever hear of 'what New Zealand has done' and so forth, you know the answer to it all."

He could assure the House from his own personal knowledge that the writer of the letter was a man of position and was the last man in the world to write such a significant letter unless he was perfectly satisfied that he had a large body of colonial opinion behind him. This scheme was not a scheme of the Government, but one to be put before the country at the next general election; it was a most intolerable scheme, and one which could have no other effect than straining the bonds which held us to our Colonies. Upon this question the Colonies had made no offer at all. If 40 per cent. was put upon our goods it was no comfort to them to know that 60 per cent. would be put upon German goods. They might be certain that the manufacturing interests in the Colonies would not admit British goods free, because in this country in regard- to production they enjoyed so many advantages and could manufacture much cheaper. The only advantage they would get would be a small export duty upon corn which would go into the pockets of the landowners. He was sure that the Democratic Party would scout any proposal to give the farmers an advantage which would cause the labourers and manufacturers to suffer by their industries being shut out. The Colonies never would allow English goods to compete with their own, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham could not make them do this even with his great abilities, all the forces which money could command, and the newspapers which he got hold of in one way or another, by means of which he was able to disseminate false and spurious opinions throughout the country. They should be very careful how they dealt with proposals for putting an extra tax upon food. The unity of the Party opposite had been spoken of by right hon. Gentlemen, but they all knew that every hon. Member who was not prepared to swallow everything that came from Birmingham was hounded out of the constituency he might, perhaps, have represented for so long and with so much honour. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon deserved the greatest honour for having repealed the tax on bread, and what was his reward—drummed out of his Party and supplanted by a fervent supporter of the Birmingham policy.

*MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor) said the object of this Amendment was to strike a destructive blow at the Government. The question of the necessity for an immediate dissolution was not one of which the Opposition were the best judges, and there was no constitutional precedent for a Prime Minister dissolving Parliament at the bidding of the Opposition unless a hostile vote was obtained. Of course he did not blame the Opposition for angling for the support of hon. Members on the Ministerial Benches who attached more importance to particular grievances than to Conservatism as a principle. As for the junior Member for Oldham, who had transferred his allegiance bodily to the other side, he reminded him of some lines which he believed had been quoted before in the House, about Canning—

"The turning of coats so common has grown,
That no one would think to attack it;
But no case before was so flagrantly known
Of a school boy turning his jacket."

That seemed to him applicable to his hon. friend, and he trusted he would take it to heart. The Amendment before the House suggested that this subject had been fully discussed. He thought there were a good many people in the country who had some doubts whether the discussion had been so ample; at any rate a good many had not fully made up their minds. There were still a considerable number of persons sitting on the fence, and so long as that was the case he was not sure that they could say that full discussion had taken place. Why, there was even dispute as to the precise meaning of free trade. The Opposition maintained that free trade meant free imports, and it was worth quoting the evidence of Sir Robert Giffen before the Steamship Subsidies Committee, when that recognised authority said—

> "There is quite a commom opinion that free trade means free imports and nothing else. That is not my opinion, and I believe it is not the opinion of economists who have studied the subject."

Fiscal reformers did not desire any policy which merely bolstered up industries. They did not want what his friend the hon. Member for Durham had called antiquated protectionism. What they did desire was to introduce some system of tariff reform which would prevent that unfair foreign competition to which our industries were now subjected. Nearly every trade was more or less in an unsatisfactory condition.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) remarked that the operatives in the cotton trade were asking for a 7½ per cent. advance in wages because the trade was so prosperous.

*MR. EVELYN CECIL observed that this was not borne out by the figures of the last two years. Take the shipping trade. It was true that, judged by the standard of continued increase, certainly British shipping creditably holds its own; but when a comparison is made between the increase of British and the increase of foreign shipping a very different story was told. Between 1880 and 1890 British merchant tonnage increased from 8½ millions to over 9½ millions or 12·8 per cent., and from 1890 to 1902 the increase was equivalent to 16·2 per cent., whereas the increases in foreign tonnage in the same periods were 2·2 per cent. and 23·6 per cent. respectively. So that the foreign percentage of increase had been roughly from 2 to 23 per cent., as against the British 12 to 16 per cent. A disquieting result was also obtained by a comparison of some of the returns from British ports. In the large Bute docks at Cardiff, for instance, the proportion of British to foreign tonnage in 1897 was 81·6 as compared with 18·4, but in 1902 the proportions were 70·7 to 29·3. In Hong-Kong since 1886 the tonnage of British ships had increased only 30 per cent., while that of Germany had increased 80 per cent., and that of Japan 100 per cent. He did not contend that tariffs were the sole cause of these differences, but they were certainly contributory causes. Our present policy discouraged the exportation of our own articles into foreign countries. He trusted a Colonial Conference would do much good, for our present policy had largely resulted in London being no longer the clearing-house of the world; the centre of the world's markets had been shifted to the Continent, and the maritime link between Great Britain and her Colonies had been loosened by substituting foreign produce and communications for her own.

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) said he would like to refer to one or two instances of so-called unfair competition which might be of interest in view of what had been stated by the hon. Member who had just sat down. The hon. Member had stated that our trade was in a deplorable condition at the present moment. He did not think that statement would be confirmed by any person who knew very much about it. It was certainly not true so far as the iron trade was concerned. He had received information from a Glasgow firm in regard to an order for pipes which was obtained from the United States. The firm were told that unless they could offer at a certain figure they need not offer at all. In order to execute the order they tried to get pig iron in the British market cheap enough but failed to do so. Then they tried Germany and Belgium but could not obtain the raw material at a sufficiently low price. When they were about to give up the idea of tendering, a member of the firm suggested that they should try to get pig iron from the United States. They did get it there and were able to accept the contract. That was an instance of what some might call "unfair competition." They might call it what they liked, but that was the way in which contracts were sometimes got in this country, with the result that labour was provided and wages paid to the working classes. He knew further that large shipbuilding orders had been placed on the Clyde in the last few months. He thought that was a good sign, and it was an argument that ought not to be put on one side. No doubt instances of that kind could be easily multiplied. He would like to ask whether there was any man in this country who was really afraid of competition. He supposed there were ups and downs in all trades. About the seventies the British iron trade was in a most depressed condition and many men were out of work. The price of steel rails then was about £7 per ton, but since then it had been under £4 per ton. If foreign pig-iron had been kept out of the country the result would have been that the steel rail trade would have left the country. He would give another instance of colonial preference. When it was proposed to benefit the Colonies by means of tariffs the intention was to benefit the Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irish who had gone to the Colonies. But, as far as Scotsmen were concerned, they had gone not only to the British Colonies, but to almost every country in the world where there was some profitable business to be done. There was a very large and increasing trade in sheep farming, for instance, in South America, in which Scotsmen played a large part. Why were we to encourage the trade of Scotsmen in Canada and refuse to do so in Patagonia?

Before going into an argument it was most important to know what they were going to discuss. Were they, or were they not, to know if they went into a conference what they were going to discuss with the colonial representatives? Hon. Members who had read Thackeray knew that in one of his novels there was a father and mother who were very nervous as to the marriage of their daughter, and determined to consult a friend who was a man of the world on the matter. The friend's reply was that it was a very easy thing to go to Jerusalem, but a delicate thing to know what they were going to do when they got there. The Government could call a conference to-morrow morning if they liked, but the difficult thing was what they were going to put before the conference as their colonial policy. Another matter of importance was how far the Prime Minister supported the right hon. Member for Birmingham when the latter said that the Prime Minister was at one with him in principle. It seemed to him that the illumination of that principle had been decidedly wanting in the whole of this discussion. When that question had been answered, the decision of the House would be arrived at a great deal sooner, and the decision of the country would not be very far off.

Mr. PARKES (Birmingham, Central) said he had been very much interested in the speeches delivered on this question, particularly in that of the hon. Member who had just sat down, who seemed to have very optimistic views as to the state of trade in this country. The hon. Member, in his opinion, took a wrong view of the state of the iron trade. He did not know where the hon. Gentleman got his information from, but certainly it was not borne out by the facts. He believed that the Annual Trade Returns showed a diminution in the iron trade of something like £2,000,000 in exports, and that the great prosperity in the manufactures of the country was brought about by the largely increased export of cotton goods. If the hon. Member looked at the reports of the various iron companies in the country, he would not find a satisfactory result, for the dividends had, in many cases, been much smaller than in the past. So far as the Midlands were concerned, and Birmingham especially, he was sure that the iron trade was in a depressed condition. The trade of the country was not altogether ruled by exports. They had to take into consideration the demand from the internal trade of the country, and if the hon. Member went to the representatives of any particular manufacturing industry in the Midland districts he would find that these trades were suffering a great deal from foreign competition, and that they were in a most undesirable and disastrous condition. If that were not so, there would not be so many men unemployed as now.

He would not enter into a discussion of the fiscal question. It was too wide and too large a subject to be discussed there. Two questions had been raised in connection with this subject. First of all, the relation between the views of the Prime Minister and those of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. They, on that side of the House, would be quite as justified in asking hon. Gentlemen opposite what their opinion was in regard to Home Rule. It would be much more relevant to ask them what they were going to do on the question of Home Rule, if they came into power, than to discuss the fiscal question. The other question asked over and over again was why this matter should be delayed, and not discussed and answered by the country at once. The speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite on the fiscal question showed a state of fog, uncertainty, and want of knowledge, and the necessity of further discussion of the matter before any final decision was come to. One hon. Gentleman opposite had remarked that the Colonies would not give us anything in return for preference, and that they would not receive our goods; but the Colonies had really shown an inclination to take an increasing quantity of our goods, and that should induce sympathetic consideration for them on our part. The question of free trade was agitated for a period of between twenty and thirty years before the whole of the taxes on corn were abolished, and yet hon. Gentlemen opposite insisted that in the course of the two years in which the present demand for tariff reform had been discussed, the country had become so fully informed in regard to it that it was ready to give a verdict upon it immediately. Why should hon. Gentlemen expect them to take a premature decision on this great question?

There was another and more important reason why premature and immature decision should not be given on one of the greatest questions which occupied their attention at the present time. An essential condition for the right understanding of the question was a knowledge of colonial opinion; and that could only be authoritatively ascertained through a conference such as had been suggested. Hon. Gentlemen opposite said that they did not know what was the opinion of the Colonies—whether they had given an offer or whether they had not—but the only way to ascertain definitely was to invite the Colonies to a conference with this country. The discussion on this question could not be complete until they had obtained the opinion of the Colonies. To have a conference, however, which would have intructions as to what it should or should not do would be a mere travesty; and he believed that colonial representatives would not attend it. For himself, he hoped that this question would not be rushed. The Prime Minister stated he was not prepared to rush it; and it might be years before a definite conclusion was arrived at regarding it. There was no doubt that the question once having been raised, public opinion would not be satisfied to shelve it in the manner proposed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. It would, however, be altogether wrong to try and bring the matter to an untimely conclusion. The country wanted information, and the opinions of many people were as yet unsettled. He desired to give the House an illustration of what the views of the Colonies were. Two years ago there was a meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Montreal. He himself attended that conference, and a resolution was passed desiring an alteration of fiscal arrangements in order to bring the Colonies into closer union with the mother country; and to that end they were willing to make sacrifices on their part. That resolution was reciprocated by representatives of the business of the whole Empire with absolute unanimity. It would be altogether wrong to the Colonies and to this country to put a veto on this question; and he hoped the Government would remain in power until a conference was held and the matter was seen through.

Sir WILLIAM HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham) said that as a business man he desired to express his hearty concurrence with the Amendment. He thought that the interests of business men were more or less injured if their attention was distracted by such important questions as those which were now hanging over their heads. Confidence was necessary if business men were to pursue an even and prosperous course, and that confidence was interfered with as long as the present controversy continued. The hon. Gentleman opposite said that they on that side were satisfied with the present condition of affairs. With all respect, that was not a correct representation of the case. Whether the state of things was good or bad at present, in their judgment it would be likely to be made infinitely worse if some of the suggestions promulgated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham were carried out. The hon. Gentleman also referred to the conference at Montreal. He himself attended it; and although he agreed with the version given by the hon. Gentleman of the resolution passed on that occasion he thought it was only right to inform the House that it also contained the following words—

> "Due regard being paid to the fiscal and industrial needs of the component parts of the Empire."

Those words contained a very important element; because he was afraid that if the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham were adopted, very serious injury would be done to some portions of the Empire. That was a reason to give them pause. He should be glad to see the hostile tariffs of other nations much lower that they were now; but he denied that these tariffs could be lowered by weapons of retaliation such as were suggested by the Prime Minister. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his speech stated that the fiscal question was of vast importance and was very urgent. If it were of vast importance and urgent, why not take the issue at once to the country. For himself, he did not wish to disparage the preference that some of the Colonies had given to this country. He himself had derived advantage from the preference which was given by Canada. He did not wish to disparage the preference that some of our Colonies had given to us, but, while in the colonial markets the consumer paid less after preference had been given, in this market the consumer would pay more. That entirely differentiated the two positions, and showed that what might answer very well and be easily carried into effect in the Colonies would not answer here, and would be very difficult of application. With regard to the question of a preference on wheat he could testify that at the congress referred to every colonial who spoke heartily repudiated any desire to adopt any course which might be injurious to the mother country, and if we saw that any injury was likely to be done, it was our duty to our colonial fellow-subjects to point out how that injury would be done.

With regard to the suggestion of a Colonial Conference, if a conference was to be held, it was essential that all portions of the Empire should be represented at the conference, and that each part of the Empire should be proportionately represented. Moreover, if we considered that the taxation of food should not be a subject of discussion at the conference, the Colonies should be informed of that fact. With regard to the colonial contribution to Imperial defence, it seemed to him to be rather a curious way of drawing the Empire closer together to put the screw on the different portions of the Empire to increase their contributions to Imperial defence. The loyalty of our Colonies was a precious asset which had sprung up and had reached its present proportions under the system of freedom and liberty conceded to them; but if we bound them in a cast-iron system as a result of the conference, who could guarantee that in future their loyalty to the mother country would be as real and great as it had been hitherto? In his opinion the views of the Prime Minister and those of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham were diametrically opposed to each other and were mutually destructive, for one claimed a free hand to negotiate with other countries, while the other sought to bind us hand and foot in a cast-iron agreement with the Colonies. It was high time that the question should be decided by an appeal to the country.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till the Evening Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [15th February], to Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question having now been fully discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay.' "—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

*MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne) assumed the object of the Amendment before the House was to bring about an immediate dissolution on the ground, first, that the by-elections had gone against the Government, and second, that the proposed fiscal policy had been fully discussed by the country. In his opinion neither of these reasons were sufficient to advise His Majesty to dissolve the House. Everyone must acknowledge that the by-elections had gone against the Government, but such a thing was not unusual when a Government had been long in power. The Chief Liberal Whip had, he observed, at a recent meeting, advised his supporters not to take any notice of by-elections, and, for his part, he also was quite prepared to accept that advice. He ventured to traverse the statement that the fiscal policy had been fully discussed during the last two years, because the House knew that instead of allowing this question to be fully and freely discussed, hon. Gentlemen opposite had done their best to befog the electors and prevent their coming to a decision. The Government had been attacked by the leaders of the Opposition with a virulence beyond all precedent. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife seemed to have forgotten that the right hon. Member for West Birmingham resigned his high office in the Government for the definite purpose of educating the country in regard to these fiscal proposals. It was admitted both by the right hon. Gentleman and most of his supporters that it did require a considerable time to educate the country in regard to so great a change, but instead of discussing that matter fairly, hon. Gentlemen opposite had gone down to the constituencies and endeavoured to draw the proverbial red herring across the path by discussing Chinese labour, the Aliens Bill, and the Licensing Bill. Many hon. Members opposite had never put forward this question of fiscal reform at all. During the whole of the controversy of the last two years, he had known of no fiscal reformer who had been weaned from his desire to bring about this great change by any of the arguments used by hon. Gentlemen opposite. The Leader of the Opposition had said that the Prime Minister still strutted the quarter-deck, That was true, and those who sat on the Government side of the House hoped he would continue to strut it for some time to come, and hon. Members would do well to think twice before they gave a vote which would prevent the right hon. Gentleman from continuing to do so. As an example of the way in which this issue was put before the country, he would quote from a speech delivered by the hon. Member for South Shields at Blyth. Instead of showing that the Government were proposing a moderate system of taxation reform the hon. Member said—

"If they excluded food in England the result would be absolute starvation for two-thirds of our people. If they hampered the importation of food they would have distress in proportion to the extent they hampered it, as seventy-eight loaves out of every 100 come from abroad. And, above all, he hoped they would not allow statesmen to gamble with the food of the people."

No one wished to prevent the importation of food into this country, and it was by gross exaggeration of this description that the issue had been burked. And it was because still further time was required to put this great issue fully and fairly before the country that it was the duty of the House to vote against the Amendment of the right hon. Member for East Fife. The right hon. Gentleman speaking at Inverness, said—

> "In his many speeches on the fiscal question he had never spoken without pointing out that we were hard pressed in the race of industrial rivalry, and that if we were to hold our own it could not be by simply folding our hands and living upon the past."

But that was exactly what hon. Gentlemen opposite wished us to do. We were out-paced in the race; there was something that required consideration, and he confessed he was glad to think that the right hon. Member for West Birmingham had decided to call attention to this state of affairs and endéavour to find some remedy for the evil to which he had called attention. The right hon. Member the mover of the Amendment said at a meeting held in the Forest of Dean—

> "The reason that exports had not increased in the same ratio as before is not because of hostile tariffs, it has nothing to do with hostile tariffs. It is because our manufacturers and those they supply are busy meeting the demands of the home market that they have not the time or the machinery to meet the demands from abroad."

A more misleading statement had never been made by a responsible statesman. It was notorious that what we had been suffering from for years in this country was foreign competition, which had depressed our Home Markets. Yet the right hon. Gentleman made that statement which proved, if it proved nothing else, that he did not know much of the commercial state of the country. Nearly all hon. Gentlemen opposite had admitted that these tariffs did us harm. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose at Arbroath, said—

> "I am not prepared to dispute that the merchants of Dundee were suffering from these abominable tariffs."

Another right hon. Gentleman at Bradford said—

> "No one disputed the fact that tariffs had injured their trade with the United States."

If that was true, was it not the duty of these right hon. Gentlemen to endeavour to get rid of the tariffs from which they were suffering. The Duke of Devonshire also said—

> "I admit that the excessive tariffs of other countries have inflicted, and do inflict, a great injury upon some of our principal industries."

He (Mr. Renwick) contended that the industries of this country could not be greviously injured without the whole of the country being affected, and that it was because our industries had been injured by these tariffs that so many of our people were unemployed. The right hon. Member for Berwick, speaking at Belford, said—

> "He thought it very foolish of foreign countries to put high duties on our goods. It did harm to us but more harm to themselves."

What did we care what harm it did to the foreigner. The foreigner could take care of himself. We were the only country in the world which was afraid to do anything to help our own industries. The same right hon. Member said at Carnarvon—

> "The tinplate trade no doubt was injured by the McKinley tariff, but since then had been partly revived by opening new markets, partly by the increased home consumption due to the expansion of the jam trade."

That was an extraordinary statement to make to the tinplatemakers of South Wales. The tariff had enabled the United States of America to manufacture their own tinplates and supply their own markets. One hon. Member opposite, the Member for Oldham, a would-be statesman, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* of 16th August, 1903, said—

> "There was no doubt that the tariff walls which foreign nations put up against our goods did us a great deal of harm, and that, if they would pull their walls down and do unto us freely and fairly as we did unto them, our trade would become much better, and so would their trade."

The only remark that he would make upon that statement was that we could leave the foreigners to look after themselves, but that if we, by retaliation or otherwise, could get rid of these tariffs which were doing us so much harm, it was our duty to do so. He declared that since the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham two years ago, hon. Gentlemen and right hon. Gentlemen opposite had ceased drawing doleful pictures of our state of unemployment and pauperism, and had drawn glowing pictures of our great prosperity. By way of testing our prosperity he quoted figures showing the increase of pauperism in the Kingdom, and maintained that so long as we had an enormous amount of pauperism, and so long as we had a great number of unemployed, there was ample justification for the Prime Minister and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham calling attention to the state of things. It was time to do something more than fold our hands and live upon the memory of the past; and they were going to compel the country to face the question. ["When?"] When they got a fair and clear issue put before the country. Only a year ago the bad condition of the cotton trade was the subject of a reference in the King's Speech; and whenever a shortage occurred the same condition of affairs would arise; therefore they ought not to be too elated by the state of that trade at the present time. As to the shipping trade, he was aware that a large number of new ships had been ordered recently, at which he was much surprised as there was nothing in the present state of the freight market to justify such new orders. At the present time Great Britain possessed only about 50 per cent. of the shipping of the world; consequently we could not be the carriers of the world. In 1893–4 the British share was 58·21 per cent.; in 1903–4 it was only 50·67, a decrease of 7·54 in ten years. That meant a considerable increase in foreign competition, while the evidence before the Steamships Subsidies Committee showed that foreigners were making more headway than we were with the provision of the fastest, largest, and finest-equipped ships.

What was the policy proposed by the Prime Minister and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham? The Prime Minister desired to adopt the policy of negotiation in the endeavour to get rid of the present abominable tariffs, and, if that was not successful, to have the power to retaliate. That was a very proper power to ask for. What necessity was there for a foreign Power to pay any attention to Resolutions setting forth the injury that was being done to our industries by its tariffs? If, however, we had the power to retaliate, he believed foreign countries would soon be brought to their senses. The writings of Adam Smith, himself, bore testimony to the fact that retaliation would have the effect they desired. He did not think there was the slightest danger of commercial war, inasmuch as our market was much more important to foreign countries than their markets were to us, and they would hesitate before doing anything to injure their entrance to this country. As to the colonial aspect of the question, he was entirely at one with the Prime Minister in desiring to provide some means by which the Colonies might be drawn into closer union with the mother country, and he welcomed the announcement of a Colonial Conference to discuss this great question, not with any preconceived notions as to 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. duties, but with free and unfettered hands to endeavour to find means by which the desired end could be achieved. The Colonies had shown by the preference already given, and by the Resolutions they had passed, that they were ready and willing to back this country in regard to the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and when he considered how hard run we were for markets for our produce, the state of pauperism, and the number of the unemployed, he said all honour to the statesman who had brought this issue before the country.

MAJOR SEELY contended that unless hon. Members opposite wished to hamper and prevent the free importation of food they would not get the support of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford or of those who believed that by raising the price of corn they could increase agricultural profits. It was mere trifling with words to say that by taxing certain sources of food supply they would not hamper the importation of food. As to the taunt that the Opposition were not prepared to do anything to meet the industrial competition of foreign nations, they were prepared to do a great deal, but they believed that protective taxation was the worst possible means of dealing with the matter. Advocates of tariff reform apparently held the view that to impose taxation made a country rich, from which it would seem to follow that if a town was not prosperous all that was necessary was to put another 2s. on its rates. The State could do much to help industry, but protective taxes, so far from helping, tended to strangle industry, and brought countless evils in their train. The Opposition were prepared to admit that foreign tariffs might injure the trade of this country, but what they wanted to know was how trade could be helped by retaliation without the gravest risk being run of doing infinitely more damage to the delicate fabric which had been built up under a system of free trade. How, when, and where were the advocates of fiscal change to apply the principle about which they talked so glibly? The hon. Member for Newcastle had made some extraordinary statements about the shipping trade. According to *Lloyds' Register*, of the steam tonnage launched last year, Great Britain built and launched over 1,100,000 tons, while the rest of the world built and launched only 600,000 tons, so that this decaying industry——

*MR. RENWICK said he did not call it a decaying industry.

MAJOR SEELY said the exact expression was that the industry was in "a delicate state," so that last year this "delicate" industry launched nearly twice as much shipping as the whole of the rest of the world.

AN HON. MEMBER pointed out that the figures quoted by the hon. and gallant Member referred to steam shipping launched and classed in *Lloyds' Register*, but a large number of ships were built by foreign countries and not so classed, and those were omitted.

MAJOR SEELY said he was quite aware of that fact, but if they took as a test of the prosperity of the industry not only the steam shipping, but the steam shipping which was the most efficient, and which, therefore, had the greatest earning power, and then found that one country with 42,000,000 of inhabitants built nearly twice as much of that efficient shipping as the rest of the world, he submitted that to speak of that trade as being in a delicate state was to trifle with words; and to deny that by our system of free imports we had built up one of the most amazing systems of shipping the world had ever seen was the act of one who shut his eyes to facts and would deny anything. It was unfortunately true that a large amount of unemployment and distress existed in this country, but it was also true, according to the last Blue-book, that in protected countries the unemployment and distress was as great as, or greater than, in our own. What he protested against was trifling with the people of the country by telling them that all their distress and unemployment would be swept away by the adoption of protective taxation, and then, by a series of Party dodges and Parliamentary manœuvres, putting off the happy day when all their sorrows should be swept away. According to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, if the importation of foreign manufactured goods ceased and the articles were made at home, employment would be found for so many thousands of people at 30s. a week. But retaliation, if successful, would increase the importation of those goods and thus increase the distress and lack of employment. If, however, it were true that all this distress, sorrow, and hunger were caused by the importation of foreign manufactured goods, and that by a stroke of the pen, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared, it could be put a stop to, and, further, that the foreigner could be made to pay the taxes, what was to be thought of a Government which, after the question had been discussed for two years, simply said they were going on very well as they were, but that in the dim and distant future they might possibly begin to relieve the distress? This was not a matter to be trifled with in that way. The sorrow and suffering of the poorest of the poor was real and great, and if it were possible —which he strongly denied—to relieve it by protective taxes let it be done at once, but let them be done with the farce by which the Government, through Party manœuvring, stood between the people and the decision they wished to take.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.) submitted that not a single remedy for the present state of affairs had been suggested by any Member on the other side. He disputed entirely the assertion that our shipping trade had been built up by the system of free imports. Its pre-eminence was first secured by the strongest system of protection the world had ever known, viz., that under Oliver Cromwell and the Navigation Laws. The hon. Member for the Isle of Wight had stated that retaliation would increase the importation of foreign manufactured goods. [MAJOR SEELY: If successful.] He failed altogether to see how the entrance into foreign countries of British goods or of more British goods would cause an increase in the importation of foreign goods into this country.

MAJOR SEELY: The Prime Minister himself has stated that retaliation would increase exchange, and therefore more goods would come from foreign countries to us and more from us to them.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said there was not an hon. Member on the Ministerial side of the House who objected to a free exchange of goods between this country and foreign countries. If any foreign country would take English goods in free, this country would let their goods in free also. His argument was that if our threat to impose a retaliatory duty caused a reduction of the duties placed upon our goods by foreign countries then the trade of the two countries would be increased, and this country would send a larger share of goods to that particular country than we did before. The foreigner would be able to send us the same amount of goods as before, but this country, in consequence of the reduced tariff charged against us, would be able to send more goods over to them, and that would be a distinct benefit to England. If in addition to this the trade of both countries was increased so much the better. The Government desired nothing more than free exchange, and they were, really, the free-trade Party in this country. They were not free importers, because that Party was represented by hon. Members opposite. No one disputed that foreign tariffs were hostile to British trade. As to the suggestion which had been made of allowing a proper proportion of representation to the various Colonies according to their importance, that was a view which he felt sure the Government would be ready to take notice of. When the conference was held he did not think it would be right to give a very small colony exactly the same weight as a large colony. With regard to what the hon. Member for Argyllshire had said, he wished to point out that no one on the Government side of the House had ever suggested that if the price of an article went down 50 per cent. duties should be imposed so as to allow home manufacturers to get the original price. They could not possibly do that, and it had never been suggested. They had never said that in cases where foreigners were clearly able to undersell us, or where the price had actually gone down through fair competition, that any duty should be put on to keep the price up. That suggestion was nothing less than a travesty upon their arguments, and they were not willing to do anything which would keep up prices to an abnormal level. The same hon. Member also asked why should they not treat a Scotsman who happened to be living in Patagonia in the same way as a Scotsman living in one of the British Colonies. He did not think there was a single Member of the House who did not desire that the trade between England and her Colonies should be encouraged, and the only difference of opinion was as to how this should be brought about.

The hon. Member for the Northern Highlands had given them a most cheerful view of the prosperity of the Colonies, and he was sure they were all delighted to hear it. The hon. Member had, however, read a letter which drew a somewhat different picture, and which appeared to imply that the New Zealander was a selfish person, with little or no love for the mother country. He would not believe that the New Zealander, or any of those living in our Colonies, had lost their affection for the mother country. It had been stated that under no consideration would our Colonies ever admit British goods in free competition with their own. Even admitting that contention, it should be borne in mind that the Colonies were now importing goods to a very considerable extent from European countries, including the mother country. Under these circumstances would any hon. Member opposite contend that it would be no benefit to this country to have British goods admitted to their Colonies at lower duties than those which were placed upon foreign goods? He thought that a preference of that kind would be a vast benefit to this country.

The hon. Member for Oldham had complained that the Prime Minister had not stated what he would be willing to do in case the conference decided upon a policy involving the taxation of food. Had anybody ever heard before of a subject being submitted to a Committee for investigation, and the Prime Minister being asked what he would do in certain events? Such a proposition was preposterous, and the Prime Minister could not do anything of the kind. He was quite sure that the hon. Member for Oldham, upon further consideration, would see that it would be absolutely impossible for the Prime Minister to lay down any rule as to what he would do in the event of certain recommendations being made by the conference. It had been suggested that the conference should be started with tied hands, and that certain lines should be laid down beyond which they should not pass. Such a proposal was inconsistent with the practice of the House, for in every case where a Committee or a Commission were appointed it was left a free hand. To declare beforehand that they were not to consider a particular matter in a particular way was really to make the inquiry useless. He could not himself see why hon. Members opposite should object to the conference having a perfectly free hand, and being able to recommend whatever the members of the conference thought would be best under the circumstances. Whether the House should adopt the policy recommended by the conference was quite another matter.

In his opinion, there was also another solution of the problem altogether different to that which had been proposed for benefiting the Colonies. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham suggested that a tax should be placed upon corn, that the Colonies should be relieved from that tax, and in order to prevent the consumers in this country having to pay more for their food other taxes on food should be reduced. They all wished to know whether in time of war they would be able to obtain their supplies of food from their own Colonies. They wished to know whether if all foreign ports were closed against them, they would be able to obtain a sufficient supply of the necessaries of life from their own Colonies. To ensure this it was necessary that their Colonies should grow corn to a far more considerable extent, and the conference might very well consider whether it would not be a wise thing for the British Empire to encourage the growing of corn by granting something in the nature of a bounty to those who grew corn in this country, and in our Colonies, and imported it into this country. The benefit of such a policy would be manifest to all hon. Members. In the first place they would be encouraging the Colonies to grow that supply of corn which they desired to ensure in time of war; and, in the second place, they would be encouraging in the same way local farmers in this country, and they would consequently have more men engaged upon the land. He was aware that the expense had to be taken into account, but the country would gain, because, instead of the price of corn going up, there would be a tendency for the price to come down, not simply by the amount of the bounty, but to a much lower extent, and so the consumer would, in this way, gain an advantage which would be an incalculable benefit to him. The difficulty, he was aware, would be the question of money, but, by what he preferred to call a policy of reciprocity, they might, by a tax upon manufactured goods from abroad, raise a sufficient amount to pay a bonus to those who grew corn within the limits of the British Empire. This was a question which he hoped would be considered by the conference. As for the Motion before the House he ventured to say that it was one which they ought not to accept.

*MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) said that in some great public controversies there was an advantage in looking back over the road travelled and noting the principal milestones. It should never be forgotten that this subject was first raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, when he was still a member of the Cabinet, in a speech he made in Birmingham in May, 1903. He ventured to say that they might ransack the history of Cabinets and they would not be able to find a similar example of a man holding a high Cabinet position going down to his constituency and springing upon the country without notice to his Cabinet colleagues a great revolution in the accepted fiscal policy of the country which had been in operation for sixty years. Whilst still a member of the Cabinet the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham came to this House on 29th May, 1903, and in the course of his speech said—

"Therefore we come to this, if you are to give a preference to the Colonies—I do not say that you are—you must put a tax upon food."

There had been various endeavours to do a way with the full effect of those words, but there they stood on record. He wondered how many hon. Members who were tariff reformers, up and down the country, had really stood by their guns before their constituents in this matter. That was the key-note and basis of the whole controversy. The right hon. Gentleman resigned his position in the Cabinet in a very remarkable way, and the letters which appeared in the Press from the Prime Minister and right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham would bear reading again and again. Both right hon. Gentlemen used very curious phrases. The Member for West Birmingham said—

"The result is that for the present, at any rate, a preferential agreement with our Colonies involving a new duty, however small, on articles of food hitherto untaxed is . . . unacceptable to the majority in the constituencies."

"For the present." Then the right hon. Gentleman indicated that he would go and preach the gospel. Later in the letter he said—

"I suggest that you should limit the present policy of the Government."

In a manner he indicates again the word "present." The Prime Minister accepted that policy, and in his reply used curious words. He said—

"The loss to the Government is great indeed, but the gain to the cause you have at heart is greater still, and, therefore, what can I do but acquiesce?"

Therefore in the most public manner the right hon. Gentleman sent the Member for West Birmingham away with his blessing on his labours, while agreeing "for the present" to restrict the policy of the Government. Thus they had the basis of the whole policy of the taxation of foodstuffs, which the right hon. Gentleman acknowledged was unacceptable to the country, and he went forth on his efforts to win over the country to that. What had been the propaganda since? In this House, in May 1903, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham used these significant words—

"I am prepared to go into any mechanic's house, or any labourer's house, or to address meetings of workmen or labour leaders, and, taking certain hypothetical calculations, for instance, that there was to be a shilling or two shillings on corn, say to them, 'Now this policy, if it is carried out, will cost you so much a week more than you are paying at present for your food. I set aside altogether any economical question as to whether they would or would not have to pay the whole of the duty that might be imposed; I will assume for the sake of my argument that you pay every penny of the duty, and having assumed that, I will tell you what the cost will be. I know how many loaves you consume, how much meat you eat, and know what you take of this, that, and the other, on which it may be proposed to put a duty, and I will give you a table from which you can tell for yourself how much extra wages you must get in order to cover the extra expense of living.'"

It was perfectly clear, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman contemplated an addition to the cost of living of the workman. But the workman was very shrewd in that matter. He knew very well that his living would be increased in cost, but he knew that he would look in vain for extra wages. He was bound to say that the right hon. Gentleman had been as good as his word. He had been on many platforms, advocating his propaganda with sincerity and courage. The right hon. Gentleman addressed a meeting at Welbeck, in Nottinghamshire, primarily, he said, to the agriculturist. He was sure the right hon. Gentleman had not much practical experience in agriculture, and there were many ludicrous inaccuracies in his speech. He actually told them that the country was getting poorer in regard to stock, but in the figures given he forgot the distinction between sheep and cattle. There were more cattle, although there was a loss of sheep. He must say that if the right hon. Gentleman was well satisfied with his visit to Welbeck, free-traders in the county of Nottingham had no cause to feel aggrieved, and he ventured to invite the right hon. Gentleman to go there again. If the results of the right hon. Gentleman's propaganda had been the same in other parts of the country as in Nottinghamshire, and in the parts with which he himself was familiar, he could not congratulate him. He believed as a matter of fact that it was pretty well accepted now that the thing had not succeeded with the working classes, who were perfectly conscious that their cost of living would be increased by the adoption of the right hon. Gentleman's proposals. Would the right hon. Gentleman tell the House that he saw no difference in principle between his policy and that of the Prime Minister? The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that afternoon was a proof that there was no difference of opinion. The position of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was perfectly intelligible and clear. He understood that neither the right hon. Gentleman nor his followers liked the word "protection," and he would not use it. At all events, what they advocated was an artificial enhancement of the price of food and other articles for certain purposes. The fact of the matter was that the situation was summed up by the leading organ of the Government when it said that the Prime Minister and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham were a pair of consummate whist players, both of whom knew their game. The Prime Minister was watching and waiting until the country was ripe for him to take his stand side by side with his fellow whist player.

This Amendment had been termed a dissolution Amendment. He thought it was abundantly justified. The Leader of the Opposition had pointed out with the greatest force what had been the results of the by-elections, and the Prime Minister had replied by quoting what Mr. Gladstone said about by-elections in a letter to Lord Granville. He had been at some pains to look into this matter. It was perfectly true that Mr. Gladstone wrote the letter which had been referred to. It was dated 8th January, 1874, and contained the following sentence—

> "The general situation being thus unfavourable, the ordinary remedies are not available. A Ministry with a majority, and with that majority not in rebellion, could not resign on account of adverse manifestations, even of very numerous single constituencies, without making a precedent, and constitutionally a bad precedent, and only a very definite and substantive difficulty could warrant the resignation without dissolution, after the proceedings of the Opposition in March last, when they, or, at any rate, their Leaders and their Whips, brought the Queen into a Ministerial crisis and deserted her when there."

Mr. Gladstone, with his chivalrous devotion to the Crown, had that "desertion" in his mind. He was casting about for reasons for not recommending a dissolution and not resigning, but he used further language in his letter to the Queen. They were very memorable words, and very much *ad rem.* In that letter to the Queen, dated 23rd January, which would be found at pages 486 and 487 of the second volume of "The Life of Gladstone." Mr. Gladstone said—

> "When he had the honour of seeing Your Majesty at Windsor the course of the local elections had been more favourable and Mr. Gladstone had not abandoned the hope of retaining sufficient strength for the due conduct of affairs in the present House. On this question the events of the last few weeks and the prospects of the present moment have somewhat tended to turn the scale in his mind and that of his colleagues.

It was evident, therefore, that the elections of the last few weeks had tended to turn the scale in his mind and that of his colleagues. But what was the House to think of the present Prime Minister, who, contrary to constitutional propriety, had put the letter of another Prime Minister to a colleague before the letter of that Prime Minister to the Sovereign. If the right hon. Gentleman treated his own letters to colleagues and Sovereign in such a way he was more unfit to occupy the position of Prime Minister than some people thought. After all, the present situation could not be judged of without taking the whole circumstances into account. Since the last general election they had a new Sovereign, a new Cabinet, a new Prime Minister, and a new policy. If, when all these things were put together, they did not constitute a demand for a dissolution he did not know what did. There never was such a conjunction of circumstances as these four, and if they wanted any additional reason for dissolution it was to be found in the condition of the House itself. It was like a man suffering from a stroke of paralysis. Members familiar with the ordinary routine of the House knew very well that both as regards the House and its Committees Members could not be got to their places, and the benches were evidence how this session was beginning. The pass to which things had come ought to be put an end to. The Government might be able to command a majority to-morrow night, but had they the constituencies behind them? Speaking on behalf of those who sent him there—and he would represent them if he was a candidate at the next election—he said unhesitatingly that the time had come for it to be dissolved, so that the House of Commons might be refreshed by contact with those from whom it alone derived authority.

*SIR THOMAS WRIGHTSON (St. Pancras, E.) said he regretted the small attendance of Members on the Government side of the House, but if he were asked to account for it he would say that it was because the supporters of the Government knew what the opinions of their leaders were, while on the other side the Opposition refused to divulge what their leaders were going to do if they came into office. They had not heard any proposals made from the other side, although challenges had been thrown out to them to give assurances as to what they were going to do. The members of the Opposition said that the fiscal proposals which had been put before the country from his side of the House would bring evils into existence which would be worse than those they had at present. It seemed to be overlooked on the other side that something like one-third of the population were suffering from want of labour. They did not deny that. [Cries of "Yes."] They would admit, at all events, that the air was full of reports as to the want of employment throughout the country. Why did that state of things exist? It was because our markets had been taken from us by the foreigner. If hon. Members would study the returns of the Board of Trade they would see that a large amount of merchandise was imported which could be equally well made in this country by our own workmen. He would like to direct the attention of the House to a matter—much more serious than the question of price, of which so much has been said in this controversy. The question he alluded to was that of cost. The terms have been confused, especially by those consumers to whom price was the only consideration and cost of production nothing. Mr. Gladstone had stated years ago that so long as we could work cheaply we should maintain the supremacy of our manufactures, and he was perfectly right, but the way he looked at the question was simply in relation to our ability to buy cheap food. Another state of things had arisen. Owing to changes in the way in which industries were conducted, there was a far greater cheapening effect by keeping mills and works full of employment. Factories were laid out to produce a maximum of work, and it was under those conditions that production was cheap. If factories were worked only to the extent of half their maximum productive capacity, the cost of production would go up 20 to 50 per cent. Mr. Gladstone expressed his view at a time when cheap food was a much more important factor in the making of the cost of production cheap. Now we had a totally different state of affairs, and unless we remedied our policy with regard to foreign countries, and took some steps to oblige them to reduce their tariffs, we should get less and less volume of trade, and our manufacturers would thereby be handicapped and their industries eventually destroyed by the increase in the cost of production. He supported the Prime Minister, and should vote against the Amendment.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick): The hon. Baronet who has just sat down is a firm believer in a change in our fiscal system, which he says he understands. He is so convinced that that change, which we call protection, would bring increased prosperity to this country, that I am very much surprised that he does not at once give a vote in order to precipitate the election, until the advent of which, as he knows from the mouth of his own Leader, the change cannot take place. I am quite clear as to the nature of the hon. Baronet's convictions, and the way in which he arrived at them; but I do not get that clearness from his speech this evening, but from a letter which he wrote to *The Times* a year and a half ago. This letter was to the effect that, under this change in fiscal system which he desires, our home manufacturers—I think, including himself—would get enhanced prices for what they produce, and so would be able to produce more cheaply for export. In other words, they would charge higher prices to their own fellow-countrymen at home, and then sell more cheaply to the foreigner. A few of them would reap large profits, but the great staple industries of this country would inevitably suffer.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): Just what the Germans do.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I am perfectly willing that we should have a comparison with Germany; you will find constant complaints of the rings and trusts in Germany having killed promising branches of German industry, which have thriven in other countries which open their markets. But I do not desire to go at length into the arguments on the fiscal question. I want to examine a little some of the reasons that have already been given for the Amendment before the House; and I should like, to a certain degree, to pay attention—because the Prime Minister himself, I think, desires it—to the Prime Minister's own policy. I cannot agree with an argument which I heard from the hon. Member for Hackney just now—that the election should be postponed because there are some hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House who have not yet made up their minds. There always will be a certain number of people who will not make up their minds till the election comes, and that argument will always be available, however long an election is postponed. But I think it is time that, at any rate, we were quite sure what the mind of the Prime Minister of this country is. The Chancellor of the Exchequer deplores the fact that the Imperial policy, as he calls it, of colonial preference, has become a Party question. We all deplore that fact. It was not a Party question two years ago; we all approved of the policy of the conference in 1902; we all approved of the policy of periodical conferences; and we all approved, at that time, of another conference being held at the date then fixed—namely, 1906. But it has become a Party question since.

It is not we who have made it a Party question. It is the utterances of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and of the Prime Minister, that have made it a Party question; and if we had accepted their utterances that would not have prevented it from becoming a Party question. They have made it a Party question on their own side. I think it a great pity; and when I hear it said that the policy of a Colonial Conference is the policy of the Prime Minister, some special policy of his own, I say that that is an entire inversion of what is the true state of the case. The policy of a Colonial Conference did exist. It is the Prime Minister who has spoiled the policy of a Colonial Conference. His policy is now that it is not worth while to have a Colonial Conference unless you are prepared to commit this country to a scheme of preferential duties. What, then, is open to the conference of 1906? We understand from the Foreign Secretary in another place that next year we shall be engaged with a Redistribution Bill, and we shall not have had an election. May I ask the Colonial Secretary, in the absence of the Prime Minister, if no election takes place this year, will the conference be held in 1906?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): nodded assent.

SIR EDWARD GREY: It will be held, but the question of preference, of closer commercial union, will not be brought before it; because, from the Edinburgh speech of the Prime Minister, we understand that this question of closer commercial union with the Colonies was not to be brought forward before the conference unless his Party was in power after an election. Well, then, in 1906, according to the Colonial Secretary, if no election has taken place, this Colonial Conference will be held under the understanding that its lips are sealed on the question of commercial union, but that another conference will be summoned after the election, which may take place at the end of 1906 or at the beginning of 1907. This is to reduce the conference of 1906 to a farce. It is not we who wish to muzzle that conference. It is the Government who will be muzzling that conference. And this is the true Imperial policy! The Prime Minister admits that this matter is important, that things cannot go on as they are between us and the Colonies. That statement in Edinburgh must not be left in doubt; it was very important, but before a conference is held to deal with this question and to clear it up, an election must be held; and then the Prime Minister adopts the policy of postponing the election as long as possible. That is not an Imperial policy. That is a policy of Party convenience. The Prime Minister, no doubt, promises us more than one election. After that election, soon another election. [Ironical OPPOSITION laughter.] Well, that is his policy in regard to elections. We must not have an election now, but to make it up we are to have plenty of them at short dates at a future time.

I deplore what I am convinced is a misunderstanding which is being created by this between the mother country and the Colonies. I have no doubt the Colonies have left us in no doubt as to what their proposals were at the conference of 1902. Mr. Fielding, the Canadian Finance Minister, has told his own fellow-countrymen that at the conference of 1902 the colonial Premiers, certainly the Canadian Premier, assured the Imperial Government, this present Government, that as between the British manufacturer and the colonial manufacturer they had gone as far as they could, but that they were willing to increase the duties against the foreigner under certain conditions. If there is any colonial proposal at all, it is a proposal, not to reduce the duties on British goods, but to increase the duties against the foreigner, and when you hear the colonial offer talked about, as it is so frequently on platforms by the other side, what is really in mind is not a colonial offer at all, but the offer which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham is understood to be making to the Colonies. And the impression which has got abroad of the offer which he makes is that, in his opinion, it would be fair that the mother country should impose, for the sake of the Colonies, and in their favour, taxes upon our food at home, while leaving the Colonies free to impose duties still upon British goods, provided they still further increase the duties against the foreigner. That is where the misunderstanding lies. The impression that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham gives at home is that he is working for free trade within the Empire. The impression he gives to the Colonies is that he is going to leave them freedom to protect themselves against the import of British goods, while we tax our food in their favour. I deplore this on Imperial grounds. We know very well that the policy of holding the Empire together by force has been tried and has failed, and nobody would think of reverting to it. It is true that the present Government, at any rate, does not try the foundation of force. But now we have a new basis for the union of the Empire, the foundation of taxes. Next to that force, I think the foundation of taxes the most insecure on which the Empire can be based. When I hear it said that this is the Imperial policy, I should like to revert to the original policy of Colonial Conferences, held periodically, held freely, free to discuss whatever the Colonies wish to propose, we on our side to be equally free to speak what we believe to be the mind of the country. I believe a conference of that kind—ungagged, unmuzzled, summoned without prejudice, summoned on terms under which opinions may be plainly expressed on both sides, is the only way by which it is possible to remove the misunderstanding which has been created between ourselves and the Colonies. They have never asked that we should impose taxes to suit them. Some of them did suggest that, if we were imposing taxes for ourselves, we should give a remission of those taxes in their favour; but they have not asked that we should impose taxes which we have not got, and which we did not need for our own purposes, in their favour. I believe that a conference, summoned on these questions, without prejudice, to make the Colonies understand what is the position over here, and make them understand that nothing short of free trade within the Empire would do, and that to remove duties would be anything but a barrier to unity—I believe that a conference of that kind would remove misunderstanding and relieve suspicion between the mother country and the Colonies. So much on that point.

I return to the policy of the Prime Minister. He asks us why we do not discuss his policy. It is because he gives us nothing to discuss. What is his policy? Liberty to negotiate—retaliation as it is called sometimes. Who can discuss retaliation in the abstract? What does he mean by liberty to negotiate? He means liberty to retaliate, liberty to make commercial war. Who does he want to make war with? You cannot discuss war in the abstract. Does the Government ask for liberty to make war without telling you with whom they are going to fight, what they are going to fight about, where they are going to fight, and what weapons they are going to use? It would be laughed out of court. It is just as unreasonable for the Prime Minister to ask us to discuss retaliation when he makes no proposal to the House or the country as to how the retaliation is to be carried out. Of course the Government have power to propose retaliation now. They need have no election. Let us know whom the quarrel is with. Let us know the special taxation by which you propose to bring the foreign country to its knees. Make your proposal to the House and it can be judged on its merits. Why postpone that until after an election? Only, I think, for one reason, that if you make any proposal of that sort you would have to submit it to the House of Commons. Are you at the election going to ask for power to impose retaliatory duties without coming to the House of Commons? That question the Prime Minister never answered; and if that be in his mind, I admit, indeed, that there is need for appealing to the country before he proposes anything of the kind.

But, Sir, even retaliation, if we had the proposal before us, becomes very nebulous. You may impose a duty and call it retaliatory if you please, but after it is imposed it becomes a protective duty. If your retaliatory duty does not succeed in its object, in reducing the duty imposed by foreign countries, then it is a nuisance to ourselves without achieving the object that we wish; but if it does succeed, then it will have to be removed; and to remove it you will have to destroy vested interests to which the hon. Baronet opposite has referred—vested interests which would plead, and, I think, plead with great force, that the Government which had created them could not justly undertake anything which would destroy them. We had an example in the corn duty. That was not a protective duty when it was imposed. It was imposed, we were told, as a revenue duty; it was not to operate in a protective sense at all. It lasted, I think, for a year, but within that year already it had come to have protective effect, and there were bitter complaints from the milling industry when it was proposed to remove it. This is the policy, so far as we know it, of the Prime Minister. But even about this he leaves us in doubt with regard to the future. At Sheffield he told us that he would lead the Conservative Party. There were some questions as to where he was leading them to, but I do not dwell upon that. He has spoken since at Edinburgh, and at Edinburgh he spoke more doubtfully. He was not then quite sure that he would lead them. On the contrary, if the Conservative Party adopted protection as a policy, he thought he would not lead them, but though he would not lead them, he would continue to support the Party not less zealously and earnestly than before. This is a great struggle, and I commend this to hon. Members on the other side of the House who are opposed to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, but follow the Prime Minister. In a struggle of this kind you must rely upon somebody on whom you can depend to oppose the policy in which you disbelieve; and if the Prime Minister is going to support the Party opposite not less zealously and earnestly than before after they become protectionists, what is the value of his opposition?

Now, Sir, I think in all this is to be found the reason of the ambiguity of the Prime Minister. Take what he has said sentence by sentence and I admit it is clear enough, but the meaning of the whole leaves everybody in doubt. He gives plain answers, but he never answers a plain question. He shows great ingenuity in giving answers to questions that have never been asked, but he evades questions upon which it would be perfectly easy to give an answer if he has a clear mind. What, for instance, is his opinion with regard to the average duty of 10 per cent. on manufactured articles advocated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham ? Is that or is it not part of the policy of the Prime Minister ? That surely is a plain question. He has said, especially in regard to his Edinburgh speech, that nobody who is not stupid or malevolent —I think that was the phrase—can fail to understand it, and I want to ask him this. The noble Lord the Member for Ealing, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich, and others place one interpretation on that Edinburgh speech, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham places a directly opposite interpretation upon that speech; and I would like to ask the Prime Minister in this difference of interpretation who is stupid and who is right ? That is a plain question that may be answered. I think I can tell hon. Members opposite one difference between the speeches of the Prime Minister and the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. The Prime Minister always says the same thing, but his meaning is always obscure; the meaning of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham is never obscure, but he does not always say the same thing. That reduces discussion in the country and in this House, so far as discussion is allowed, to a farce. You have the two protagonists playing this game, and the issue is admitted by all to be most important, and on this side we believe it to be vital to the interests of the country. The game is not edifying politically, and it is bad for the country materially. You find it admitted everywhere that the suspense in which the question now rests is bad for the business of the country. The hon. Member for Newcastle spoke somewhat doubtfully of the revival of trade If encouragement be needed—and I think it is needed—for trade, surely one form of encouragement would be to let business men, at any rate for the next four or five years, know where they stand and what to expect. I think there is a moral obligation on the Government not to postpone an appeal to the country. The Prime Minister makes light of by-elections; he has cited precedents under which by-elections were held not to legitimately influence a Government in continuance of office; but the present is not a normal, it is an abnormal situation. The last election was abnormal. Never before was an appeal made by the Government of the day to a Party disagreeing with them on all subjects of home policy to support the Government for that occasion only. I will not dwell on the position, it is well put by the hon. Member for Partick sitting opposite and who is not suspect in regard to tariff reform. His words were—

> "He did not think a general election was very far off, and the sooner it came the better. The time had not yet elapsed for which the present Government were elected, but still the circumstances had altered so completely, the questions now dividing men's minds were so different from those of the autumn of 1900 that the time had come for a deliberate expression of the opinion of the country; it was not satisfactory to pass session after session in evading discussion of the subject uppermost in the mind of Members."

Every word of that is true. The importance of the question to the country is admitted; it is a question the Prime

Minister thinks the present House of Commons is not fitted to discuss. The House is not merely a legislative authority and controller of the Executive of the day; it should be the guide and counsellor of the nation on a matter that intimately concerns it; and to have this propaganda instituted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, with the blessing and good will of the Prime Minister, to have it going on in the country, and at the same time to have it definitely laid down that the present House of Commons is not fitted to deal with it, not suited to its discussion, is to bring an air of insincerity into our proceedings, and to make them more or less a farce. That air of unreality hung over us last year, it has not been diminished by the lapse of time, and the Government contemplate its continuance, and I understand that we should, after that, have another session of Parliament in addition. I will conclude by quoting, in regard to the situation, words used by the Prime Minister himself with regard to a situation of ten years ago and somewhat analogous to this of to-day—

> "I do not believe that in the whole of our Parliamentary history you will find a case in which the Government has deliberately come down to the House and said, 'We have a revolution' (that is not too strong a word for a change in fiscal policy that has endured for sixty years) 'in store for you, to be embodied in terms not yet decided upon, to carry out a policy on which we are absolutely divided, which we mean to put off for one month, two months, three months, so long as it suits us.' The House of Commons ought not to make itself a party to any such electioneering transaction as that."

Now I will go on still expressing myself in the words of the Prime Minister—

> "I think myself bound to dissociate myself from any manœuvres so utterly discreditable to the ancient honour and glory of this House."

And I shall vote for the Amendment.

Sir Edward Grey.

Mr. LAMBTON (Durham, S.E.) said he agreed with every word which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwick had uttered on the fiscal question, but he could not agree with him in his remarks about the other part of the Amendment relating to dissolution. The right hon. Gentleman, as a reason why the House should agree to that part of the Resolution which referred to dissolution, quoted the opinion of his hon. friend the Member for Partick; but that opinion was, in his view, the very reason why they ought not to have a dissolution. The right hon. Gentleman, in the early part of his speech, had told the House that this was not a Party, but a national question, but the Amendment of the right hon. Member for East Fife had made it a Party question. He maintained that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife and the Opposition had, by this Amendment, committed a tactical mistake, and were making this question, as far as lay in their power, a Party question. He knew that on this point he was not agreeing with the speech made by the hon. Member for Durham. Hitherto that hon. Gentleman and himself had agreed in thought and in action, but he could not agree with him as to the action of free-traders on that side of the House crossing to the other side. He had always maintained in the past and had announced to his constituents that he could not follow with approval the fiscal policy of the Government; but to ask those on that side of the House who condemned a change in fiscal policy to say so was one thing; to ask them to vote for dissolution was asking them to go rather far. They disapproved strongly of the fiscal policy of the Government, but if they passed this Amendment, what would be their position in the remaining months of the session? Were they to do their best in the future, and on every possible occasion, to turn out the Government? If the hon. Member for Durham voted for the Amendment and acted up to what he had said he would have to take every possible opportunity to turn out the Government he was returned to support. He himself had no intention to aid in turning out the Government unless it announced itself as a protectionist Government. The Prime Minister had told them that he was not a protectionist.

He knew that hon. Gentlemen opposite had told them that the policy of the Prime Minister was not understood in the country nor in this House; but the vast majority of hon. Gentlemen on that side said they understood the Prime Minister's policy. There seemed to be very few of them present that night. He had expected that he would have got a cheer when he said that. He had hoped that perhaps he might induce those hon. Members to get up and tell the House what that policy really was. For his part, he confessed he did not understand it. The Prime Minister said he was surprised that hon. Members did not understand it. Hon. Members behind him said that they were also surprised. He himself confessed that he also was surprised. He thought it astonishing that anything obvious to the intellects of those behind him should be obscure to the intelligence of his friends around and below him. If that were the case, he submitted to the Prime Minister that they ought rather to be pitied than condemned. The right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Berwick, had just now stated that the Prime Minister had attributed this failing either to stupidity or to malevolence. He did not attribute it to stupidity, but rather to ignorance and innocence. They were naturally ignorant because they had not been enlightened. The Prime Minister did not answer the simplest question put to him. Ignorance could be removed by enlightenment; stupidity was ingrained. He did not think that the Prime Minister gave sufficient attention to that combination of ignorance and innocence which affected some of his followers. One came across instances in which persons had been mistaken in regard to the commonest objects. For instance, he remembered once asking a lady—an elderly maiden lady—where she had been walking, and how far she had gone. She told him that she had been to Hyde Park as far as the statue of Minerva! He did not argue the point with her, because he was quite sure he knew what she meant, and how far she had been. He did not argue with the Prime Minister for the different reason that he had not the slightest notion of what he meant, or how far he meant to go. All they asked was that the right hon. Gentleman should give them a sound fiscal policy, with the genuine hall-mark of free trade—no Sheffield-plate or Birmingham brass.

He maintained that the present state of ambiguity which existed ought to advance, and would advance, the cause of free trade. That was one reason why he would not vote for the Amendment. The Prime Minister's policy was not understood, and was not gaining adherence in the country, and every month that passed without a general election reduced the prospects of the Birmingham policy. Hon. Gentlemen might think that he was not considering this question seriously; there were, however, so few of its protagonists present that it was hardly worth the labour to get up at all. Hon. Gentlemen might think that his hon. friends and himself were not in earnest, but he could assure them they were. They were fighting now with masked foils, but it might be war to the knife later. He maintained that Unionists were doing more in the permanent interests of free trade by voting against the Amendment on this occasion than by voting for it. He knew that many Unionists in the country had changed their views with reference to protection; and if Unionists were to be hunted out of the Unionist Party or to be cajoled from the line they had taken up, they would not secure that permanent and emphatic national verdict which the country would give if the question was submitted to it as a national and not as a Party question. He hoped there would be no misconception as to his free-trade principles or as to his discouragement of the attitude of the Prime Minister and the Government in not giving them a free-trade lead in this matter; but he should not vote for dissolution because he believed that by so doing he would rather hinder than encourage the cause of free trade.

*Mr. LEVY (Leicestershire, Loughborough) said that the Prime Minister led them to believe that his policy would improve the condition of the people, and would give employment to workers now out of employment. The fact was, however, that any system which would keep out of this country manufactured goods would be detrimental to employment. Therefore, the right hon. Gentleman's policy, instead of increasing employment, would reduce it. Immediately exports and imports were cut down employment would decrease. During the last fifteen years there were two, 1893 and 1894, in which trade was more depressed than in any of the other years; and in these years both the imports and exports were smaller; the number of unemployed was greater, the number of paupers per head of population was greater, and bankruptcies were more numerous. At present an immense quantity of goods was imported into this country; but the fact remained that they had less paupers and less unemployed and a far greater export trade. What did the proposed Colonial Conference mean? They were told that the colonial representatives were to discuss whether this country should or should not tax the food of the people of this country. What for? Certainly not for the benefit of the people of this country, but in order that the Empire might be bound together. Surely there were other methods of binding the Empire together than by taxing the food of the people of this country. What about India? India imported one-third of the amount of manufactured goods which we exported to our Colonies and possessions and purchased but a trifling amount of manufactures from the protected countries of Europe and the United States of America. What then could India give in return if the policy of the right hon. Gentleman were adopted? Absolutely nothing. If there were any attempt to add to the cost of manufacture in the cotton industry, which must inevitably follow retaliation or preferential treatment, the major portion of our export trade of cotton goods would disappear. He thought it would be admitted that the export trade to India was of vital interest to the working people of this country, and of far greater importance than the export trade to any one of the Colonies. India would not gain by the right hon. Gentleman's policy; but a very considerable hardship would be inflicted on the people of this country.

The idea appeared to be that more corn was to be grown in the Colonies and that a corn tax would not make much difference in price. But when hon. Gentlemen visited their constituencies they declared that the corn tax would be of considerable benefit, because it would raise the price and thereby bring more land into cultivation. If, however, a 12s. duty did not bring more land into cultivation in France, it was certain that a 2s. duty would not be effective in that respect in this country. How were the Colonies to be benefited? They could not be benefited by corn alone. Was this country to tax its raw material. They had the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury and of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham that they had no desire to tax raw material, but it was perfectly plain that if their policy were adopted raw material would have to be taxed. Would that increase employment in this country? Certainly not. Then it was said that this country could get its food supplies in time of war from the Colonies. Had any one considered what Navy would be required to convoy across the ocean vessels carrying food to this country. For all these reasons he supported the Amendment; and he hoped that free-traders opposite would also support it.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Ernest Gray.*)

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) said there was a quarter of an hour yet, during which the debate might be continued. To adjourn now would be an unthrifty way of using the time of the House. Under the circumstances, he hoped the House would not accept the proposal of the hon. Gentleman, and if necessary he would divide against it.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston) said that on the previous night the House adjourned early in order to enable a right hon. Gentleman opposite to speak to-day. He himself did not see the utility of proceeding at that hour; but, nevertheless, he hoped that his hon. friend would not persist in his Motion.

*MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham) said he was not quite sure whether he was in order; but he wished to state—

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman, having moved his Motion, cannot speak again.

*MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he understood that his hon. friend wished to withdraw the Motion.

*MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Gentleman desire to withdraw?

*MR. ERNEST GRAY: Yes, Sir.

Objection being taken, the Question was put and negatived.

Question again proposed.

*MR. ERNEST GRAY said he was surprised that the Opposition should insist on the discussion being continued, as they on that side had readily consented to the adjournment of the debate early last night for the convenience of hon. Gentlemen opposite. That courtesy might have been reciprocated. He desired to place a few simple facts in connection with the Amendment before the House. The Government were asked to resign, presumably in order that control might be placed in the hands of right hon. Gentlemen opposite. It might be that the attitude adopted by the Prime Minister on this question was obscure. He would not argue that. But one thing was perfectly certain, and that was that whatever were the views of his constituents on the fiscal question, there were several items in the social programme of the Government which they desired to see accomplished before the Government relinquished office. He would wish to point out to his free-trade friends that there was work which the Government had expressed its intention of accomplishing, but regarding which there was no hope from hon. Gentlemen opposite. The Aliens Bill was of extreme importance to his constituents. The recent election in the East End was fought on that issue. What hope was there regarding it from the other side? If the Amendment were carried they would have the criminal classes from foreign countries—[HON. MEMBERS: No, no!] He attached more importance to what went on in Committee last year than to shouts of "No."

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member *Mr. Ernest Grey.* cannot discuss the merits of the Aliens Bill on this Amendment.

*MR. ERNEST GRAY said he would not trespass beyond Mr. Speaker's ruling, but he thought it would be within his province to show that work could be accomplished by the Government which would not be attempted by the Opposition if returned to office. Apart from the Aliens Bill, there was the question of the unemployed. They had been told, again and again, during the debate that all was well with this country; yet tens of thousands of men were parading the streets of London and other large cities looking for work. How, then, could all be well? Reference had been made to the speech at Limehouse of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. The Leader of the Opposition also went to Limehouse, but before he was permitted to address the public he had to receive a deputation from the unemployed. He looked forward to what would happen next winter with reference to the unemployed. What would they be likely to get from right hon. Gentlemen opposite if they came into office? To whom had the unemployed to look for assistance except to the present Government. There were also other questions in the social programme of the Government which should be considered before the dissolution.

And, it being Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 16th February, 1905.

SAT FIRST.

Bentley Lyonel John Lord Tollemache sat first in Parliament after the death of his grandfather.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—

Aberdare Tramways.

Abertillery Urban District Council.

Accrington Corporation.

Accrington District Gas and Water Board.

Acton Sewage.

Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company.

Alexandra Park and Palace.

Andover Lighting and Power.

Aylesbury Gas.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway.

Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement.

Barry Railway.

Birmingham Corporation.

Blackpool Improvement.

Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways.

Bolton Corporation.

Bootle Corporation.

Brentwood Gas.

Bridgewater Canals.

Bristol Blind Asylum.

Bristol Corporation.

Brockenhurst Gas.

Bromley Corporation.

Brompton, Chatham, Gillingham, and Rochester Water.

Buenos Ayres Grand National Tramways Company.

Cardiff Railway.

Central Electric Supply Company.

Central London Railway (New Lines).

Channel Ferry Railway and Quay (Dover).

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway.

Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation (Power Supply).

Chelsea Electricity Supply Company.

City of London Electric Lighting Company (Extension of Powers).

City of London (Means of Escape from Fire).

Clacton Improvement.

Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners.

Clay Cross Railway (Abandonment).

Colne Corporation.

Commercial Union Assurance Company.

Cordoba and Rosario Railway Company.

Cork Junction Railways.

County of London Electric Supply Company.

Croydon Corporation.

Croydon Gas.

Dearne Valley Railway.

Dublin Corporation (Superannuation).

Dublin United Tramways.

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway.

Ealing Corporation.

East Cowes Gas.

East London and Lower Thames Electric Power.

Edgware and Hampstead Railway.

Entre Rios Railways Company.

Epping Gas.

Formby Township.

Gas Light and Coke, South Metropolitan, and Commercial Gas Companies.

Gosport and Fareham Tramways.

Great Berkhampstead Gas.

Great Central Railway.

Great Central Railway (Pension Fund).

Great Eastern Railway.

Great Northern Railway.

Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways.

Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1).

Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 2).

Great Western Railway (Additional Powers).

Great Western Railway (New Railways).

Halifax Corporation.

Hastings Harbour.

Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment).

Hessle Gas.

Hessle Urban District Council.

Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water.

Hitchin and District Gas.

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock.

Humber Conservancy.

Hythe Corporation.

Ilfracombe Harbour and Improvement.

Leeds and Liverpool Canal.

Littlehampton Urban District Council (Arun Bridge).

Liverpool Corporation (General Powers).

London Building Acts (Amendment).

London County Council (General Powers).

London County Council (Tramways).

London Gas.

London and India Docks.

London and North-Western Railway.

London Port and Docks Commission.

London Southern Tramways.

London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation).

London United Tramways.

Loughborough Corporation.

Mansfield Corporation.

Marylebone Chapels (Saint Paul's, Great Portland Street, and Saint Peter's, Vere Street).

Matlock Bath Improvement.

Medway and Thames Canal.

Metropolitan District Railway.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District).

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers).

Metropolitan Electric Tramways.

Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies.

Metropolitan Pneumatic Despatch Company.

Metropolitan Railway.

Mexborough and Swinton Tramways.

Midland Railway.

Morley Corporation.

Mortgage Insurance Corporation.

Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site).

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation.

Nine Mile Point Railway.

North-East London Railway.

North-Eastern Railway.

North-Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels).

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply.

North Sussex Gas.

Norwich Union Life Insurance Society.

Nottingham Corporation.

Nottingham and Retford Railway.

Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation.

Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways.

Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage.

Otley Gas and Improvement.

Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation).

Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement.

Rhondda Urban District Council.

Rhymney Railway.

Rotherham, Maltby, and Loughton Railway.

Sale of Bread (London).

Sandgate Urban District Council (Sanitary Powers).

Seaham Gas.

Sheffield University.

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting).

Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power.

Skegness Water.

South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.

South Lancashire Tramways.

South Metropolitan Gas.

South Oxfordshire Water and Gas.

South Suburban Gas.

South Wales Electrical Power Distribution.

Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway (Abandonment).

Southend and Colchester Light Railways.

Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board.

Staffordshire County Council.

Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation).

Stockport Corporation.

Sunderland and South Shields Water.

Swansea Corporation.

Tees Valley Water Board.

Thames Conservancy.

Thames Harbour.

Torpoint Water.

Tralee Urban District Council.

Truro Water.

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.

Ulster and Connaught Light Railways.

University College, London (Transfer).

Walker and Wallsend Union Gas (Additional Powers).

Weaver Navigation.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways.

West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers.

Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas.

Weybridge and Walton-upon-Thames Electric Supply.

Whitby Urban District Council.

Whitechapel and Bow Railway.

Woolwich Borough Council.

Workington Harbour and Dock.

Wrexham Gas.

And also the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with:—

Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply.

Wigan Corporation.

Hastings Tramways.

Coventry Electric Tramways (Extension of Time).

Hammersmith City and North-East London Railway.

Heckmondwike Improvement.

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway.

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

LEEDS CORPORATION (CONSOLIDATION) BILL.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That (pursuant to the Resolutions of the 8th of August last) the Bill had been lodged in the Private Bill Office, together with the declaration of the agent; Bill presented; read 1ª; read 2ª, and committed.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Return showing the expenditure from the grant for public education in Scotland in the year 1904; with statistics.

Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 16th February, 1905, providing for the distribution of the General Aid Grant.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ARMY (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).

Statement of the amount due by the public to depositors in Military Savings Banks on the 31st March, 1903, and of the receipts, interest, and disbursements in the said Military Savings Banks during the year next ensuing, ended the 31st March, 1904, etc.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACT, 1891 (PRISONS, SCOTLAND).

Regulations, dated 20th August, 1904, made by the Secretary for Scotland under the Act for the measuring and photographing of prisoners.

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

The Heavy Motor Car (Scotland) Order, 1905.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

Annual report on the state of the finances of the University of Edinburgh under the Act, for the year 1903–1904.

Annual statistical report by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh to the Secretary for Scotland under the Act, for the year 1903-1904.

Annual statistical report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow to the Secretary for Scotland under the Act, for the year 1903–1904.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND TRAVERS' FOUNDATION (CAPITAL AND INCOME ACCOUNTS, 1903–1904).

Accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the capital and of the income derived from the lands and other property held for the benefit of Greenwich Hospital, and the Foundation of Samuel Travers, Esquire, for the year ended 31st March, 1904; together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon.

PARKS REGULATION ACT, 1872.

Rules for Osborne.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) STATUTORY RULES AND ORDERS, 1904.

No. 1568. The Postal Order (Colonial) Regulations, 1904.

No. 1806. The Postal Order (Colonial) Amendment (No. 1) Regulations, 1904.

GREEK LOAN OF 1832.

Account for 1904.

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS, 1894 TO 1903.

Hull (Channel Islands Animals) Landing Place Revocation Order of 1904.

MOTOR CAR ACTS, 1896 AND 1903.

Regulations as to weight, conditions of use, construction and speed of heavy motor cars, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 12 of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to restriction of the driving of motor cars on certain highways or parts of highways situate with the borough of Beverley, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 8 of the Act of 1903.

(*a*) Regulations as to registration of motor cars made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 7 of the Act of 1903—

> Blackpool and Tynemouth (County Boroughs). For assigning index marks distinguishing the councils of the county boroughs for the purposes of the regulations prescribed by the Motor Car (Registration and Licensing) Order, 1903.

(*b*) Regulations as to registration of motor cars made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 7 of the Act of 1903—

> Dorset (County). For changing the index marks assigned to the council of the county by the Motor Car (Registration and Licensing) Order, 1903.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

His Majesty's Stationery Office. Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents existing or accruing in His Majesty's Stationery Office which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office.

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. Second Schedule containing a list and particulars of classes of documents existing or accruing in the office of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office.

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS ACTS, 1883–1892.

Patents Rules, 1905.

PRIVATE PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Report by the Acting Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, under Section 2 of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899—

> That, having regard to Section 16 (2) of the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, the provisions of the Caledonian Railway Order, the Clyde Navigation Order, the Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution) Order, the Highland Railway Order, and the North British Railway (General Powers) Order are of such a character that they ought to be dealt with by Private Bills and not by Provisional Orders;
>
> That, save as aforesaid, the Provisional Orders be allowed to proceed subject to such recommendations as may be hereafter made with respect to the several Orders.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

NEW BILLS.

BISHOPRIC OF BRISTOL BILL [H.L.].

A Bill for re-arranging the boundaries of the dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester and Bath and Wells. Was presented by the Lord Bishop of Bristol; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Tuesday next. (No. 3.)

RESERVE FORCES BILL [H.L.] (No. 4).

A Bill to amend the law relating to the Reserve Forces; And—

MILITARY MANŒUVRES BILL [H.L.] (No. 5).

A Bill to amend the Military Manœuvres Act, 1897. Were presented by the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Friday the 24th inst.

SEAMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' FALSE CHARACTERS BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the law relating to the falsification of seamen's and soldiers' certificates of service or discharge, and to false statements made, used, or given in connection with entry or enlistment into His Majesty's Naval, Military, or Marine Forces. Was presented by the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Tuesday next. (No. 6.)

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to provide for the appointment of an additional Church Estates Commissioner. Was presented by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 7.)

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (MERTHYR TYDVIL SCHEME CONFIRMATION) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to confirm a scheme made by a Committee of the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council under the Municipal Corporation Acts, 1882 and 1885, relating to Merthyr Tydvil. Was presented by the Lord President (*E. Vane* [*M. Londonderry*]); read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 8.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, at the beginning of last session it was my painful duty to announce to the House that the Chairman of Committees, Lord Morley, was prevented by serious indisposition from assuming the duties of his post. I know that the announcement was received with genuine concern in all parts of the House, and that we all of us hoped that with rest and care Lord Morley's health would be restored, and that we should again see him at his place at this Table. In the meanwhile, the duties of Chairman were undertaken by my noble friend, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, to whom I think the House owes a great debt of gratitude, and in whose hands the Private Bill business of the House has proceeded without interruption and without detriment.

I deeply regret to inform your Lordships that I have now heard from Lord Morley that the condition of his health is such as to make it, in his opinion, impossible that he should retain the

Chairmanship of our Committees. He writes to me in these words—

"My resignation, which I gave you at the end of last session, must, therefore, now take effect. In announcing it I should be much obliged if you would, on my behalf, thank the House for the extreme indulgence and consideration which they have shown to me during my long illness, and also if you would express to noble Lords on both sides of the House my grateful appreciation of the support which they have invariably given me in discharging the duties of the Chairmanship for the last sixteen years. Without the assurance of such support the Chairman's position would be a very difficult one."

My Lords, I can add nothing to those simple words. In every relation of life Lord Morley has known how to gain the respect and the affection of those with whom he was brought in contact, and I think I may say that this House could not have had a more admirable Chairman of Committees. Besides great diligence and ability, Lord Morley has shown qualities of firmness, great powers of conciliation, and a sound and steady judgment unswayed by considerations of personal popularity. I believe he has performed his duties with the universal approval of all those concerned in the Private Bill business of the House, and I may venture to add that when he has acted as Chairman of Committees of the Whole House we have always obtained from him that guidance which we had a right to expect from him, and which he was so well able to afford to our deliberations. Lord Morley's retirement is indeed an irreparable misfortune to this House.

We have now to consider the question of appointing a successor to him. I do not think I shall be contradicted when I say that if Lord Balfour of Burleigh had consented to retain the Chairmanship his decision would have been received with acclamation in all parts of the House. But he has reasons, the force of which cannot be gainsaid, for not adopting that course. And before I leave Lord Balfour of Burleigh, let me say that I have every reason for believing that his successor will find the Private Bill business of the House in perfect order, and that everything will have been made as easy for him as was possible before his assumption of his new duties. Now, my Lords, I need not say that the appointment of Chairman is not a piece of Government patronage. It lies with the Whole House. That is the more indisputable, because on the last two occasions on which the Chairmanship had to be filled, another Peer was preferred to the nominee of the then Government, and for all I know, noble Lords opposite may desire to propose some candidate of their own. But, so far as we are concerned, I may say that, having considered the matter, and having, if I may venture so to put it, turned our searchlight, not only on this Bench, but on all parts of the House, we are unable to suggest to your Lordships any better fitted candidate than our noble friend and colleague Lord Onslow.

It would be almost an impertinence if I were to delay your Lordships with a description of the duties and responsibilities which belong to the Chairman of Committees, and it would be almost equally superfluous if I were to state at length why it is we consider that Lord Onslow is eminently well fitted to perform those duties. I will only venture to remind your Lordships that he has been for twenty-seven years a Member of this House, and that during that time he has held several important offices. He has been Secretary to the Board of Trade; he has been twice Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and on one of those occasions during the Secretary of State's absence, he undertook for a time the main burden of colonial affairs. He has held the post of Governor of New Zealand, which he filled with great distinction and much popularity, and he has for two years been a member of the present Government. I may, perhaps, add in addition that he was for some time a member of the London County Council, and took a diligent part in its proceedings. My Lords, we venture to submit Lord Onslow's name as a successor to Lord Morley, and we do so with a feeling of confidence that if your Lordships are pleased to appoint him to this post he will maintain the traditions of the office, that he is likely to secure the confidence of those who are interested in our Private Bill legislation, that he will worthily uphold the dignity and reputation of this House, and that he will receive from your Lordships that measure of support without which, as

Lord Morley truly said, no Chairman of Committees can adequately perform his task.

Moved, That the Earl of Onslow be appointed to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this session.

That the Earl of Onslow do take the Chair in all Committees of the Whole House unless where it shall have been otherwise directed by the House.

That the Earl of Onslow do also take the Chair in all Committees upon Private Bills and other matters, unless where it shall have been otherwise directed by the House.—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

*EARL SPENCER : My Lords, I rise at once to associate myself with the eloquent tribute which the noble Marquess has just paid to Lord Morley, and to say how very deeply we on this side of the House regret that the state of his health will not permit him to resume those duties which he has carried out with such ability and distinction and to the satisfaction of the whole House. I remember Lord Morley from the moment he first came to your Lordships' House. He has always been a personal friend for whom I have entertained the greatest affection. We also deplore the fact that Lord Balfour of Burleigh cannot see his way to continue the duties which he performed with such dignity and success last session. It is not for us to inquire the reason. The noble Marquess has mentioned that this is not a Government appointment, but one which lies with the whole House, and he referred to the fact that on the occasion of Lord Morley's election Lord Salisbury had recommended another Peer for the Chairmanship. It is rather satisfactory now to find that both the choice of the House on that occasion and the choice of Lord Salisbury have been confirmed, because the Peer whom Lord Morley, I will not say defeated, but took precedence of, on that occasion was my noble friend Lord Balfour of Burleigh, who so ably performed the duties last session.

I need not go into the importance of the duties of Chairman. They require all the qualities which the noble Marquess has described as having been possessed by Lord Morley and Lord Balfour of Burleigh. I rejoice to think that one we know so well, and who has held such high office, is now proposed by the noble Marquess to fill this post. I presume that Lord Onslow will no longer continue a member of His Majesty's Government as Minister for Agriculture and a member of the Cabinet. I only mention that because the noble Marquess did not refer to it, but I presume it would be impossible for anybody filling high office in His Majesty's Government to occupy this position in your Lordships' House. We on this side, if we desired it, would have really no power to affect the issue on this question, but on this occasion we will certainly cheerfully and cordially accept the proposal of the noble Marquess, and I hope that my noble friend Lord Onslow will long fulfil the responsible duties attaching to the post.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE : I may say, in reply to the noble Earl, that we regard it as a matter of course that Lord Onslow will not retain the Presidency of the Board of Agriculture.

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD : My Lords, perhaps it would be as well that I should state at once that the Motion standing in my name on the Paper is not intended to be of a purely formal character. I am sure I shall have general acquiescence when I say that in every portion of this House a feeling has been growing that there is not sufficient opportunity afforded to your Lordships of duly discharging your legislative duties at certain periods of the session. This was accentuated at the end of last session, when your Lordships' House was placed in an anomalous position. I suggest to your Lordships that it would be a step in the right direction, and place this House in a better position for action, if the *data* were in an official manner placed upon record, so that there can be no doubt of the facts with which we shall have to deal. I am now, therefore, asking that a Return shall be placed upon the Journals of this House showing at what dates Bills have been brought from the other House for consideration, and what opportunity has been afforded this House for the due discharge of our deliberate and legislative duties. It would, of course, be no use obtaining this Return without taking some action upon it; and I now give notice that I shall, at some future date, move a Resolution in the hope of, to some extent, extricating this House from the position in which it has been placed. In these circumstances I hope my noble friend the Leader of the House, with whom the great responsibility of dealing with public business here rests, will feel that there is nothing hostile in my Motion.

Moved, "For a Return, showing—(1) The dates upon which any Bills mentioned in the different Speeches from the Throne during the present Parliament were introduced into the House of Commons; (2) the dates when such Bills were transmitted to this House; (3) the dates when the different stages of such Bills were taken in this House; (4) like dates in respect of Bills of an important character not mentioned in the Speeches from the Throne, but introduced by, or supported by, the Government; (5) the dates of the Prorogation of Parliament in the different sessions of the present Parliament."—(*Lord James of Hereford.*)

*THE MARQUESS OF **LANSDOWNE**: My Lords, we offer no opposition whatever to the Motion of the noble and learned Lord. In fact, we on this Bench to a great extent share the views which he has expressed as to the desirability of affording to this House increased opportunities of taking a timely interest in the legislation of the session. I may, perhaps, be permitted to say that having made a very careful note of the feelings expressed in different parts of the House last year on this subject, I represented the matter as strongly as I could to my colleagues, and I am able to tell your Lordships that some of the Bills referred to in the gracious Speech from the Throne will certainly be introduced in your Lordships' House. I may mention, in particular, that the Workmen's Compensation Bill will certainly be so introduced, and I am in hopes that we may be able to make arrangements for also introducing the Valuation Bill in this House. There is, besides, an important Bill which was omitted, owing to an oversight, from the Speech from the Throne—I mean a Bill dealing with the conditions of service in the Militia, which my noble friend Lord Donoughmore will introduce in this House at an early date. There is also a Bill with regard to Crown Cases Reserved, which the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack intends to introduce, and, I believe, another Bill dealing with corrupt practices. I hope, therefore, that I have said enough to convince my noble and learned friend that we are sincere in our desire to give the House those opportunities which he is so anxious should be accorded to us.

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 16*th February*, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS].

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following cases, viz.:—

Abertillery Urban District Water.

Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company.

Alexandra Park and Palace.

Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement.

Barry Railway.

Blackpool Improvement.

Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways.

Bridgewater Canals.

Bristol Blind Asylum.

Buenos Ayres Grand National Tramways.

Cardiff Railway.

Central Electric Supply.

Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation.

City of London Electric Lighting Company.

Clacton Improvement.

Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners.

Commercial Union Assurance.

Cordoba and Rosario Railway.

County of London Electric Supply Company.

Dearne Valley Railway.

East Cowes Gas.

East London and Lower Thames Electric Power.

Entre Rios Railways.

Formby Township.

Gosport and Fareham Tramways.

Great Central Railway.

Great Central Railway (Pension Fund).

Hastings Harbour.

Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment).

Hessle Gas.

Hessle Urban District Council.

Humber Conservancy.

Hythe Corporation.

Leeds and Liverpool Canal.

Littlehampton Urban District Council.

London and India Docks Company.

London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation).

Mansfield Corporation.

Marylebone Chapels.

Matlock Bath Improvement.

Medway and Thames Canal.

Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies.

Metropolitan District Railway.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District).

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers).

Metropolitan Railway.

Mexborough and Swinton Tramways (Extension of Time).

Mortgage Insurance Corporation.

Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site).

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation.

Nine Mile Point Railway.

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply.

Nottingham Corporation.

Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation.

Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways.

Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage.

Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation).

Rhymney Railway.

Sandgate Urban District Council.

Sheffield University.

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting).

South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.

Southend and Colchester Light Railways.

South Lancashire Tramways.

Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board.

Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation).

Tees Valley Water Board.

Torpoint Urban District Water.

Tralee Urban District Council.

Truro Water.

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads.

University College, London (Transfer).

Weaver Navigation.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time).

Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas.

West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers.

Whitby Urban District Council.

Workington Harbour and Dock.

And they have certified that the Standing Orders have not been complied with in the following cases, viz.:—

Hastings Tramways.

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council.

Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply.

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Hastings Tramways [Lords]; Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council [Lords]; Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply [Lords]. Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Coventry Electric Tramways (Extension of Time); Hammersmith, City, and North-East London Railway; Heckmondwike Improvement; Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway; Wigan Corporation. Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

PETITIONS.

IYER, N. A. SUBRAMANIA.

Petition of N. A. Subramania Iyer, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF CLOSING).

Petition from Wallasey, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING ACT, 1902.

Petition from Manchester, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petition from Uppingham, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

SUGAR TAX.

Petitions for repeal; from Ashton-under-Lyne; Patricroft; Radcliffe; Scarborough; Southport; Stockport; and York; to lie upon the Table.

TEINDS (SCOTLAND).

Petition from Greenock, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PRISONS (IRELAND).

Paper [presented 14th February]; to be printed. [No. 23.]

OSBORNE.

Copy presented, of Rules for Osborne in connection with the Regulations prescribed by the Parks Regulation Act, 1872 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION FROM THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

Return (in part) presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 24.]

TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

Return (in part) presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 25.]

BREWERS' LICENCES.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Victor Cavendish*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 26.]

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES FUND, 1903-4.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Victor Cavendish*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 27.]

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Victor Cavendish*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 28.]

NATIONAL GALLERY (REPORT).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th February; *Mr. Victor Cavendish*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 29.]

TREASURY CHEST.

Account presented, for the year 1903–4, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 30.]

GREEK LOAN.

Account presented, up to 31st December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 31.]

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

Copy presented, of Report by the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and the Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, that they are of opinion that the Caledonian Railway, the Clyde Navigation, the Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution), the Highland Railway, and the North British Railway (General Powers) Draft Orders ought to be dealt with by Private Bill and not by Provisional Order [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 32.]

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 16th February, 1905, providing for the distribution of the General Aid Grant [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Return showing the Expenditure from the Grant for Public Education in Scotland in the year 1904, with Statistics [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of Regulations made under the Acts, I. General, II. Borough of Beverley, III. County Boroughs of Blackpool and Tynemouth, and County of Dorset [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).

Copy presented, of Statement of the Amounts due by the Public to Depositors on 31st March, 1903, and of the Receipts, Interest, and Disbursements during the year ended 31st March, 1904, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 33.]

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Public Records (His Majesty's Stationery Office).—Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents existing or accruing in His Majesty's Stationery Office which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].

Public Records (Board of Agriculture and Fisheries).—Copy of Second Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents existing or accruing in the Office of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [by Act].

PAUPERISM (ENGLAND AND WALES) (MONTHLY STATEMENTS).

Return ordered, "of Statements for each month of the year 1905 of the number of Paupers relieved in England and Wales (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 108, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Post Office Wages Committee — Correspondence between Post Office and Sir Edward Bradford.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he will lay on the Table the whole of the correspondence which has passed between the Post Office Department and Sir Edward Bradford as Chairman of the Committee on Post Office Wages.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) There has been no official correspondence between the Post Office or the Postmaster-General and Sir Edward Bradford except formal letters relating to the appointment of the Committee, the submission of their Report, and the expression of my acknowledgments. I have not the slightest objection to laying this correspondence before the House; but I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by doing so.

Rules for Use of Electricity in Mines.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the rules respecting the use of electricity in and about coal mines have now been settled and published; and, in that case, in what Parliamentary Paper can a copy be found.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*) These rules have been settled with the owners' association and approved of by the men's representatives. They are not yet in force, as they have to be proposed, by Statute, to each colliery owner individually; but the notices of proposal, some thousands in number, will all have been dispatched within the next few days, and the rules will, in each case, come into force, if not objected to, within twenty days from the receipt of the notice. The rules as settled have not yet been made public, but I shall be happy to send the hon. Member a copy if he desires it.

The Licensing Act.

MR. FREDERICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to a statement by the Chairman of the Mitford and Launditch Bench of Magistrates that there were 165 licensed houses of various kinds in that petty sessional division, forty of which the magistrates considered unnecessary, and that probably thirty years would elapse before these houses could be closed; and whether, in view of such cases, the Government will take steps to increase the compensation allowance so as to make the Act effective.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*) I had not heard of the statement referred to otherwise than from the newspaper report which the hon. Member has been good enough to send me. Assuming, however, that this report is correct, I do not gather from it the grounds on which the Chairman's anticipation is based. I think it will be time enough to consider the Amendment of the Licensing Act, 1904, when actual experience has shown it to be ineffective.

Wireless Telegraph Apparatus on Lightships.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the installation of wireless telegraphy for life-saving purposes on the East Goodwin, South Goodwin, Gull, Tongue, Sunk, and Cross-Sand lightships, as to which arrangements were in progress in June, 1903, has yet been completed; and, if not, at what date the work is likely to be finished.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) No, Sir. The necessary legal agreement between the Board of Trade, Trinity House, and the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, with the assent of the Admiralty and the Post Office, has not yet been completed. The legal and administrative difficulties have been great, as it was necessary to deal with questions affecting wireless telegraphy in this country by legislation and to safeguard the rights of the Post Office. I am in hopes, however, that the completion of the agreement will not be long delayed, and when completed have no reason to doubt that the actual work of installation will proceed expeditiously.

Income-Tax Collection.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the notices recently distributed in various parts of the country by income-tax collectors threatening legal proceedings have been so issued in consequence of instruction from him, or the Board of

Inland Revenue, to accelerate the collection of this tax; and, if no particular instructions have been given by him, whether the course pursued has been in effect a new departure as being a revival of rules or regulations which have been of recent years suffered to lie in abeyance.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The earlier issue in certain cases of the notices in question has resulted from a change of procedure, which was devised a year ago by the Board of Inland Revenue, and approved by the Treasury in May last, whereby the first demand notes were issued through the post instead of being delivered as formerly by collectors by hand. This has resulted in the issue of the first demands being completed before 31st December instead of its running over into January and possibly even February, and in consequence the date at which the second notice has been issued has this year been advanced in the case of a proportion of taxpayers, but a proportion not relatively very large. Beyond approving of the scheme of the Inland Revenue in May last I have issued no special instructions until lately, when, in view of the complaints that reached me, I directed the Board of Inland Revenue to take such steps as would avoid infliction of undue hardship on individuals.

Case of Mr. Tilak—Mr. Brewin's Report.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for India, regarding the case of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, will he state whether the report of Mr. Brewin, the investigating officer, was favourable to Mr. Tilak; and would he place upon the Table the Government's orders upon the report, together with the report.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) Police reports are privileged documents and are not communicated to the public. I am therefore unable to lay the report upon the Table or to state its purport.

Report on Police of India.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state when the Report on the Police of India will be laid upon the Table of the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I am now communicating to the Government of India the decision of the Secretary of State in Council on the most important measures recommended in the Report. I anticipate that the Government of India will, on receipt of the despatch, publish a comprehensive Resolution reviewing the whole subject and stating the conclusions arrived at. When I receive this I will communicate Papers to Parliament.

Lislea No. 1 National School (Armagh)—Appointment of Local Manager.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Rev. R. T. Simpson has resigned the position of temporary manager of the Lislea No. 1 National School (County Armagh); and, if so, whether the Commissioners of National Education will now accede to the wishes of the parents of the children attending the school and appoint a local manager.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Rev. Mr. Simpson has not resigned the temporary management of this school, which he holds pending the appointment of a local clergymen in succession to the former manager. It is understood that such a successor will shortly be appointed.

Proportion of White Men Employed in Rand Mines.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what was the ratio of white men employed on the gold mines, either of the Transvaal as a whole or of the Rand district, to every 1,000 coloured men (Kaffirs and Chinese) so employed in each of years 1897, 1898, 1899, 1902, and 1903, and in each of the months of 1904.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) In 1897 and 1898 for the Transvaal mines as a whole, the figures at my disposal give the ratio of white men to every 1,000 coloured men as 137 and 130.

For July, 1899, for Witwatersrand mines only, the ratio was 116. For the Transvaal mines in July, 1902, the ratio was 250, in July, 1903, 174, and for the year 1904: January, 170; February, 164; March, 159; April, 161; May, 169; June, 177; July, 183; August, 183; September, 170; October, 158; November, 150; December, 143.

Representative Constitution in the Transvaal—Publication of Papers.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies when the House will be in possession of Papers respecting the proposed establishment of a Representative Constitution in the Transvaal.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am not at present able to fix a date.

Punishment of Chinese Labourers in the Transvaal.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state, so far as particulars have yet reached him, what sentences have been inflicted by Courts in the Transvaal on Chinese labourers, and for what offence in each case; and, where the option of a fine was given, whether the fine was paid or other punishment suffered.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am informed by Lord Milner, in reply to an inquiry as to the sentences imposed in connection with the riot at the Geduld Mine in October, as follows: "Thirty-nine Chinese labourers were charged with (1) public violence; (2) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm on 21st October. Sentences of four months imprisonment with hard labour were imposed on each on the first charge, and on the second charge five were sentenced to be imprisoned with hard labour for two months and to whipping (twenty strokes). The sentences of imprisonment run concurrently. Both offences are common law offences, but the punishment of whipping is imposed by Section 38 of Ordinance 26 of 1904 (Crimes Ordinance). By the law of the colony no sentence of whipping imposed by a magistrate can be carried out till the record has been sent to and the sentence has been confirmed by a Judge of the Supreme Court. These sentences were confirmed by a Judge and certified under Section 39 of the Magistrates Court Proclamation, 1902." I have asked to be supplied with regular Returns as to sentences and convictions from time to time.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Naval Guns.

MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can state how it is intended to dispose of the guns now in the vessels of His Majesty's Navy which are to be put out of service to make way for new ships; and if such guns can be distributed amongst those corps of Garrison and other Artillery Volunteers which are still without modern guns.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham): This matter is now under the consideration of the Admiralty and War Office, and until the question has been finally settled it is not possible to give any definite reply to the hon. Member's Question.

Naval Recruiting Notice.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what explanation, if any, have the naval authorities to give of the announcement which in last autumn was displayed in every post office in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, to the effect that youths between seventeen and eighteen years may now join the Royal Navy without their parents' consent, and that the age of boys was now raised from fifteen and a half to fifteen and three-quarter years, and which was signed by Lieutenant W. E. Abrams, R.N., the recruiting officer, Oxford; by whose authority was the Royal Cipher printed on this notice; and why in an official document of the Admiralty were boys instructed that they could enlist in the Royal Navy without their parent's consent.

MR. ARTHUR LEE: The notice alluded to in the hon. Member's Question was only issued locally, and directly the attention of the Board of Admiralty was called to it they informed the officer responsible that it was an improper notice to issue, and ordered its withdrawal.

Wages of Chinese Labourers in the Transvaal Mines.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state the rates of wages which are being paid to Chinese labourers in the Transvaal mines, with the number of men receiving each rate; and, if not, whether he will present Papers on this subject at an early date.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): The rates of wages being paid vary from 1s. upwards to 2s. 6d., according to the schedule attached to the contract (see page 13 of Cd. 2183), and reach a higher figure in the case of some of those employed on piece work, though I cannot give the number receiving each rate. I am expecting to receive a report from Lord Milner on this subject which I hope to be able to publish.

White Labour in the Transvaal Gold Mines.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the figures which he has published of the number of white men employed in the gold mines of the Transvaal includes men who are temporarily engaged in such occupations as the building of compounds for the Chinese labourers; and, if so, what is the number of white men employed on such occupations and what is the number employed in the work of mining and extracting gold.

MR. LYTTELTON: The increase in work for white men is due to the arrival of Chinese labourers and to preparations for their arrival, large fresh construction works are in progress on new mines and development work on the deep levels has been greatly on the increase. I have not received a classification of the occupations of the additional white men employed in connection with the mines, but it includes the building and reparation of compounds or barracks.

MR. BELL (Derby): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state the number of unskilled white labourers employed in the Transvaal gold mines on 31st December, 1902, 31st December, 1903, and 31st December, 1904, respectively.

MR. LYTTELTON: According to the annual reports of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, the number of unskilled white labourers employed in the Transvaal Gold Mines, on 31st December, 1902 was 2,150, and on 31st December, 1903, 2,472. The figures for 1904 are not yet published.

Venereal Diseases among Chinese Coolies.

MR. BELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the number of Chinese indentured coolies who have been treated for venereal diseases in the hospitals in the Transvaal.

MR. LYTTELTON: I have not this information.

Tibet Expedition.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India, what is the total expenditure that has been incurred by the Government of India in respect of the recent expedition to Tibet.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for India what is the total cost of the Tibetan Expedition; and will the Government, in view of the Imperial interests involved, pay the whole or a part of the cost out of the Imperial Exchequer.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The total expenditure on the Tibet Mission, up to the 31st January last, was £812,736.

MR. BRYCE: That is not the full cost. I suppose we may take it that there is other expenditure not yet ascertained.

Mr. BRODRICK: As far as I am aware all the main items of the cost are here included.

Mr. BUCHANAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman not aware that in the despatch to the Government of India it was stated that Imperial interests must be superior in the settlement of this question? That being so, is there not a ground for the Imperial Exchequer sharing part of the expenses?

Mr. BRODRICK: Any pressure which has been brought to bear on the Indian Government in regard to Imperial interests was not towards increasing, but limiting the cost.

Indian Police Commission.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India when the Report of the Indian Police Commission will be laid before Parliament.

Mr. BRODRICK: I am now communicating to the Government of India the decision of the Secretary of State in Council on the most important measures recommended in the Report. I anticipate that the Government of India will, on receipt of the despatch, publish a comprehensive Resolution reviewing the whole subject and stating the conclusions arrived at. When I receive this I will communicate Papers to Parliament.

British Mission to Kabul.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India what were the objects of the British Mission to Kabul; at what date was such Mission determined upon; and whether he will publish Papers on the subject.

Mr. BRODRICK: It would not be in the public interest to make any statement, at the present moment, as to the object of the negotiations at Kabul or to publish Papers on the subject.

The Viceroy and the Indian National Congress.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Viceroy of India declined the request, made by Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., to present to His Excellency personally a copy of the resolutions passed at the recent session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay; and, if so, whether, having regard to the record of Sir Henry Cotton as an Indian administrator, this action of the Viceroy of India has the sanction of the Imperial Government.

Mr. BRODRICK: I have no official information on the subject; but I observe that a letter from the Viceroy's private secretary to Sir Henry Cotton, couched in cordial language, stating the reasons why Lord Curzon declined to receive him officially as President of the Congress has been published in the Indian newspapers. As at present advised, I see no reason to question the propriety of the course adopted by the Viceroy.

Mr. John Godden's Claim against the Dutch Colonial Government.

Sir ERNEST FLOWER (Bradford, W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can now state what the result of the representations made by His Majesty's Government to the Government of the Netherlands in the case of the claims made by Mr. John Godden against the Dutch Colonial Government has been; whether His Majesty's representative at the Court of the Hague has received instructions to urge that the matters in dispute shall be the subject of arbitration; and if the Government of the Netherlands is prepared to accept the principles of the Hague Tribunal for the settlement of claims represented by a friendly Government as suitable for arbitration.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.): The reply received from the Netherlands Government is unfavourable to Mr. Godden's claim. His Majesty's Government would have been glad if the Dutch Government could have seen their way to submit the matters in dispute to the decision of a suitable tribunal, whether under the Convention of the Hague or otherwise.

British Appeals to the Sugar Commission.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what were the reasons which influenced the Government in appealing under Article VII. of the Brussels Sugar Convention against the decisions arrived at by the Permanent Commission at the recent sittings to penalise eighteen foreign countries; whether, if this appeal had not been lodged, it would have been necessary to prohibit the importation of sugar from all these countries into the United Kingdom; and whether there is any authority under the Convention itself or the Sugar Convention Act to postpone the discussion upon this appeal and the decision with regard to it by the Commission for more than thirty days after 2nd December, the date on which the appeal was delivered to the Belgian Government.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): His Majesty's Government appealed against certain decisions of the Permanent Commission because they believed that those decisions were either contrary to the evidence or based on an incorrect interpretation of the Convention. As to the second paragraph, I must decline to reply to a hypothetical Question. The postponement of discussion of the appeal was arranged by common accord among all the contracting Powers for their convenience. No specific authority for such a course in the text of the Convention or the Act appears necessary.

Russian Sugar.

MR. LOUGH: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, having regard to the fact that Russia sent two delegates to the third session of the Permanent Commission of the Brussels Sugar Convention to furnish information so that the penal clause should cease to apply to Russian sugar, and that the question of the admission of Russia was rediscussed and decision postponed, whether, seeing that as good reasons exist for removing the prohibition against Russian as against Dominican sugar, the Government intend to take that step.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: The Answer is in the negative. His Majesty's Government have no reason to alter their opinion that Russian sugar exported enjoys advantages of the nature of a bounty.

MR. LOUGH: Is the position of Russia undefined by the Convention?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir, it is not undefined.

British Brandy in the United States.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he is aware that the United States Treasury, by decree of May 2, 1904, ruled that British brandies are not entitled to the most-favoured-nation treatment; if so, will he state the grounds of such decision; is it to be applied to all other British imports; and whether any remonstrances have been addressed on the subject to the United States Government.

EARL PERCY: By the degree referred to, it was announced that British brandy is not entitled to the treatment accorded to French and German brandy. A Treasury decision of May 2, 1904, lays down that the most-favoured-nation Article in the Treaty of 1815 does not apply, inasmuch as the rates enjoyed by German and French spirits were granted in consideration of concessions by Germany and France. The reply to the third Question is in the negative. The hon. Baronet will find fuller information on the subject if he will refer to the Return of July 2, 1903, headed "Preferential Trade." His Majesty's Government have frequently expressed their dissent from the views of the United States Government in regard to the meaning of the most-favoured-nation Article in the Treaty of 1815.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON: Does the Government acquiesce in this unconventional treatment? Are they going to take it lying down?

EARL PERCY: I have said we do not hold the same view as the United States Government of our rights.

Congo State Inquiry.

Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the attention of His Majesty's Government has been called to an announcement made in the Mouvement Géographique, to the effect that the Commission of Inquiry into the condition of the Independent State of the Congo left Boma for Antwerp on 31st January last; and, if so, will he say whether he has any official information to this effect; and whether Vice-Consul Mackie or Acting-Consul Nightingale have, so far, attended any meetings of the Commission of Inquiry.

Earl PERCY: The Answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative, but His Majesty's Minister at Brussels reported on February 9 that Monsieur de Cuvelier had no reason to believe that the report was correct. It was not possible for Mr. Nightingale to leave his post in order to attend the meetings of the Commission pending Mr. Mackie's arrival. The latter left Boma for the Upper Congo on January 20.

Sugar Bounties.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade have the Brussels Permanent Sugar Commission determined that sugar bounties are given by the following twelve countries, viz.: the Australian Commonwealth, Canada, South Africa, Spain, Roumania, Japan, Chili, Costa Rica, Russia, Argentine Republic, Denmark, and the Dominican Republic; is he aware that, in 1903, no sugar was imported into the United Kingdom from the Dominican Republic; and can he explain the grounds on which His Majesty's Government, while prohibiting, in accordance with the mandate of the Brussels Permanent Sugar Commission, all importation of sugar from Russia, the Argentine Republic, Denmark, and the Dominican Republic, has not prohibited it from Spain, Roumania, Japan, Chili, or Costa Rica?

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: The Permanent Commission has fixed rates of countervailing duty in respect of sugar imported from the countries mentioned in the Question. A certain amount of Dominican sugar was imported into the United Kingdom by way of the United States ports before the issue of the prohibition order. The countries named to which prohibition orders have not been applied do not export sugar of their own production to the United Kingdom.

Mr. LOUGH: Is not sugar sent from Denmark here, although that country is prohibited? Is not that a reversal of policy?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

San Domingo Sugar.

Mr. LOUGH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Permanent Commission of the Brussels Sugar Convention have formally approved the system under which sugar is produced or exported from San Domingo; and, if not, by what authority the Board of Trade has given notice that the importation of Dominican sugar into the United Kingdom is in future to be allowed, notwithstanding the prohibition of the 3rd of June, 1904, and what are the conditions which are to affect importations from that country in common with other countries which are not parties to the Brussels Sugar Convention, referred to in the announcement now published by the Board of Trade; whether the importation of sugar from Hayti is also to be allowed; or whether that Republic is treated differently from San Domingo.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. The authority for the Board of Trade notification was an Order in Council dated February 4th, revoking the prohibition order issued on June 3rd, 1904, in respect of Dominican sugar. The revoking order was issued in consequence of the receipt of official information, through the medium of the Belgian Government, that the Dominican Government have reduced the surtax on sugar below the limits specified in Article III. of the Convention. The conditions referred to in the Board of Trade notification are those laid down in the regulations annexed to the Order in Council dated

August 11th, 1903, the fourth of which provides for the production of a certificate that the sugar is derived from a factory which does not work bounty-fed sugar. No prohibition order has been issued in respect of Haytian sugar. The position of this sugar is at present the subject of an appeal by His Majesty's Government against a decision of the Permanent Commission.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Do I understand that the action of the Government with regard to Dominican sugar is approved, or was taken in co-operation with the Brussels Commission?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: We received the official notification from the Belgian Government acting on behalf of the Permanent Commission.

MR. LOUGH: Have not the Permanent Commission condemned Hayti, and have the Government refused to prohibit San Domingo without the authority of the Commission?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: There is an appeal, but it has not yet been heard.

United States Sugar

MR. LOUGH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether importations of sugar from the United States into the United Kingdom have recently taken place; and, if so, what quantity has been so imported; and, seeing that discussion has taken place at the Brussels Sugar Convention with regard to the sugar systems of the United States and Cuba, whether it will be necessary under the Sugar Convention Act to prohibit further importations from them into the United Kingdom.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: A small quantity of refined sugar, probably refined in the United States, has recently been imported into the United Kingdom. The quantity received in the two months December and January was about 700 tons. No prohibition order can be issued under the Sugar Convention Act with respect to sugar imported from any country, except on the report of the Permanent Commission that a bounty is granted in that country. No such report has been received from the Commission with respect to the countries named in the Question.

MR. LOUGH: Has not the position of this country with the United States and Cuba been discussed? Can the right hon. Gentleman tell the House the effect of the discussion?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir, I cannot do that.

MR. LOUGH: Can sugar be freely imported from these countries?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Certainly, Sir.

Colonial Contribution to Cost of Pacific Cable.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, can he say whether any provision has been made for the payment by the Colonies of their contribution of £1,444,444 to the capital expenditure on the Pacific Cable; whether this sum, or any portion of it, has yet been paid by the Colonies; and, if not, when it will be paid.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The amount borrowed for capital expenditure on the Pacific Cable is being repaid by a terminable annuity provided in the Vote for Telegraph Subsidies and Pacific Cable (Civil Service Estimates, Class V, 5). The colonial shares of the expenditure are recovered from the Colonial Governments after the close of each financial year. The first instalment of the annuity for repayment of the borrowed capital was included in the Vote for 1903–4, and the colonial share has been received in the present financial year.

The Unfunded Debt.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer can he state the total amount of the Unfunded Debt, together with the amount of each of the items composing it, on 31st December last and at the present date respectively; and can he say whether he proposes to take any, and, if so, what, measures for diminishing it.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Unfunded Debt on 31st December last amounted to £88,133,000, made up of War Stock and Bonds, £30,000,000: Exchequer Bonds, £26,500,000; Treasury Bills, £31,633,000: total, £88,133,000. At present the Unfunded Debt amounts to £81,633,000, having been reduced by £6,500,000, Treasury Bills paid off in the interval. I have no announcement to make as to future dealings with the Unfunded Debt except that £4,000,000 of the Treasury Bills now outstanding must by law be paid off before the 31st of next month.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Is there not usually another item of the Unfunded Debt, viz., Temporary Advances from the Bank?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I have given the hon. Member a full statement. If he wants more information I shall be obliged if he will put down a Question.

South African War Contribution.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer can he state the total amount, on the 31st December last, of those particular liabilities of the State which in the accounts are termed other capital liabilities, and which amounted, on 31st December last, to £31,868,323; and, seeing that in the accounts there is given a list of estimated assets set against these liabilities, which list includes the advance of £3,000,000, since repaid, to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, can he explain why there is not also included in the list the war contribution of £30,000,000 due from those colonies.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: It is the practice to publish full particulars of the capital liabilities to which the hon. Member refers in Returns made up to the close of each financial year. To publish corresponding particulars for arbitrary dates in the course of the year would involve special calculations. The accounts up to 31st March next will be published as soon as possible after that date. The temporary advance of £3,000,000 to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony was shown in the accounts on the 31st March, 1903, as an unrepaid advance. The war contribution of £30,000,000 does not come within that description.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) asked whether it was not the case that the £3,000,000 repaid by the Transvaal was employed to meet the deficit of last year, and therefore could not be regarded as an asset.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN replied that there were two sums of £3,000,000. One sum was advances from balances which was repaid into balances; the other sum was, in accordance with the note appended to the Estimates, devoted on repayment to reduction of debt.

*MR. McCRAE: But the first sum cannot be regarded as an asset.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Of course not.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Why is there not included the war contribution of £30,000,000 from the colony? Is that not regarded as an asset?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The £3,000,000 was included because the sum was an unpaid balance; the £30,000,000 was not included because it did not come within that category. I may here anticipate an Answer which I had to give on behalf of the Prime Minister to a Question of the hon. Member for Lynn Regis appearing later on the Paper. I am not in a position to make any further statement on the subject of the war loans and balances.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Am I right in concluding that the Government have ceased to regard that sum as an asset?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Member is obviously not entitled to draw such an inference from my words. I must ask the House to rest content with my statement that I am not in a position at present to give any further information.

*MR. McCRAE: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether those who were prepared to guarantee the instalment of £10,000,000 are still prepared to fulfil their obligations?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I have not the slightest reason to suppose that they are not; indeed, I am sure that they are.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): Is there any provision made in the Estimates of the colony with a view to paying any part of this sum?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That hardly arises out of the right hon. Gentleman's Answer.

The following is the text of the Question referred to—

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether any, and if so what, steps have been taken by His Majesty's Government to procure the payment by the Transvaal and Orange River Colony of the war contribution of £30,000,000, to be raised by a loan at 4 per cent., whereof certain Transvaal mining firms undertook to underwrite £10,000,000, the payment of which contribution was the condition expressly attached by His Majesty's Government to the guarantee by the United Kingdom of the Transvaal loan of £35,000,000; and whether, seeing that when this House was asked to agree to the guarantee in question on condition of the contribution of £30,000,000, His Majesty's Government stated that the first instalment of that contribution would be received probably at the commencement of 1904, he can now give a definite assurance that either the whole contribution or the first instalment thereof will be received by any, and, if so, what date.

Post Office Savings Bank Deposits.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General what, on 31st December, 1904, was the total amount due to depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank; what amount of Consols were sold during the year 1904, and at what average price; what was the amount of Consols held on 31st December, 1904, and at what price was it taken in the valuation of securities; what was the excess (if any) of liabilities over assets on 31st December, 1904.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The total amount due to depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank on 31st December, 1904, cannot be stated with accuracy till the figures are finally proved. The approximate amount was £148,326,000. The amount of Consols sold during the year 1904 was £1,664,972. 6s. 2d., at an average price of £87 18s. 1d. The amount of Consols held on 31st December, 1904, was £60,085,422. 11s. 8d. No valuation of securities at the end of the year is now required by Parliament; and without such valuation it is not possible to state the excess of liabilities over assets at the 31st December, 1904.

Postmaster-General's Annual Report.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the statutory obligation to present his Annual Report to Parliament before the last day of July in each year, he will explain why, in the last session of Parliament, the Report was not presented until 8th August; and why, seeing that the Savings Bank Act, 1904 (4 Edw. VII., c. 8) releasing him from the obligation to prepare a balance-sheet did not become law until 1st August, he will explain the omission to lay a balance-sheet last year before Parliament.

LORD STANLEY: I am not aware that the Postmaster-General is under any statutory obligation to present an Annual Report to Parliament before the last day of July in each year, and I shall be obliged if the hon. Member will cite the Statute to which he refers. The balance-sheet required to be presented to Parliament by Sec. 9 of the Post Office Savings Bank Act of 1861 (the section to which the hon. Member refers as having been repealed by the Act of 1904) was presented on 14th June, 1904 (House of Commons Paper No. 211).

Post Office Savings Bank Securities.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in addition to the enumeration of the securities, he will lay before the House a valuation on any given basis of the eighteen annuities for terms of years, being part of the securities standing in the names of the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Post Office Savings Bank on 31st December, 1903, as set out in his Fiftieth Report; if not, will he recommend to the Government the necessity to bring in a Bill to amend the law so that, in default of a balance-sheet as enacted by the Savings Bank Act, 1904, sufficient particulars may be given in his Annual Report to make it possible to value the securities.

Lord STANLEY: Parliament has defined so recently as last year the nature of the information to be laid before the House with regard to the securities held on account of the Savings Bank, and I am not prepared to recommend further legislation on the subject. It is proposed to lay before the House shortly a statement in the form which will be adopted under the Act of last year.

Canadian Cattle—Importation Restrictions.

Captain DONELAN (Cork, E.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether any representations have been made by the Canadian Government during the recess with regard to the removal of the restrictions at present placed upon the importation of Canadian store cattle; and whether, in the interest of the health of home-bred cattle, and in view of previous losses from imported contagious diseases, the Department will decline to recommend the removal of the restrictions now in force.

Mr. BUCHANAN: At the same time I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether a despatch has recently been received from the Dominion Government calling attention to the exclusion of Canadian cattle from British ports; what reply has been sent by His Majesty's Government; and whether the correspondence will be laid upon the Table.

Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): Perhaps the hon. Member for East Perthshire will allow me to answer his Question at the same time. We have recently received a despatch in which it is represented that Canadian feeling and opinion are still in favour of the repeal of the existing statutory restrictions on the importation of live animals, so far as the Dominion is concerned. Whilst accepting this assurance my noble friend remains of the opinion he has frequently expressed that the proposed amendment of the law would be undesirable. The correspondence which has passed does not add to the information I have given.

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): How has the hon. Gentleman arrived at the conclusion that Canadian opinion is in favour of this repeal?

Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES: From a despatch which the Home Government has received.

Mr. CATHCART WASON: From where?

Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES: I am not sure where the despatch came from.

Mr. BUCHANAN: Has a reply been sent to the despatch of the Dominion Government, and will the correspondence be laid on the Table of the House.

Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES: I am not quite sure if a reply has been sent. I will consult my noble friend as to laying the correspondence on the Table.

County Court Fees.

Sir ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General whether any steps have been, or are likely to be, taken to reduce the Court fees payable under proceedings in the County Courts, the present scale of such fees being deterrent, and in many cases prohibitive, to suitors.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs): The present scale of fees was settled after a reference to a Committee, appointed by the Lord Chancellor and the Treasury, so recently as 1900, and they were specially instructed to consider whether any of the fees could be reduced. There were a great many suggestions made and referred to the Committee, including a valuable communication from the Law Society, all these were very fully considered, and some reductions were made. I understand that it is not likely that the scale will be again revised in the immediate future. The fact that the number of suits instituted in the County Courts is so large as it is, tends, I think, to show that the present fees cannot have any deterrent or prohibitive effect to the extent which my hon. friend apprehends.

Sheep Disease in County Wicklow.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Department of Agriculture have had under investigation the character of the diseases which have destroyed large flocks of sheep in county Wicklow; whether they have arrived at any satisfactory results; and, if so, whether the Department will issue instructions to farmers for the treatment of sheep affected by these diseases.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Wyndham, Dover): Yes, Sir. Carcases of affected sheep have been sent to the Royal Veterinary College for examination and further investigations are being locally made by the Department.

Avondale Estate, County Wicklow.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a copy of a resolution recently passed by the Rathdrum District Council protesting against the action of the Department of Agriculture in letting, or advertising to let for grazing purposes on the eleven months system, over 100 acres of the lands of Avondale, county Wicklow; whether he is aware that the estate was bought for the purpose of establishing thereon a school of forestry; and whether he will advise the Department to withdraw their proposal to let a part of the estate in grass.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The resolution has been received. There is no reason why the Department of Agriculture should add to the expense of such an experiment by refraining from letting land, pending the completion of the steps for carrying it out.

Irish Local Government—Public Bodies Order, 1904.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a number of local councils in Ireland have protested against the Public Bodies Order, 1904, on the ground that it would considerably increase local expenditure, and impose extra work on the officials; whether the local councils were consulted by the Local Government Board before they issued the Order; and, whether, in view of the opposition of the county and district councils, he will instruct the Local Government Board to withdraw the Order.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Representations to this effect have been made. The councils concerned were invited to indicate in what respects the Order would increase expenditure, and impose unnecessary work on officials, but, so far, they have not complied with that request. Many members and officials of local authorities have, on the other hand, informed the Board that the new Order is an improvement on the old one. County councils generally were consulted before the issue of the Order. The Local Government Act of 1902 imposed upon the Board the duty of effecting a codification of former Orders, and the Board is satisfied that the recent Order is essential to a proper system of financial administration by local authorities.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR: Will the right hon. Gentleman suspend the Order, until the Royal Commission on the Amalgamation of Irish Unions has reported?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I do not think I can take that course.

Dublin Hackney Carriage Stands.

Mr. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the regulations which have been made by the Police Commissioners in Dublin, with reference to the hazards for the hackney carmen of that city; whether any complaints have been made by the frontage owners of the streets where these regulations are being put in force; and whether he will take steps to secure to the carmen the old hazards which they have used for years past, and which are essential to their means of livelihood.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The changes in the hazards for hackney vehicles were made owing to increased traffic and the consequent necessity of avoiding obstruction in the streets, and inconvenience to the public. No complaints of the character mentioned have been received by me; but if the hon. Member will communicate the details of a specific case I shall make further inquiry.

Mr. NANNETTI: Has not the Commissioner of Police received a communication from the frontage owners protesting against the hazards being removed?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I must ask for notice of the Question.

Dublin Car and Cab Licence Duties.

Mr. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the reply given by the Commissioner of Police to the cab and car owners of Dublin in reply to their application for an extension of time for the payment of their licence duty; if so, will he, in view of the scarcity of employment, direct the Commissioner to extend the period for payment in all cases to the 27th March next; whether he will see to the period for payment being permanently fixed for the 1st July as heretofore; and, also, whether he will consider the advisability of proportionately reducing the licence duty paid in Dublin to the level of that paid in Cork and Belfast.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Commissioner of Police has expressed his willingness to consider individual applications for an extension of time. This offer, in my opinion, is a reasonable concession to the necessities of the situation. Prior to 1890 the licence duty on hackney cars was fixed at £2, and payable in two instalments, January and July. The duty was reduced to £1 in that year, and made payable in one sum in January or February. There are no sufficient grounds for altering the period for payment, or for reducing the existing duty on hackney vehicles in Dublin.

Assault by a Clergyman at Westport.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a man named MacAskall was knocked down and kicked at Westport on the 6th ultimo by the Rev. M. MacDonnell, Roman Catholic Administrator, and that the police, whose protection MacAskall was under at the time, were stoned; if any arrests were made; and, if not, will he order that the offenders be prosecuted who are known to the authorities.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The occurrences referred to in this Question are the subject of magisterial investigation which, I understand, will take place at Westport Petty Sessions to-day. I am precluded, therefore, from discussing the facts at present.

Irish School Teachers as Polling Clerks.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain why national school teachers have recently been debarred from acting as polling clerks at municipal elections, while they are permitted to act as such at Parliamentary elections.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The barrier has been removed by the new Code of Regulations now in course of issue.

Sir Antony MacDonnell.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what part, if any, Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Under-Secretary, took in suggesting or preparing the proposals now known as the Dunraven Devolution Scheme; was the date on which Sir Antony MacDonnell first communicated his ideas on the subject to Lord Dunraven prior to the Second Reading of the Land Bill of 1903; when did the Chief Secretary first hear of these communications, and what steps did he or the Government take in consequence thereof; and whether Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment in Ireland is still regarded by the Government as a temporary one; and, if so, when is it intended to terminate it.

MR. WYNDHAM: (1) Sir Antony MacDonnell, in response to a request from Lord Dunraven, assisted him in discussing and formulating these proposals, which Sir Antony erroneously, but honestly, believed to be within Unionist principles. The Government hold that such proposals, embracing as they do the creation of a Financial Board and the delegation of legislative powers other than for Private Bills, are altogether inadmissible. (2) I understand that the two proposals I have named were discussed for the first time by Sir Antony with Lord Dunraven in August or September last. Sir Antony, I know, has discussed other matters at earlier dates with Lord Dunraven, and there is no reason why he should not have done so. (3) I saw these proposals for the first time in *The Times* newspaper of September 26th last and immediately expressed my total dissent from them. Sir Antony MacDonnell at once wrote to Lord Dunraven stating that he could have no further communications with him in connection with the programme of the Reform Association. The matter was considered by the Cabinet, and the Government expressed through me their view that the action of Sir Antony MacDonnell was indefensible. But they authorised me to add that they were thoroughly satisfied that his conduct was not open to the imputation of disloyalty. (4) Sir Antony MacDonnell undertook the office of Under-Secretary at my special request and without any intention of permanently devoting to Ireland the administrative talents which have won him so high a place among Indian officials. It was in the full knowledge of this fact that his services were accepted; but it is obviously impossible to state the precise date of their completion.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.): Are we to understand from the right hon. Gentleman's reply that in the matter of these proposals Sir Antony MacDonnell acted without any official sanction or approval?

MR. WYNDHAM: I must ask the hon. Member to give notice of that Question. I have referred to the two points to which I took grave exception, and if he will put a Question on the Paper I will answer it.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I asked when the right hon. Gentleman first heard of these communications between Sir Antony MacDonnell and Lord Dunraven. He says he first saw them in *The Times*. I have no recollection of their being published there.

MR. WYNDHAM: I stated very clearly that Sir Antony MacDonnell had had frequent communications with Lord Dunraven on many subjects. Why should he not? So have I. But what I also said was that these two proposals to which I took grave exception were never before me until I saw them in *The Times* newspaper.

Seed Potato Grants in Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he would supplement the grant of the Irish Agricultural Department by making a moderate contribution from the Imperial Exchequer towards cheapening the seed potatoes which are now being supplied on loan to small occupiers in the more distressed unions of Ireland.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Agricultural Department has made a grant of £10,000 for the purpose of administration of the seed supply and the reduction of the price of seed. This grant will reduce the charge in respect of principal and interest on the seed loans, so that it is expected that the occupiers will obtain the seed at something under the market price at the port of despatch. The cost of the seed inspectors will fall on the Votes; but it would be a new departure, unwarranted in my opinion by the circumstances, to make a grant for the seed itself direct from Votes.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): put a Supplementary Question, but Mr. WYNDHAM asked that notice should be given of it.

Army Pensioners in Irish Lunatic Asylum.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will consider the advisability of withdrawing the Government Circular (No. 7227 | 01), dated 29th April, 1901, dealing with Army pensioners in district asylums; and in the event of the asylum authorities not claiming either the pension or the grant, the regulations will be framed so as to permit of the capitation grant of 4s. per week being refunded to dependent relatives.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, Cheshire, Macclesfield): Under the Superannuation Act, 1887, a stoppage is required from the pensions of all lunatics towards whose maintenance a contribution is made out of moneys provided by Parliament. Such contributions, if claimable, is paid to the local authorities, whether claimed or not by the asylum authorities. If, therefore, the pensions were not abated to the extent of the contribution, the State would be paying twice over for the pensioner's maintenance. The circular mentioned is in accordance with the Statutes, and cannot be withdrawn.

MR. SLOAN: May I ask the hon. Gentleman whether, in view of the resolutions passed by the District Asylums Committee, he will consider the desirability of giving the committee the power they ask for.

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: They have full power to deal with any money allotted to them. By statute these pensions have to be paid to the local authority.

The Judge Advocate-General.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether Sir Francis Jeune still continues to discharge the duties of Judge Advocate-General; if not, when did he resign that position, and by whom are the duties appertaining to the office of Judge Advocate-General discharged; and whether, having regard to the fact of the importance of the revision of the sentences of Courts martial and the adjudication of questions of military law to the liberty of the subject, it is contemplated to restore the office of Judge Advocate-General to its former position of a Ministerial office whose holder will be responsible to Parliament and subject to Parliamentary criticism for his official acts.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Lord St. Heliers still discharges the duties of Judge Advocate-General. I have no statement to make at present as to any change in the office.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the duties have never before been discharged by a Peer?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I was not aware of the fact. But it does not seem to me very important.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Well, I am aware of it.

The Secretary for Scotland and Company Directorships.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that the Marquess of Linlithgow, who has been appointed Secretary for Scotland, is a director of two public companies, one of which is the Bank of Scotland; whether, having regard to the possibly conflicting interests of the Bank of Scotland and the Government, and the possible financial arrangements between that bank and the Government, the retention by the Marquess of Linlithgow of his directorship of the Bank of Scotland is compatible with the discharge of the duties to the public incidental to his office of Secretary for Scotland; and whether he will take any, and, if so, what, steps to secure that in this case the duties of a Minister of the Crown to the country should not be in conflict with his duties as director of the Bank of Scotland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Lord Linlithgow is a director of the Bank of Scotland, as his two predecessors in office were and still are. There is nothing whatever in that position that conflicts with his duty as Secretary for Scotland, nor is any such conflict, in my opinion, possible.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is a Cabinet Minister to be in one capacity representing the Government and in another capacity representing the Bank of Scotland? I must have an Answer to that Question.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member asks that Question under a misapprehension. The Bank of Scotland is in no sense an official or semi-official institution. It is only a private bank.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

John O'Connor, Esquire, for the County of Kildare (North Kildare Division).

NEW WRIT.

For the County of Westmoreland (Northern or Appleby Division), in the room of Richard Rigg, Esquire (Manor of Northstead).—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [15th February] to Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question having now been fully discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay.'"—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

*MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.) asked the Speaker, on a point of order, whether the action on the previous night of the Member for Oldham in objecting to his Motion for the adjournment of the debate on Mr. Asquith's Amendment to the Address, and the action of the House in refusing leave to withdraw the Motion, had deprived him of the right to represent the views of his constituents on the Amendment.

*MR. SPEAKER pointed out that when the hon. Member moved the adjournment he was speaking on the Amendment, and his Motion being disposed of by the vote of the House, the Amendment again came under discussion, and the hon. Member could not speak upon it again. It was true that the hon. Member afterwards made some observations, and he (the Speaker) took some blame to himself that he was not strictly regular in permitting him to do so, but he had assumed—apparently wrongly—that the hon. Member was only occupying the few minutes that remained before midnight with a view to carrying the debate over to the next day in accordance with the intention of both sides of the House.

LORD HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) asked if the hon. Member could not continue his speech by the general consent of the House, apart from the ordinary practice.

*MR. SPEAKER: In the peculiar circumstances of the case if there was a general consent of the House I certainly should not consider it my duty to interfere.

*MR. ERNEST GRAY said he did not raise the point of order for the purpose of gaining the indulgence of the House. His desire had been to remove a misapprehension which apparently existed in certain quarters as to what occurred on the previous night. He was fully sensible of the indulgence extended to him by the House, and he would endeavour to show his appreciation of their kindness by occupying as few minutes as possible in seeking to discharge the duty upon which he had received imperative instructions from the large working class constituency he represented. The Amendment before the House called upon the Government to make an appeal to the country and to cast aside the whole programme outlined in the King's Speech in order to get the view of the electorate upon one single subject. It had been frequently alleged during the course of the debate that the attitude adopted by the Prime Minister was involved in obscurity, but he could not help thinking that that obscurity arose not from consideration of the plain statements made by the Prime Minister, but from the unauthorised versions, the free translations, the criticisms and the commentaries with which the right hon. Gentleman's statement had been surrounded. They had an illustration of that in the course of the debate on the previous night, when the right hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick made a statement which created considerable astonishment. It was as well that that should be cleared up. He asserted that the statement of the Prime Minister that it was necessary for him to get the assent of the country before he could impose retaliatory duties was inaccurate, because the Government already had the power to impose such duties. If that were true it certainly would dispose of very much of what the Prime Minister had stated to the country. But was it true? Was it not very far from the truth? Was it not very seriously misleading? Was it not the fact that although we had not by any statute or by any formal declaration lost our right to impose duties for other than revenue purposes, yet we had by long disuse forfeited the right to exercise that power. Suppose the Government in its next Budget suggested that some duty should be imposed not merely for revenue purposes but for the purpose of breaking down hostile tariffs. What would be the attitude of hon. Gentlemen opposite. What would be the attitude of the hon. Member for Berwick himself? Would not one and all declare that such a departure from the practice of the last sixty years was one which ought to have the consent of the country, and that a proposal of that kind would be nothing short of revolution. He would have thought that nobody would more strongly condemn anything in the nature of a revolution in our practice without the assent of the electors being first obtained than the hon. Baronet. But he did not want to dwell upon that point. He did want in a sentence or two to discharge the very simple duty which devolved upon him as the representative of a large working-class constituency.

They had had a pledge given them that no change should be made in the fiscal policy of this country during the life of the present Parliament, and, indeed, no change would be made until a new Parliament had been elected. They were told with great confidence by hon. Gentlemen opposite that there would be no change made in the next Parliament because they would occupy the Benches now filled by the supporters of the present Government. Surely if that were the case, this striving for enlightenment in regard to a policy which, according to their own assertions, was not likely to be put into operation for many years to come, was hardly justified. There was surely more justification for the demand to know what policy hon. Gentlemen opposite intended to adopt when they got into power. The right hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment on the previous day gave not one iota of information as to the alternative which he had to place before the country. He did think that those of them who had pinned their faith to some reform in our fiscal procedure were justified in asking for some enlightenment as to the alternative right hon. Gentlemen opposite were prepared to put forward. It was admitted on all hands that the basis of taxation ought to be more widely extended than it was at the present time, and, if the Prime Minister was not to remain in power, he would like to know what right hon. Gentlemen opposite would do to lighten the burdens in heavily rated districts such as the one he had the honour of representing. This was a matter which touched the people more closely than any other question. Financial burdens, central and local, were crushing the life out of many industrial centres, and if they were to get no relief from the present Government they ought to know what right hon. Gentlemen opposite were prepared to suggest as an alternative.

One of the objects of the Amendment was to angle for the support of certain Gentlemen sitting on the Ministerial side of the House, whose views did not coincide with those of the right hon. Gentlemen the Member for West Birmingham, or with those of the Prime Minister. He would like to remind them that there were great industrial communities demanding the completion of reforms before the Government made its appeal to the people. What was to be done for the workmen in the way of compensation for accidents? Were they to secure that protection which was foreshadowed in the King's Speech? What was to be done in regard to alien immigration, and what was to be done particularly with regard to the relief of the poor? Those who lived in districts which had not felt the strain experienced elsewhere during the last few months could not appreciate the intensity of feeling on that subject. With these people the fiscal question stood in the background when compared with measures which were intended to secure for them the means of living in the winter months, and he believed they would visit very sternly their dissatisfaction on the heads of those who lightly cast away the chance now offered of passing some ameliorative legislation. This was a question of supreme importance to the labouring community. The sentence "Give us this day our daily bread" was not to them a mere conventional phrase. It was a phrase of grim reality, and they asked that the fiscal question should not be allowed to bar the way to the adoption of reforms, which were immediately necessary. They agreed that there ought to be inquiry to ascertain whether means could not be found for protecting the labour in which they had been engaged, but which they were losing by the stress of foreign competition. With them, however, the question of supreme importance was the relief which was outlined in the King's Speech, which gave them some earnest of the intention of the Government to secure employment for the thousands now unemployed in the Metropolis and adjoining districts.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): Mr. Speaker, my name has been mentioned more than once in the course of the debate, and I should therefore like to say something about the Amendment and the questions which are connected with it. Yet, at the same time, I feel that perhaps I am less personally interested in the matter than most of those hon. Members who have hitherto addressed the House. The object of this Amendment is, of course, to turn out the Government, not for any special sin, not because of its views on fiscal reform, or upon any other individual subject, but because of the crime of its existence, because there are a number of Gentlemen in this House who think they could fill its place much better than it does itself. You may turn out the Government, but you cannot turn me out, because I have already relieved you of the trouble. The Amendment also points to a dissolution in the course of which, rightly or wrongly, hon. Gentlemen opposite appear to think that the proportions on the two sides will be reversed and that many Gentlemen now sitting in my neighbourhood will no longer be Members of the House of Commons. I think it is always bad to reckon your chickens before they are hatched. There again, so far as I am concerned, dissolution has no terrors. I am quite content to trust my political fortunes with the working men who for thirty years have given me their confidence so generously. I will go further than this. I have no fear of a dissolution, whatever its result may be. I have said in the country, and I have no objection to repeat the statement here, that so far as I personally am concerned, so far as my opinion goes, the sooner dissolution comes the better. If I had to argue this question in support of the Amendment, I think I could put forward stronger and better reasons than any of those to which I have listened. In our constitutional system, which is a Party system, an occasional change is no doubt desirable. The Party with which I am connected has now been n power practically eighteen years. During the whole of that time it cannot be denied that it has done an enormous amount of work. Whether for good or evil, it will leave behind it a record which has not been paralleled by any other Party or Government [Ironical cheers] during the last half century. I am very glad to find that so far, at all events, I am in perfect harmony with the House. What has been the course of political affairs during that time? All this work, all this legislation and administration, has been opposed from the other side. It is the business of an Opposition to oppose. Nothing has been accepted. All that we have proposed has appeared to the Opposition to be bad, and in consequence there has been an immense advance in legislation during the eighteen years which cannot at present be called national, which is still a subject of controversy. If we have a dissolution, and, if, as hon. Gentlemen opposite believe, that dissolution brings victory to their side, all this legislation will come up for review, and we know what will happen. What they denounce in Opposition, that they will condone when they come into office; they will accept in office what they have execrated in Opposition; and we shall get, at all events, a very large body of legislation which will become national legislation, very much, I think, to the advantage of the whole population.

They have been boasting a good deal recently of by-elections. Well, they are quite entitled to congratulate themselves on the result of those by-elections; but, if they are candid, they will admit that a great number of causes have conduced to such success as they have obtained. It has not been the fiscal question alone which has secured for them the result on which they pride themselves; it has been education, temperance, Chinese labour, and the price of sugar. I will not stop to dwell upon the way in which these subjects have been represented, but I will only ask hon. Gentlemen opposite to bear in mind that when they come in they will have to deal with them. It is very easy in Opposition to denounce the measures dealing with these matters in language which would make it almost impossible for an honest man to bear with them for a single day after he came into office. We shall watch with the greatest interest how our opponents treat these subjects; at present we have no idea; they have not condescended to give us any indication of the way in which they would deal with them. This, at all events, I venture very heartily to predict: they will find them very difficult nuts to crack, and will find it impossible at the same time to satisfy their ardent supporters whose votes they have won by their declarations and the people at large. That is one advantage of a dissolution—that it, as it were, consolidates the policy of the country; and a second advantage is that it enables us to ascertain, in the first instance, and then to test, the policy of the Opposition. Now by the necessity of the case we are always on the defence. I look forward with unmingled satisfaction to the time, whenever it comes, when we shall be in a similar position to hon. Members opposite.

I have read with the greatest interest the letter of recommendation which was published the other day by a distinguished Leader of the Opposition, in which was sketched, at all events, his personal idea of the policy which he and his friends would pursue. A close examination of that policy opens to me a vista which I confess makes everything now stale and unprofitable. I greatly desire, whenever the proper time comes, to exchange the responsibility of action for the joy of criticism. And now, speaking for myself alone, as a private Member, dissolution has no terrors for me whatsoever. If it comes in the ordinary constitutional way, I say again the sooner it comes the better. On the other hand, I deny absolutely the right of any minority, even so intelligent a minority as that which I see before me, to demand a dissolution on perfectly childish and fantastic reasons, on grounds which they never accepted themselves when they were in office, and which they would always be the first in those circumstances to repudiate. No, Sir, if the Government acts as all Governments I have known have acted in the past, and as I believe they will act, they will, I trust, give no authority whatever to this new theory of the rights of a minority, and will not abandon their trust merely because the Opposition desires to be in office.

I have one word more to say on this question. I do not accept the standard of public duty which the Opposition set up; I do not accept their standard of a mandate, their new test of by-elections. It is absolutely unprecedented, and I think if it were adopted it would be found to be mischievous. Although I do not accept this standard, they will be the first to admit that they cannot complain if we apply the standard which they have adopted, at all events, to their own action. But I feel that this Amendment is not really intended to be treated seriously. It was introduced with a great flourish of trumpets. We heard that the walls of Jericho were to fall in the first days of the session; and it was considered of such importance that actually the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, dealing with the matter in a way which I believe is absolutely unprecedented, made a speech on the first evening of the debate on the Address which was almost wholly taken up in forestalling his right hon. friend. He painted the situation in broad and rather rough colours, and he left it to his right hon. friend to polish and complete the presentation. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife nearly threw away the whole case when he admitted, at the outset of his speech, that he did not expect that it would succeed or have any effect in disintegrating the majority, even although he must have known beforehand that he would have in the future the valuable support of my hon. friend the Member for Durham. No, Sir, there was in my right hon. friend's speech a great deal that was very interesting, and some things that were amusing, but there was no serious fight; and the condition of the House throughout yesterday shows that that was the view taken by his own friends. In fact, what we are engaged in is excursions and alarums, as we so often see in the plays of Shakespeare.

Under these circumstances it is not necessary for me to deal at any great length with the merits of the case. We are told that fiscal reform has been fully discussed in the country. I take note of that admission. I have never received any admission of the kind before, and I think it is rather important. I certainly understood that one fear which the Opposition had was that advantage might be taken of their present weakness to rush a decision from the country which might afterwards be regretted; but up to the last moment they have been telling us that they have not the least idea what the proposals of the Government are. They have been complaining that discussion in this House has been burked; nevertheless they have now come to the conclusion that the matter is settled, that it is a *chose jugée* and not a *chose disputée*, and that there is nothing now but to go to the country and ask for judgment. It seems to me that we should be going to the country, in these circumstances, very imperfectly prepared, on the assumption that right hon. Gentlemen opposite are correct. It is quite true that they pay me the compliment to say that they understand what my proposals are. I am very glad to hear it. That is another admission, and I hope that in future they will not, unintentionally I am sure, so grossly misrepresent me. But I ask the House when in the history of Parliament there has ever before been a serious proposal made on behalf of the leaders of the Opposition that the proposals of a private Member, if they are fully discussed, are grounds for a dissolution of Parliament.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): The Prime Minister adopts them.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The doctrine is entirely new. Let me state it again. Any proposal which has been fully discussed in the country, even although it is not part of any official programme, is at once to be submitted to the people. I say that is a new proposal. I myself have a sneaking kindness for it. It seems to me to approach to the system in vogue in the

United States of America, in Switzerland, and in some other countries—the system which is known as the Referendum; and if hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite are really prepared to carry into practical operation a suggestion of that kind, and to enable the people of this country to pronounce without Party pre-occupation and without the intervention of other and quite different subjects on any really important question submitted to their consideration, I for one should give them what assistance I could in order to promote such a system. But that is the last thing they desire. They want, as they say, to settle the fiscal question. I wish them joy of the attempt. They want to settle it. How! By mixing it up with every other political question before the country at the present time, and with all the political feeling and political recrimination which necessarily attends on Party Government. In these circumstances I can hardly conceive that they are serious in suggesting that under any other system than the one I have described the question can be settled whether my policy—the policy of the Member for West Birmingham with no official authority whatever—is so important, so extraordinarily out of the common way, has elicited so much attention and consideration, and has so large a support, that it is desirable that it should be immediately decided whether that support amounts to a majority. I have never had a compliment so great paid to me since I have been in the House of Commons. I am afraid it is much too good to be true. No, all these arguments may be put aside, and we may drop this pretence of a desire to submit this question to the country.

The real object of the Amendment, every candid man will admit, is an attempt—and, to my mind, a very foolish and ill-judged attempt—to induce on this side of the House a feeling which, if it existed, would soon make us the happy family which Gentlemen opposite have been for so long. How is this subject to be accomplished? It is a simple process, but "in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird." The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife quoted a short passage of a letter written by me in which I say that as far as I can see there is no difference in principle between the Prime Minister and myself, although there may be differences in methods and tactics. Then he proceeded to tell the House what my principles are. He said that—

> "The policy of the right hon. Gentleman is in principle made up of two heads. In the first place the abandonment——'

I beg to call the attention of the House to one or two words in it—

> "the abandonment in the interests of British trade of the antiquated system of so-called free trade, which he has told his audiences over and over again we alone persist in pursuing in defiance of common sense and the common practice of the rest of civilised mankind. In the second place, the creation in the interest of Imperial unity and strength of a preferential system based on the taxation of foreign corn and flour."

He then said—

> "I do not think the right hon. Gentleman will differ from me."

Suppose I had assented to his proposition; then the argument is clear. He would say:—"You, the Prime Minister, said"—at Edinburgh, I think—"'I am not a protectionist.' Here is the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, who says that his object is to abandon free trade, and he says that you agree with him. Do you agree, you who are not a protectionist, that free trade should be abandoned?" Now that is the point. When the right hon. Gentleman asked me whether I differed from him, I said I neither denied nor accepted what he said; and that gave great amusement to hon. Members opposite. I confess I have not yet risen to the height of the doctrine propounded by my right hon. friend the Member for Montrose, that however complicated a problem may be it can be got into a half-sheet of notepaper. I admit that my ideas are rather more expansive than that would suggest. But let me say, in passing, that it struck me what a compliment my right hon. friend paid to my hon. and gallant friend the Member for Essex, because, you see, it follows that if a great problem can be properly stated on half a sheet of notepaper, it is perfectly clear that it can be discussed in speeches of five minutes length. But it is not only that I think it undesirable to state one's views in so short a space that made me resist the application of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife. No, Sir, I am suspicious. I have had experience of this sort of thing before. I have again and again had extracts from my speeches flung across the House at me, and I have perhaps hastily accepted them only to find that something very important was omitted. The right hon. Gentleman, let me say with all respect, went further. After I had refused to give an answer, he said this was an evidence of the malaria of ambiguity which existed. Very good, and then he went on to say—

> "If the right hon. Gentleman wants chapter and verse, I would refer him to the speech which he made at Limehouse in December last. He said there, 'I am going to submit to the country two issues, and they are precisely the two issues I have described to the House.'"

I looked this morning at the Limehouse speech. What is the chapter and verse? That means *verbatim et litteratim*. What are the words which I actually did use? You will see how near they are to the words used by the right hon. Gentleman, and yet how important is the distinction. I said—

> "I will put before my countrymen two questions. I will ask them in the first place whether they think that a policy which is sixty years old, which was based on promises that have never been fulfilled, which were conceived in circumstances that are altogether different from those in which we move, can be suitable to our modern conditions? Then I will ask them, in the second place, what are to be our future relations with the Colonies, what is to be the future of the great Empire of which we are a part? Now, in my opinion, there is be a reform both of our domestic policy and our external policy as far as regards the Colonies."

Now, mark, I did not say that we were to abandon free trade. I did not mention free trade. What I did say was that we must reform our policy of free imports; and free imports are not free trade. They stand in the way of freer trade. We have never had free trade. Do you doubt that?

Mr. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): It was for that very reason that I used the expression "so-called free trade" and attributed it to the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: But we have never had free trade at all, and "so-called free trade," does not appear in my speech, and it is not in chapter and verse. [Opposition cries of "Oh."] I confess that I think there is a malaria of inaccuracy which is much more dangerous to the public weal than a malaria of ambiguity. Let me say, in passing, so far as the language attributed to me in regard to the Colonies is concerned, I do not think there are two words the same. Still, I do not seriously object to it, although it is not my actual language. Now take what I did say. I said that in my opinion the time had come for a reform in our present policy. I do not speak for my right hon. friend the Prime Minister. I speak only as I spoke in the matter to which reference has been made of my own thought on the subject, and I say now again that I think there is no difference between us with regard to the principle. And when I pointed to the importance of the consideration of the future of the great Empire of which we are all a part, there I think I know that there is not the slightest difference in the importance we attach to that part of the subject. But there is something more important, I think, than my opinion of what is in the mind of the Prime Minister, a subject more important than what the Prime Minister thinks of my proposals, and that is what I think of the proposals of the Prime Minister. Why do I say that? Because it is I who am speaking; it is I who say that I think there is no difference. I say it, and if there is a difference I should know it if it occurred in anything the Prime Minister said. Now, the Prime Minister has made three great, impressive, able speeches — the speech at Sheffield, the speech at Edinburgh, and the speech at Manchester, which included the four propositions on a half-sheet of paper. I am told these speeches are unintelligible. In the courteous language of the Leader of the Opposition they are metaphysical sophistications. I am grateful to Provience that I am not myself a metaphysician, but, after all, it may be supposed that I have ordinary intelligence, and I have read these speeches —these mysterious speeches—and again I speak for myself, and I say that I think I understand every word of them. When speaking about the Prime Minister I was only in a position to say "I think," but when I come to say what I feel about his speeches I can say "I know," and I say that to the best of my knowledge and belief there is no single point of principle in any one of those speeches from which I differ. I do not want to seem to have the slightest doubt or hesitation in regard to my own opinions if anyone has the slightest interest in them, and because of that, when the speech in Edinburgh was made, speaking at Luton almost immediately afterwards, I said that a question of method arose upon the last speech of the Prime Minister and I ventured to criticise that method, and to say that in my opinion if a conference were held such as the Prime Minister proposed, and if the results of that conference were satisfactory, it would be impossible to withhold those results from the consideration of this Parliament and from their action, if they were sitting at the time, and, if not, at the earliest possible moment. Very well, that is perhaps a difference. In any case it is a point of method, not a point of principle. I think the time to discuss it will be after the principle is decided. The right hon. Gentleman —I think it was hardly worthy of him—actually made a point, and occupied the time of the House for two or three minutes, of the fact that I spoke afterwards at Gainsborough and did not repeat that statement. I appeal to him—he speaks a great deal more than I do—and I ask, does he consider it necessary in every new speech to repeat everything that he said in every past speech?

Mr. ASQUITH: Heaven forbid.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I agree at all events with his intention. When I am speaking myself I do endeavour to vary what I have to say a little and to deal with different branches of the subject on different occasions. It is really childish to accuse me of having abandoned an opinion because I do not repeat it on every occasion. I repeat when it is necessary. I repeat it here in this House, but I certainly do not think it desirable to put this difference, which I postpone to the future after the principle is decided, in the forefront of my argument.

I have one more point to bring before the House, and only one. We are told that it is necessary to settle this question of fiscal reform, because, as the right hon. Gentleman tells us, it is in the highest degree prejudicial to British trade. Well, it has been going on for nearly two years. In what a terrible condition British trade must be! And yet the whole foundation of their argument is that it never was better. We are told that we are in the presence of record trade, record prosperity, and that no sensible man can doubt for a moment that we could not be better off, and that we may very easily be worse. [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] Ah! well, I know there is a little shyness on the part of some hon. Members in accepting that view. I observe when we come to the questions of employment, and the 13,000,000 of people, they are very glad to minimise it. But suppose it is necessary to settle it, is the right hon. Gentleman so unaccustomed to public life that he believes that a vote against fiscal policy in this House of Commons, or a vote against it even in a general election, would have the slightest effect in settling the question? I am bound to say I never was so sanguine as to imagine that a new proposal of this kind, which requires in my opinion a little more discussion than it has yet received—I never had an idea that such a proposal would be accepted offhand by the majority of this country, and I am perfectly prepared to be patient; and one defeat, and even many more defeats, would not for a moment prevent me from continuing to agitate for what I believe to be right. I am surprised to hear hon. Gentlemen opposite, who profess to be the followers of Cobden, talking in this way. Did one defeat silence Cobden? I think—I am not quite certain about my figures—but I believe he had against him three Parliaments and against him seven votes in Parliament, and in not a single one of these votes did he receive more than 120 in his minority.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY (Montrose Burghs): The Anti-Corn Law League set to work in 1839, and then there came the general election in 1841, in which Sir Robert Peel was returned by a protectionist majority, and in that Parliament free trade was carried.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I always yield to the authority of my right hon.

friend in such a matter. Surely, however, Mr. Villiers in this House brought forward on two or three occasions proposals in favour of free trade, and afterwards, when Mr. Cobden came in, he himself introduced, or spoke in support of, several votes of the same kind. As regards the votes I am certain. As regards the number of Parliaments I admit I may be mistaken. I have taken account of the divisions in every case, and I say there were something like seven votes, and in none of them did he have a minority which was much, if at all, above 120. But he won his victory. Under these circumstances the idea that we, who sixty years later are reviewing his policy in the hope of amending it, are going to be disconcerted by one vote in this House or by one general election is really to do us a great injustice. We are much better placed than Mr. Cobden ever was. He had a small minority. We have, at any rate, the great majority of a great Party, and if it be true, as my hon. friend the Member for Durham said, although I think he exaggerated, that the minority in this Party is against us—the minority we know in this House—my own opinion is that it is a very much smaller proportionate minority in the country. If there be such a minority we shall make it up, believe me, by recruits from the Party, which is now the Party of reaction, which can see no cause for change after sixty years experience of broken promises and unfulfilled pledges.

We have three things in our favour besides time. We have, in the first place, the failure of free trade. No, I beg your pardon, free trade has not failed, because we have never had it. It has not been tried, but we have the failure of free imports to produce the result which was the great object of the free-trader. That is one thing we have in our favour. We have, in the second place, the growing seriousness of the problem of want of employment of the people of this country. [AN HON. MEMBER: Due to the war.] That is to me a serious matter. Taking any reasonable period, it is the fact that, in spite of all our prosperity, which I have never denied, the amount of employment in our principal industrial enterprises is less in proportion to the population than it was at the beginning of the period, and it has been continually reduced. There is an increase in certain favoured employments. There is an increase in distributive employments. That is true. But in the employment which makes for the character, the strength, and the power of the nation there has been a diminution. If hon. Gentlemen will study history they will see that all those countries that have once been powerful, and have become less powerful, have begun with this alteration in the character of their employment. That is the second thing in our favour. The third thing is the wish that I think is almost universal in this country, to draw the Empire closer together; the knowledge, which is spreading, that the Empire is as much to us as it is to the other portions of it, and that we depend on them, while they depend on us. I think the appreciation of what they have already done for us is constantly growing. The desire by any means in our power to unite in some more organised union is a desire which has spread very deep and very far, and which will, I believe, continue to increase. When we come to them and say, as we do, "Here is your opportunity; here is a request, or put, if you like, a suggestion, from your fellow-subjects, from your own kinsmen, that you should proceed to secure this closer union by a closer commercial union;" when they offer, in the words of Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself—

> "To make a treaty with you upon the basis of an increase of trade between the different parts of the Empire, upon a preferential basis as against the rest of the world."

When these offers are made to us, and when it is suggested that a conference should be held in order to discuss details—no, Sir, I do not believe that my countrymen, when they understand what it is that is presented to them, will for a moment support those who would shut the door to such a negotiation, and shut the door at the time when they pretend that they do not know what it is the Colonies have got to give us. Let them wait for the conference and hear. Do not let them prevent a conference by telling our colonial friends beforehand that they may come here if they like, but they shall not be allowed to discuss the only thing for which they deeply care.

Last night was important for one thing, and with my observation upon this I shall sit down. It was important for the declarations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife, and still more for that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Northumberland. Hitherto I have understood—it may have been my stupidity, but I have certainly understood—that the position of the other side was that under no circumstances would they listen to a conference unless those who were invited to that conference were informed beforehand the one thing which they proposed would not be considered by us. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife seemed to me to modify that opinion. He protested against that view of his opinion and intention. He said, "No, certainly not. They may come and discuss everything. I do not object, certainly not; but we must give our instructions to our representatives," and we all know what those instructions are to be, "Under no circumstances, whatever the offer may be, shall you consent to putting even the slightest and smallest duty on certain articles of food." That any man should contemplate a conference under those circumstances is to me a miracle, or that men of business should support him, or that in a case of this kind we should make up our minds before we know what it is they have to give us. Do you mean to tell me that it would be absolutely impossible for the Colonies, even granting all that is said against the tax of 2s. on corn, to give us something of more value than that? And yet, although we do not know what it is they will give us, or whether it will be sufficient to overcome your objections to a small tax, you say, "No, under no circumstances will we touch the thing." That is plain. We now know what their position is. I predict they will not live many years longer with that conviction. But that is in the region of prophecy. What is not in the region of prophecy is the effect that this statement, made in your name, with your assent, is going to have on the Colonies. Supposing the right hon. Gentleman's view is accepted. The Colonies are to be invited to come. Apparently they are to be told that they may talk as much as they like about anything. Nobody can pretend to have the slightest or remotest doubt what it is that will be the first thing the Colonies will put before us.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): Chinese labour.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: You expect these men to come and waste their time, to give up their own business at home, and come here and talk and talk until they are black in the face, knowing all the time that your representatives have got a mandate in their pockets not to give them anything they ask for. To my mind that is an insult to the Colonies. We now know what that modification of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife amounts to. There is another right hon. Gentleman who went a good deal further. I should like to know how many friends he has on that side of the House. Here is what he said—

> "I believe a conference of that kind ungagged, unmuzzled, summoned without prejudice, summoned on terms under which opinions may be plainly expressed on both sides, is the only way by which it is possible to remove the misunderstanding which has been created between ourselves and the Colonies."

[OPPOSITION cries of "Hear, hear!" and "By you."] That does not disturb me. Of course the point of difference lies in the words "summoned without prejudice." Can you pretend that you summoned them without prejudice when you are going to give a mandate to your representative, no matter what argument may be put forward or offers made——

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick): The right hon. Gentleman has misinterpreted my meaning. What I meant by "without prejudice" was that the conference must be a general conference, and to summon a conference on the ground that unless it resulted in a system of preferential duties no conference was worth having at all, would be to prejudice it from the beginning.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am very sorry to hear that statement from the right hon. Gentleman. I certainly believed and hoped, when he spoke of summoning a conference without prejudice, he meant that it was to be an open conference, open as to its decision, and without instructions given beforehand to any of the parties that they were absolutely to preclude the possibility of what would be the most important subject of all those to be discussed.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Would they come like that?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: However, that only leaves me in this position. Under these circumstances neither the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Northumberland nor any other Member on that side is willing to hold a free and open conference summoned without prejudice to discuss this great matter. From to-day it must go forth, "You yourselves have proposed that this offer should be made to come to a closer commercial union. We have considered it, without hearing what you have to say, and we refuse it. Under no circumstances, whether you come here or do not, will we change—[AN HON. MEMBER on the OPPOSITION Benches: No food tax.]—our decision. Under no circumstances will we admit that a proposal of the kind suggested is one which we can or will adopt." The right hon. Gentleman made one other remark, which I only note to point out its inaccuracy. He said—

> "The Colonies have never asked that we should impose taxes to suit them. Some of them did suggest, if we were imposing taxes for ourselves, we should give a remission of those taxes in their favour. They have not asked that we should impose a tax which we had not got, and which we do not need for our own purposes."

Is that the general view? I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that, while he himself was in office, a conference was held in Canada. On the motion of Mr. Hoffner, of the Cape, a proposal was made that we should put on taxes in order to secure this preferential trade and this advantage as against foreign countries; and that proposal, made in a conference under the presidency of Lord Jersey, was rejected by Lord Ripon; and since then other proposals to the same effect have been made by other Colonies. So that the statement is not historically correct. My belief is that the conference will be held, and that the Colonies will have a great deal to offer. I never contended we should make anything which anybody could think to be a concession unless in return we received reciprocal treatment. The whole thing turns upon a question which can only be decided by our Colonies. "If we agree to your proposal, what will you give us in return?" My own belief, expressed more than once, is that they will have a great deal to offer, and that they will give us at least as much as they will desire to take from us. If that is the fact, the people of this country, I am firmly convinced, will not reject such an offer coming from their own kinsmen, and they will not lose a great opportunity which delay may make it impossible to be offered to them in the future.

LORD HUGH CECIL said he listened to his right hon. friend and felt a very large measure of agreement both with the constitutional doctrines he laid down, which seemed to him very sound, and with his avowal that he was not opposed to free trade. He confessed he was a little suspicious of those declarations that free trade was not threatened. There really was no advantage in continuing a discussion if the discussion only turned upon disputes about words. He thought what his right hon. friend meant by free trade was something different from what he meant by it. If it were not so he would be obliged to suspect him of what he was sure no one would suspect him, of making speeches containing not only erroneous theories, but passages which were almost totally unmeaning. What would become of all those parts of his speeches which consisted in pointing out that America, Germany, and to some extent, even France, had done much better than this country. Was it that their fiscal system was, in some respect, better than ours? What would become of the interesting theories about the lack of employment but for the protectionist theory that by shutting out imports they could get better conditions of labour for the workmen. The whole gist of the right hon. Gentleman's arguments had been protectionist arguments. He did not doubt that, as some of his supporters openly avowed, the right hon. Gentleman was seeking to do in this country what Bismarck did in Germany in 1879—that was to say, change the policy of the country from a free-trade system to what was conventionally called a protectionist system. He agreed with his right hon. friend that the Opposition were not entitled to dictate to the Government the time of their dissolution. He went further than his right hon. friend, for he did not desire that there should be a speedy dissolution. For reasons which he should make clear, he was quite content with the existing situation. As regarded the general fiscal question, he was anxious in more respects than one that the present Government should continue in office. He was anxious that they should remain in office for the sake of education. He believed the Education Act of 1902 was fast taking root and was becoming less and less unpopular, and he heartily welcomed the change. He desired also to see the present Government continue in charge of foreign affairs, which they had conducted with exceptional skill and patience. Therefore, on general questions of policy, he was entirely opposed to the Amendment.

The question then arose, Was it necessary for the sake of the fiscal issue to subordinate these other considerations and to have an immediate election? It was said that an election was needed to clear up the misunderstandings which existed, and in order to make plain the policy which the Government was putting before the country so as to put an end to a situation of ambiguity. Now, he was one of those happy people who thought they understood the Prime Minister. He was quite prepared to make a friendly offer to him. If the Prime Minister would give him office, without portfolio, he would undertake to make his policy perfectly clear to every individual in the country. He was afraid his Ministerial career, though sensational and interesting, would also be brief, for by the time the right hon. Member for Montrose was beginning to get a grasp of the subject somehow or other the Government would be defeated. He thought he not only understood the Prime Minister, but also why other people did not understand him—which was a refinement of intelligence. It arose, first of all, from the circumstance that the Prime Minister never expounded his policy in its relation to the policy of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. He did not, as it were, state his geographical position according to the meridian of Birmingham. In particular, obscurity hung round two points. The Prime Minister favoured the policy generally called retaliation. About economic questions there was an unhappy custom of using names because they were polite and pleasing and not because they were accurate. Passing a shop window the other day he saw a garment displayed which was entitled "a gentleman's anatomical belt." He inspected it and perceived it really was what were colloquially called stays. He discerned that the desire of the seller was to attract a purchaser who, shrinking from the imputation of a foppish desire to shape the male figure into super-elegant tenuity, might more readily adopt the idea that he was availing himself of a useful surgical instrument. This custom prevailed among those who called themselves fair traders. They were for ever using some other names, and amongst those names retaliation had been adopted, and this word was often used to conceal a protectionist policy. Even his right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham did not always appear to him to use the word quite correctly, for he noticed in his speech at Preston an interesting passage dealing with the Swiss tariff and the policy of retaliation, and he told an antecdote about a Swiss gentleman who had said that he proposed to come and plant his business in England if the right hon. Gentleman's policy were adopted. Now it was quite certain that no Swiss gentleman would ever come and plant his business in England in consequence of retaliation. What would be likely to induce the Swiss gentleman to transfer his business to England would be a permanent tariff. On the face of it, no Swiss gentleman would expend a large amount of capital to erect a factory in England in order to get behind the duty unless, first of all, the duty gave him a closed market against the foreign competition of other countries, and unless the duty were of a permanent character and likely to continue. Retaliation was often used to conceal a protectionist policy, and was confused with what might more properly be called reciprocity. Dumping, again, was constantly used to describe all cheap importations which effectively competed with the produce in this country; but dumping, as used by the Prime Minister, had a very limited sense. These confusions would not operate with anything like the effect they did were it for the fact that they very largely came from the lips of those who were supporting the policy of tariff reform.

He was afraid that this misunderstanding on the part of the members of the Tariff Reform League did not always and in every case arise from the fact that they really misunderstood the Prime Minister. He was afraid that they wished other people to misunderstand his right hon. friend, and they availed themselves of his reputation and position in order to recommend a very different policy. They therefore habitually used language which confused, and was intended to confuse, the public mind. But that being the case he thought the Prime Minister and his colleagues were not relieved of responsibility in the matter. It was not enough to say that "what I have said is really clear and is not understood. It is the fault of a misconception." It was the business of a politician to be understood. The proof of the pudding was in the eating, and the proof of the statement was in the comprehension of it. It was to throw up the sponge to say, "I cannot make myself clear," for it was part of the essential duty of politicians in a leading position to make themselves clear when the circumstances of the case made it necessary that they should be so.

But the third great branch of the policy of the Prime Minister was not misunderstood, because, from the protectionist point of view, there had not been the same effort made to misrepresent him; he meant the Colonial Conference. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had said from the first that there was a difference between the Prime Minister and himself upon one point, a point which he (Lord H. Cecil) thought was of greater importance than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham seemed to imagine. There were really two proposals for a Colonial Conference. The first proposal was put forward by the tariff reformers that the conference should discuss the whole question of the relations between the mother country and the Colonies, especially the fiscal question, and formulate a scheme of commercial union, and that Parliament should forthwith carry out that scheme. That was the proposal of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. The Prime Minister's proposal was for a conference and full discussion, and when the scheme was arranged there should be a further stage of discussion in this country and the Colonies, that there should be a dissolution of Parliament and an electoral decision upon it. That was a proposal of a very different character. He had never understood and did not now understand why the Opposition had been brought to oppose that proposal. He could conceive its being said that these discussions might take place but that there was no prospect of coming to an agreement; that it might lead to ill-feeling and misunderstanding. But when a proposal of that kind was put forward by the Prime Minister it was too late to consider that point, because it would be a greater courtesy to the Colonies to reject the proposal of discussion altogether than it would be to have discussion and find no agreement upon it. He never had any doubt from the moment that the Prime Minister made the proposal that the wisest course was to support the right hon. Gentleman in that proposition, but he thought that they should also candidly say that the opinion of free-trade opponents of preferential tariffs would not be moved by any appeal to the Colonies. It would require argument much more weighty than the mere assertion of eminent Colonial Ministers sitting round a table that they wanted a particular proposal. The duty of the mother country was to decide in the interest of the whole Empire what was best; it would be a derogation of their duty to hand over the responsibility to the Colonies and to say, "You ought to decide it, and whatever proposal you make we will accept it." It made all the difference in the world whether they were to entrust this conference with the decision of the question or merely to entrust it with the task of threshing it out.

He did not believe that what was called colonial preference resting on the taxation of food ought to be or would ever be adopted in this country. There were two weak points in the proposal. First of all it ought not to be a bargain, the mother country professing to give something and the Colonies something else. The very idea of a bargain was in itself disruptive. It suggested that there were two parties with different and admittedly conflicting interests, who met in the spirit of negotiators with different points of view and who had different objects to attain. The mere fact of suggesting such a proposal must have a disruptive effect. All experience of nature, all history, went to show that discussions on the basis of bargains were always apt to end in disputes. Let the House look at the commercial treaties just concluded between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Had they produced union? It was notorious that they had produced great ill-feeling between the two countries. Commercial treaties were spoken of as if they were a unifying process, but in nine cases out of ten they had been—they had had the opposite result. The union of the Empire ought, he believed, to be sought for in a different direction. He did not believe that the present time was favourable for the suggestion to the Colonies that they should make great commercial or financial concessions to this country. To ask them to share in the duties and emoluments of the public service, to consult the Home Government on questions of diplomacy and national defence were not matters of bargain; but it was an advantage that they should be freely suggested to the mother country; and it was in these directions that he would seek to promote Imperial unity. He had tried to show that there was not a degree of doubt hanging over the Prime Minister's position, and he had tried to put what he believed was the true interpretation upon it.

There were two other points to be considered in relation to this Amendment. First, he was obliged to consider the effect upon those on the Government side of the House who maintained the doctrines of free trade and whose position was embarrassed thereby. He was afraid that it was impossible to deny that the Government were continuing in office by a process of concealing their whole mind from the country and their supporters. There were limits to the legitimacy of concealment. If persons concealed their mind in such a way as to obtain support, and it resulted at the same time in hardships to those giving that support, then he thought that concealment was a very difficult thing to justify. After all, the Government had enjoyed a considerable amount of support from those who were convinced free-traders during the last year. There had been, for instance, the support of a great body of persons who acted with the right hon. Member for West Bristol, whose support had been essential to the Government. It was not legitimate to make use of support of that kind, nor of a very large body of opinion in the country corresponding with it, if as a result of concealment other free-traders were driven out of their constituencies or Parliament, and if great distress of mind was caused to a large number of persons of the same way of thinking. In saying this he was not urging his own case. He had nothing but a feeling of gratitude to the Prime Minister and his colleagues personally, for he had been treated with a kindness which was all the more graceful because it had been unsolicited. But there were others who had not publicly received any measure of support or assistance. He thought that if he were a Minister enjoying a position of authority and emolument by the very support which was necessary to the present Government, he would feel very uneasy indeed if any reflection could be cast upon him owing to the distress caused to others by a policy of concealment. He certainly felt it to be his duty to express in the strongest terms disapproval of any attack on persons who were suffering as the indirect result of the system of tactics now being pursued. It was perfectly easy to clear up the misunderstandings that existed, and if those misunderstandings were not cleared up then there was a strong obligation on the part of the Government to prevent the evil consequences to individuals resulting from them. If there was any obligation, however, there was a very special obligation on the part of his right hon. friend and of those who were in substance free-traders, but who had felt it to be their duty to remain in the Government. They differed very little, if at all, from hon. Members like the hon. Member for Durham. They had not seen their duty in the same light as his hon. friend had done; but as honest men trying to do their best for the well-being of the country, could they sit unmoved and see a gentleman with whom they had served, whom they knew to be perfectly honest and disinterested, who they knew had resigned office with a sublime disregard of all consideration of self-interest, attacked for holding opinions substantially the same as their own without stirring a finger on his behalf? We heard much of loyalty to Party. He did not attack the essential utility of loyalty to Party; it was a convention without which the Government of the country could not be carried on. But there were other loyalties. There was surely the loyalty of one honest man to another; the loyalty to those who were serving the public well in an unselfish spirit; the loyalty of the brotherhood of self-forgetting men. It was to that loyalty he made his appeal. He was sure it was forgetfulness rather than lack of chivalry which had led to the state of affairs he deplored. But he earnestly appealed to every one who in his heart was opposed to tariff reform to see that in such cases as that of his hon. friend the Member for Durham he was found fighting on the side of those whom he knew to be in the right, even if they had not chosen to remain in office.

But there were greater matters than these personal questions to be determined in connection with the Amendment before the House. He had to consider the effect upon free trade. He was convinced that he could not support the Amendment; but he was not quite certain whether it would be possible for him to support the Government. His only hesitation in adopting what he frankly admitted was the logical conclusion of his argument was his extreme reluctance to appear to co-operate in any degree whatever with those who were opposing his hon. friend the Member for Durham and others, whom he considered had been very badly treated. Whether he abstained or voted with the Government, the dominant consideration with him would be that of supporting the cause of free trade. He did not believe that that cause was threatened by the continuance of the present Government in office. His view last year was not necessarily the same; but the free-trade propaganda or, rather, defence, had been so surprisingly successful that if the Government and his right hon. friend cared to spend another session in not availing themselves of the opportunity of debate in the House of Commons—it made them angry to say that they shrank from facing the supporters of free trade either in debate or in division, though it was the plain truth that they did so shrink—free trade would not suffer. If there were no question of Parliamentary loyalty involved, and every one could vote as he pleased, he believed the right hon. Member for West Birmingham and his friends would make a very poor show in the lobby. If his right hon. friend secured one vote in three he should be very surprised.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: That would be more than Mr. Cobden got.

Lord HUGH CECIL: Yes, but he had the courage to face the situation. Mr. Cobden did not wish to tackle Parliament before he took its verdict. Another session like the last and even another recess would do free trade no harm: the verdict of the country would continue to be expressed with unvarying persistence against the right hon. Gentleman's proposals. He and his friends were quite satisfied with the way in which things were going, and therefore it seemed to him that Unionist free-traders ought to go as far as possible in removing the difficulties between themselves and the Government, because, as the hon. Member for South-East Durham had said, they could do immensely more for free trade as Unionist Members than if they attempted to fight the battle of free trade in any other part of the House. He had never concealed the impossibility it would be for him to join the Liberal Party or depart from the principles of Conservatism. He thought his hon. friend the Member for Durham had been misunderstood on that point. What he believed his hon. friend meant was that if the Conservative Party adopted the protectionist policy he would be opposed to that policy. But even in that event he personally should not cross the floor of the House. It was for those who had changed their opinions to change their sides, he had not changed his opinions, and why should he symbolise an attitude of mental stability by physical motion? But he did not anticipate anything so deplorable as the adoption of protection by the Prime Minister or the Government. Whether he and his hon. friends were able to defend themselves from attack in their constituencies or not, the future lay with them. They were the inheritors of the ancient Conservative traditions, they spoke the ancient language of Conservatism, and in their hearts the institutions which Conservatism had ever upheld stood enshrined. Those principles they would never abandon. He could not tell how long the struggle would last; if Members on that side would listen to him they might soon bring it to an end. Let them come and join him and his friends, give up the foolish dreams that had misled them and shut the door on the unwise connection of bad economics and good intrigue. He did not want to drive one protectionist or any other person out of the Party, but he wished to get rid of the evil spirit of protectionism which would cast Conservatism to the ground, and, rending it, sooner or later would be exorcised. At any rate the future lay with those who had not faltered in the day of difficulty in maintaining their principles, and who would maintain the whole fabric of the Conservative faith with the same energy and zeal that they had maintained the faith of free trade. With them lay the future; their courage was unshaken and their purpose was sure.

*SIR E. DURNING - LAWRENCE (Cornwall, Truro) thought there was one important aspect of the fiscal question which had not been in any way discussed. It was assumed that for the last fifty years the great trades of this country had been carried on free from protection, but he was prepared to assert that some of the greatest trades had prospered exceedingly for the simple reason that they had been fully protected. One of the greatest trades of the country was the iron and steel trade, and the House might be surprised when he said that for forty out of the last fifty years that trade had been largely protected. For nearly forty years the iron and steel trade had been continuously protected by patents, and so far as the traders were concerned there was no difference whether the trade was protected by patent protection or any other form of protection. First of all there was the great Bessemer process, then the Siemens process, and so on; patent succeeded patent for nearly forty years, and the prosperity of the iron trade was largely due to the protection afforded by these various patents. It was idle to say these were only patents. Patents were in reality patents of protection. When it was desired to take out a patent, provisional protection was obtained in the first instance and later full protection under the Great Seal for a period of time. In a very large measure the present crisis had arisen because the iron and steel trades had suffered in consequence of the "dumping" into this country of enormous quantities of iron and steel which had been manufactured abroad under processes for which the English patents had recently expired. This was the reason why a great number of iron-masters were at the present time clamouring for protection. He was not advocating protection, but simply pointing out the fallacy that existed in the mind of the country and the House in believing that for the last fifty years this country had been free from protection. As a matter of fact, for nearly forty out of the last fifty years the iron trade had enjoyed a large measure of protection. Take another instance, there was close to this House a great picture gallery, given by the generosity of Sir Henry Tate, who had become a rich man. How did he become a rich man? By getting hold of a patent, and so long as that patent existed he had the fullest protection against any competition whatever. Under the protection of that patent no one could bring into this country a single pound of sugar made in France under his process. He did not contend whether that was, or was not, a good thing for the country as a whole, but he pointed out the fact in order to show that this

England of ours had not been free from protection, but, on the contrary, that many industries had been largely protected in the past. In regard to patents, this country had adopted a policy of its own, and had granted patents to men of other countries under which our own children were prevented from manufacturing their own products, because upon the foreigner had been conferred the privilege of dealing with those products. He had seen it stated that in consequence of the want of knowledge and enterprise of British manufacturers this country had lost the greater part of the aniline dye trade. That trade was, in its beginning, the result of the skill and the inventive faculty of a young Englishman, and so long as his patents subsisted the manufacture was done in this country; but we permitted some foreigners to patent improvements upon this patent, and under our Patent Laws those foreigners were not obliged to establish their works in this country. When the original English patents expired, the consequence of our extremely unwise Patent Laws was that the manufacture of aniline dyes, etc., from coal tar products practically ceased in this country, because under our laws there was no power to compel the foreign holder of our patents to grant licences or to work the patent here. As a result, we exported to Germany, etc., about £3,000,000 worth of coal tar, etc., and bought the same back when converted into dyes, etc., for £6,000,000, leaving in Germany some £3,000,000 for profit and labour. The present Government had recently made a small and inadequate attempt to force upon foreign holders of English patents the condition that they should grant licences under certain conditions in order that these goods might be manufactured in this country. Every country except England compelled every patentee, within a very few years of his patent being granted, to establish works in their country, so that the patent must be worked in the country that granted the patent, but it was left for England and England alone to grant patents under which our children were prevented from making use of the products of this country, because the foreigner holding an English patent preferred to import them and manufacture them abroad, and refused to grant any license to the English people to work the patents in this country. That might be called free trade, but he did not think it was free trade, and at any rate it was not common sense. He thought the time had come when some of these matters ought to be revised and examined.

In his own constituency, under the Cobden Treaty, fish could be taken into France, and the duty was not to be more than 2s. per cwt. When the Cobden Treaty expired the conditions were changed, and he was informed that now a sum of 6s. per cwt. had to be paid when we carried our fish into French ports, whereas the French fishermen could bring their fish into our ports free. In this matter he wanted reciprocal treatment, so that if we took fish from the French without exacting duties they should take our fish under similar conditions. That was a very important matter to a constituency like his, and, therefore, he trusted that some attention would be paid to it. These tariffs affected great industries like the fishing industry, from which their sailors were largely recruited. In his own constituency there were large works which would be prevented from carrying on their industry unless measures were taken to put an end to what the noble Lord had justly described as "dumping." Dumping had been described as the placing of large quantities of manufactured goods upon the market under cost price, which competed with British made goods. It might be asked how it was possible to sell anything under cost price and yet make a profit. But yet this could be done. Supposing they made five articles costing £5 and sold them for £6, obviously they would make £1 profit. But if they were able to make ten of the same articles at a cost of only £8, as was often the case, the last five would only cost an additional £3, although as the production of ten cost £8 the real cost of producing five was £4, therefore, he did not think it was fair trading to bring those extra five articles, which could be sold at a profit under cost price, to the English market, for that had the effect of breaking down English works. He had been informed that at Gateshead there were works which cost £50,000 for the making of ships' forgings, but foreign firms had been permitted to dump these articles in this country, which they did forthwith, in order to render the profitable manufacture of these forgings impossible in England, and so thoroughly had this plan effected its purpose that he was told that those works at Gateshead which had cost £50,000 had never been used, and could now be purchased for £5,000 or £6,000. That was one of the effects of dumping, and he thought the time had now come when *laissez faire* had ceased to be a possible policy. Capitalists, as they knew, could easily invest their money abroad, but workmen in this country were affected by English trade, and if their work was done abroad it was not easy for them to transfer their labour abroad.

The Motion before the House, as far as the fiscal question was concerned, was merely a sham. It asked for a dissolution of the present Parliament, and its object was to turn out the present Government. What had the Government done that they should be turned out? What had the Opposition done that they should be put into office? When he came to the House some nine years ago, the Government had to deal with what was called the Egyptian question. Some right hon. Gentlemen on the other side said at that time, when we declared that this country would no longer permit the policy of "pin pricks," that we had made France our enemy for ever. The fact, however, was that France had at present a more friendly feeling towards this country than at any time since 1800, and he could state on reliable authority that there was every day a growing desire among all classes of the French people that the relationship should be still more cordial. If the Government had done nothing else than bring about that state of feeling, they would have done a great and valuable work. Our relations with the United States of America had also greatly improved in recent years, and that result was in a large measure due to the successful manner in which the Government had conducted affairs. When a difficult situation arose in regard to Venezuela, our Government, with the late Lord Salisbury at its head, acted with calmness and firmness, and there was now a better feeling between this country and America than had ever existed before. There was at present a great war in a distant part of the world, and foreign nations were looking on with great anxiety. At this moment hon. Gentlemen opposite were asking the British Government to abandon the task of steering successfully the great barque of State in these troubled waters, to run away from the helm, and to let unknown strangers take hold of it and carry the ship no one knew where. Was this Government to be put into the melting-pot to enable the country to see who was to take hold of the handle of the ship of State? He hoped the Government would not run away from their duty. He for one rejoiced very much that the government of the country was in the hands of the Party now in power. If hon. Gentlemen opposite were to come into office they could only remain there at the will of hon. Members from Ireland, who had declared that the interests of Great Britain were not their interests. When conducting negotiations with foreign Governments that was not a desirable position for our Government to be in. The destinies of the country should not be entrusted to a Party who, though they came into office, would not come into power.

The mover of the Amendment had stated that the trade and commerce of the country had been upset by the fiscal proposals which had been made. He thought trade and commerce had been upset by a very different matter. In the autumn of 1903 the opponents of the Government assured them that before Easter, 1904, the Government would be driven out of power. That was what frightened the merchants of England, and it was not until they found that there was no fear of a dissolution that the feeling in regard to trade became better. The Amendment would be rejected by a large majority, and when the merchants of England had the assurance that there would be no dissolution this year, they would be inclined to embark in extended trade. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife had gone on to platforms and made speeches in which he had tried to instruct merchants and manufacturers as to the causes which had led to loss of trade, though they knew very much more about these matters themselves. There was not a man of knowledge who did not feel sure that the cry of free trade was now being employed as a Party shibboleth. Hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, who had realised fortunes under the protection of patents, were now the loudest in proclaiming their worship of the fetish of free trade. They had been protected, but did not want anybody else to be protected, and were indifferent to what happened to others. He believed that this Amendment, proposed, as it had been, at the very beginning of the session, would place the Government in a very assured position with a large majority. It would show foreign nations that this so-called discredited Government was not at all discredited.

Allusion had been made to two letters by Mr. Gladstone, one addressed to the late Queen, and the other to the late Lord Granville. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Rushcliffe scouted the notion as absurd that the latter was of equal importance to the former. He did not know whether that hon. Gentleman had ever had occasion to write a letter which had to be submitted to Her Majesty, or any other Royal personage. He himself had had that honour, and he knew that letters intended for Royal personages were not written in terms as free as those written to private persons. Therefore, he said, without fear of contradiction, that the letter addressed to Lord Granville was of far more importance than an official letter to Her Majesty, which ought never to have been published. The letter to the Queen would express, no doubt correctly, but not too freely, certain reasons why Mr. Gladstone wished to be relieved of office, but a letter written to a member of his own Government would be indited, not in diplomatic language, but without restraint. Moreover, Mr. Gladstone had then no very large majority in the House, whereas this Government had still a majority larger than anybody until recent years had ever heard of. When he (the speaker) was a young man Lord Palmerston in a great Party division had a majority of only four and still held office; and yet they were now told that this Government with a large majority and a foreign policy singularly successful, ought immediately to dissolve Parliament and go to the country! The Government were serving the country by remaining in office, and therefore it was their duty to continue in power as long as they had a majority in the House. The interests of the country with foreign nations would be advanced if these had the assurance that the Government intended to hold the helm of State this year and the next. There was extremely good news from South Africa; but nothing would disturb South Africa more than if within a few days or months hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House were to change places to this side. The existing Government difficulties in South Africa would be multiplied ten-fold if that were possible.

This was a very important Motion and every Unionist should put aside personal predilections—whether he thought that protection was the worst of all things or that free trade was an unmixed evil — and vote so that the Government should remain in office. It should be remembered that neither free trade nor protection was before the House. He was sure that not even the hon. Member for Durham believed or could believe that it would be of advantage to the country that the Government should give up power in the State in favour of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on the other side who, however high-minded they might be, would be under the control of the hon. Members for Ireland. Under these conditions it was idle to talk of dissolution. So long as the great war in the Far East was going on they should keep that Party in office which would maintain the strictest neutrality and see to it that no other nation interfered. If a Government came into office without power what foreign nation would believe that they would dare to stand by their treaties and hold the balance of neutrality so evenly as to prevent any other nation interfering. He therefore appealed to his hon. friends who did not agree with the fiscal policy of the Government not to vote on this occasion for the Amendment. There were times when patriotism ranked above Party and this was one of them. They should be Englishmen first and partisans afterwards, and therefore the friends of this country should not vote for a Motion brought in only for the purpose of discrediting the Government, because if the Government were discredited it would weaken the influence of the country abroad. Knowing something of what was going on in various parts of the world he said, without fear of contradiction, that there was not a friend of England abroad who would not be sorry if the present power of the Government were to be weakened by their obtaining a small majority; and there was not an enemy of England who would not rejoice if the Government had that evening only a small majority.

It would be impossible to establish any new trade in any country unless there was protection in some form or another. In this country protection was provided by patents; in other countries there might be a duty of 50 per cent., subject to gradual reduction. In that way some of the largest industries had been established abroad. Were other countries altogether wrong? A short time ago England made 8,000,000 tons of steel and iron, and America made only 2,000,000 tons. Protection was introduced in America; and Mr. Carnegie reaped a large fortune, which was really the amount of the protective duties. Now America was, every year, making 18,000,000 tons and this country was making only about 9,000,000 tons. This country, which formerly made nearly one-half of the iron of the world, was now making only one-fifth; and that had been brought about by the fiscal arrangements of other countries, which were also looking after other industries as well as the iron industry. They were looking after the shipping industry. Many hon. Members were interested in that industry. Were they not a little afraid of the subsidies which were now being given to shipping abroad? And were they not aware that there was every probability of these subsidies soon being so largely increased as to seriously interfere with British shipping? It was impossible that this country could successfully face hostile tariffs by free trade. Every other nation was revising its tariff. In all the old speeches and articles in reference to free trade it was stated that all other nations would follow, and if not, that they would be punished. They had not followed; and they had not been punished. It should also be remembered that Cobden, Bright, and Gladstone were against the Colonies. His own father-in-law stated that the sooner this country lost India the better. No Party in England now wanted to destroy India or to lose the Colonies. Therefore, this country ought to be willing to make some efforts to meet the Colonies, who were willing to make concessions, and should not be repelled. When this country was in distress, nearly every colony sent of its best to fight our battles, and the only regret of India was that she could not also send her sons. The late Colonial Secretary knew all this and believed that the country wanted a closer union with the Colonies. He would not detain the House longer, but he appealed to hon. Gentlemen opposite to strengthen the hands of the Government in the present difficult period by refusing to vote for the Amendment.

Mr. ROBSON (South Shields) said that the hon. Member would not expect him to deal in detail with his line of argument. Owing to the fact that he was obliged to leave the House for a short interval the hon. Member's speech appeared to him to have a rather disconnected effect. He would pass, therefore, to preceding speeches; and particularly to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. The right hon. Gentleman concluded his speech with some remarks of great significance and great importance upon the question of a Colonial Conference. He intimated in terms by no means obscure that it would be useless and mischievous to hold a Conference unless this country were prepared to consent to the taxation of food and not merely to discuss the taxation of food. In his speech the right hon. Gentleman also referred to a statement which he attributed to the Leader of the Opposition to the effect that there were 13,000,000 of people in this country on the verge of starvation. Therefore, the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to still further increase the hardships of the people who were now living on the verge of starvation; otherwise according to him they could scarcely expect to maintain the Empire or continue in friendly and amiable relations with the Colonies. He believed that no more unjust slander on colonial loyalty and common sense had ever been uttered by a responsible statesman. The Colonies did not desire to increase the hardships of the people of this country in order to increase their own prosperity. Then, according to the right hon. Gentleman people should enter into a conference without instructions. He himself was not concerned to quarrel about that; but they ought to know something about the intention. Whatever the intention of the Government was as to the policy to be pursued at the conference there was no attempt to state it. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman should have thought it necessary to drag colonial loyalty into the vortex of British politics, and to attempt to make a little Party capital out of that colonial loyalty which should be the property of all Parties in the state.

The right hon. Gentleman had not expressed himself as supporting the Amendment; he had perhaps discovered that, although he could convert the Party opposite to the policy of protection, he could not convert it to suicide, and that was his idea of what a general election would mean. The right hon. Gentleman believed at any rate that when the general election took place the Liberal Party would be returned to power, because he said he looked forward with pleasure to a period of cool criticism. But some of the right hon. Gentleman's other reasons for objecting to a dissolution were more remarkable. He said that all that had happened was that a private Member—himself—had laid certain proposals before the country, and he did not know that that was any reason for a dissolution. Was this the right way for the right hon. Gentleman to set forth his proposals? It was true they were the proposals of a private Member, but they were proposals which had been adopted by the Government. The right hon. Gentleman told the House his proposals were, in substance, identical with those of the Government. He had introduced those proposals as being a new principle to dominate the elections. The question which was to dominate the next general election was not temperance, was not the War Office Report, was not even Chinese labour, but the fiscal question. The right hon. Gentleman told the country, on the 15th of May, 1902, that that was to be the dominant issue at the next general election. He told them that that was not only his view but the view of the Prime Minister. He had pledged the Prime Minister to that view, and it required more than ordinary courage to come down to the House now and say that these were only the proposals of a private Member. The House was bound to treat these proposals as the proposals of the Government.

The speech of the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich, who followed the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, no doubt answered that part of the case sufficiently, but it was to be regretted that the noble Lord had not gone further with regard to the policy of retaliation and informed the House what his attitude was going to be on that question. He had told the House that he understood that policy, but he had not said whether he approved or disapproved of it. He desired now to address himself to the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister rather than that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, which he would only place by way of contrast beside that of the Prime Minister. The policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had the advantage of being the more direct policy. It was not only intelligible, it was transparent. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham was all for protecting some English producers against all English consumers. That was not precisely the way in which the right hon. Gentleman put it; he appeared to speak of it as protecting the British producer against the foreign producer, but what really happened was that it was the English consumer that stood up to be hit. That was the true meaning of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and the men of business who were associated with him in this controversy. The right hon. Gentleman and his friends had spent all their lives in endeavouring to get all they could out of the British consumer; they had struggled with the wretched desire of their customers to get their goods as cheaply as possible—which was the English way of doing business—meeting their customers as well as they could, and now the right hon. Gentleman proposed to introduce Continental methods. Instead of meeting the consumer commercially, as heretofore, satisfied with what they made out of him, the right hon. Gentleman and those associated with him desired to insure that he should pay more for what he got than he paid before. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, however, thought the policy was somewhat too crude. He was not a man of business and did not like to put the matter in that way. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said it was entirely to protect the consumer and to increase our foreign trade. He knew that if the exports were increased the inevitable result must be that the imports would be increased as well, but that was not the desire of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. That Gentleman desired to cut down imports. Did the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister believe the two policies were identical? Did his followers believe it? The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich had said in a speech that day that they had a situation absolutely unparalleled in the history of this nation or of any country governed by a Constitution. Here was a Government in power supported by two sections of a Party, because each believed the Government desired to deceive the other. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was fairly comfortable so far as his attitude was concerned; he had claimed that the policy of the Prime Minister was identical with that which he had enunciated. He had placed that before the House as a challenge to the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman did not reply to that challenge because, to borrow an humble phrase, "it was more than his place was worth" to repudiate it. The attitude of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister in this matter was very difficult to follow so they had to look at his motive. If they could judge of his motive by his conduct there could be no doubt about it at all. The right hon. Gentleman had rid himself of all his free-trade colleagues and filled their places in the Ministry with—he had almost said the creatures—supporters of tariff reform. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife had asked various questions as to the policy of the right hon. Gentleman and its bearing on free trade, and had demanded an answer, because it had been authoritatively stated that the Prime Minister was in sympathy with the Tariff Reform League. If that were so, he could not understand any free-trade Unionist any longer supporting the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham must have made that statement in perfect good faith as the result of communication between himself and the Prime Minister. But if he was mistaken, surely in common fairness it was the duty of the Prime Minister to correct his mistake. Not only the free-trade members of the Tory Party, but the whole of England had a right to complain if the Prime Minister deliberately and knowingly allowed a false impression as to his views to be disseminated amongst his followers and the electorate. Strangely enough, the Prime Minister did not seem to object to both sections of his Party disbelieving him in one matter or another. He knew that the protectionists disbelieved his allegations of free-trade motives, and that the free-traders disbelieved the sincerity of his protectionist methods; but instead of resenting support accorded on such terms he invited and lived by it. It might be fine strategy, but it was undoubtedly a course of conduct which cut at the very root of political honour as hitherto understood in this country, and was grossly unfair to the Prime Minister's followers, his opponents, and the electorate.

How did the free-traders stand in view of the Prime Minister's alleged motive? They believed that retaliation was not meant. "Retaliation" was a perfectly well understood word; there might be doubt as to the precise methods by which the policy would be put in force, but its meaning in the fiscal sphere was well known. Did the Prime Minister seriously mean this policy? His free-trade followers thought he did not, their view being that it was really a shelter from the fiscal storm, and that when he had a suitable majority it would be dropped—in short, that it was intended for provisional Party use, just as old-age pensions were. It should not be forgotten that the right hon. Gentlemen the Member for West Birmingham and the Prime Minister were alike engaged in that contemptible imposture practised upon the poor of England. Within the last few days the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had stated that he had never been able to see any source from which the money for old-age pensions could properly be drawn, and it was with that knowledge that he dangled that policy before the electors, took their votes, and then betrayed them. But the fact that both right hon. Gentlemen co-operated in that imposture, instead of putting free-trade Unionists on their guard, seemed rather to inspire them with hope; they hoped, prayed, and believed that retaliation was only one imposture the more. He thought they were gravely mistaken. If once the Prime Minister was returned with a majority in favour of retaliation, it was idle to suppose that that policy would not be worked in the direction of protection. Bluff was a very attractive policy; it sometimes succeeded, but sometimes, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham well knew, it failed. It was far more likely to succeed in military than in fiscal matters. Bluff in the sphere of international diplomacy might succeed, as nations had no desire to fight except in defence of some great vital interest. But that was by no means the case in the sphere of economics. In every protectionist nation there was ready to hand a fiscal war party in the manufacturers, who saw their chance of making a profit out of the business. That fiscal party existed in England; it was well organised in the Tariff Reform League, and had its staff in the Tariff Commission. The gentlemen composing the fiscal war party would jump at the chance afforded by bluff of plunging the country into a fiscal war. Mere threats would very soon become much more. The idea that we should be doing to foreign nations only that which they now did to each other was a most dangerous fallacy.

The policy of the Prime Minister had no analogy whatever in the policy of protectionist countries. None of them would dream of adopting it. On two or three occasions they had adopted the policy, but with instant and lamentable results. The Prime Minister's contention was that, being a free-trade country, we had nothing to offer other nations, and that, therefore, we ought to have something to threaten; we were to tax their goods not for the sake of our revenue or trade, but purely to hit and to hurt them. What protectionist country would be so insane as to formulate a policy like that? The whole of their protectionist machinery was carefully devised and elaborated to prevent that appearance of hostility with which the Prime Minister would begin his so-called negotiations. They started with a general tariff, in many cases higher than they desired to maintain; then they approached the country they desired to negotiate with by offering certain remissions of the tariff in return for other fiscal advantages. If the offer was refused the ordinary law operated. There was doubtless some poor semblance of retaliation in that procedure, but how conciliatory it was in form, and form was almost everything in these matters. They proceeded by inducements; we were to proceed by threats. That was an enormous difference—the whole difference between proceeding as men of business and diplomatists would act—and merely showing one's teeth, especially when, as in this case, one had scarcely any teeth that could be used. We should therefore suffer all the detriment of provocation without enjoying the benefit of a successful attack. Protectionist countries had learnt from sore and sad experience how completely mistaken was the policy of threats. None knew better than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham that if the policy of retaliation were adopted they must begin with a general tariff, and negotiate their commercial treaties on that basis. The right hon. Gentleman knew also that if threats were used without the basis of a general tariff having been adopted, the country would be instantly landed in fiscal war. The inhabitants of these islands were a fighting race; they would fight even with their bread and butter, and that was what the real leaders of the Tory Party desired them to do. They knew that if they could once appeal to the national spirit they would be able to say, "Let us put economics apart; we are now engaged in fiscal war. Let us begin at once with our most powerful weapon. If it be with America, let us place a tax on food." Thus the policy of retaliation would lead to taxes on food, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham clearly recognised.

Another fallacy was hidden in the use of the word "bargain." The Prime Minister regarded treaties as matters of bargaining, and said—

> "You cannot do anything at bargaining unless you have something to give as well as to get."

That sounded very plausible, but it covered a somewhat shallow fallacy. Commercial treaties were not in any fair sense analogous to bargains. In a bargain the less one gave the better for him. Each party sought to give as little, and to get as much, as he could. But in a commercial treaty a country gave up something it was better without; they gave up a tax which hampered their trade; so that, if a bargain at all, it was one in which it was more blessed to give than to receive. Protection was built up of false analogies, and retaliation consisted in hitting our friends in order that somehow or other we might hurt our enemy. What was the spirit in which a protectionist entered into negotiations for a treaty? He knew that in his own country a selfish section would demand that their interests should be protected. Owing to the lower standard of wages in other countries, they were obliged to have recourse more to indirect taxation, but what was the protectionist's object? He desired to make more trade with England, and to take off all taxes he could; and he remembered that it paid his country better to trade with England than with any other country. That was the view of all the traders in his own country. There was not a single protectionist country in the world which did not prefer trading with England to trading with any other country. That was a rather remarkable circumstance. Talk about preference—that was the sort of preference they wanted, and that was a free-trade preference. How did that preference work? The foreigner came to this country to sell his goods. If England was the best market for the foreigner to sell in, because of its freedom, it was equally the best market for him to buy in. The foreigner knew when he sold his goods here that he must buy either directly or indirectly here, so that for both buying and selling the protectionist found that England was the best market in the world in which to do business. Let them compare that kind of preference with the preference which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and the Prime Minister offered in its place. He did not wish to speak disrespectfully of the trade with the Colonies, but let them compare the free-trade kind of preference they were now enjoying from people in other countries, with the preference offered by some of our colonial fellow-subjects. What would be the attitude of foreigners when this country began to threaten them with retaliation? The result would be that they would have a fiscal war which would not only hamper but also destroy trade by millions sterling. In his opinion, the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was far less dangerous than that put forward by the Prime Minister, because he put it in a way that one could understand, and one had some idea of the damage it would do; but they could not have a worse method than that which was suggested by the Prime Minister, which would destroy something like 30 per cent. of our trade with foreign countries. That would be the result of a fiscal war. Imagine the state of employment in England after the inauguration of the policy of the Prime Minister with that destruction of trade as the inevitable result. If they were to have protection, they must be prepared to maintain no greater population than protectionist countries. The population maintained in this country was 588 per square mile, in France 230, and in Germany about 260. The policy of retaliation seemed to be spoken of as something that might be handled harmlessly, but in his opinion, it ought to be treated as a deadly danger to our trade. They had had a fair illustration of free-trade retaliation in the Sugar Convention. There they saw how this policy of retaliation operated. The Prime Minister had challenged them to state what their policy was. Was the policy of freedom nothing? They had found freedom a wise policy in this country in the past, and were not going to give it up either for protection or retaliation.

*MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said the terms of the Amendment claimed that the time had come when a dissolution of this Parliament should take place, and it made that claim on the ground that the fiscal question had been discussed long enough, having been before the country for fully two years. Perhaps the House would excuse him if he said that it seemed to him that discussions of fiscal policy were not very profitable in a Parliament of which one portion was clamouring and demanding that the Government had no authority to deal with any question at all, while the other portion freely admitted that, whatever mandate that Parliament had, they certainly had no mandate to deal with the fiscal question. He did not quite see what use it was, in a debate which demanded the dissolution of Parliament, discussing the merits of a question which had to be relegated to those from whom alone that and all Parliaments received authority. It was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwick the night before, as a reason for dissolution, that there was great uncertainty in trade, and that a dissolution was almost the only remedy. He thought that outcry was the same as the outcry on the religious question in education—a thing they heard nothing of in schools, but only on platforms and in the House of Commons. They did not hear of any outcry in banking and other commercial circles arising out of the fiscal question.

The claim for dissolution was really a Constitutional question, and it was as such that he proposed to discuss it. It was stated that the present Parliament was devoid of authority, and that it had no mandate. Those who remembered the history of 1900, however, were in a position to dispute the contention as to the want of a mandate. The Leader of the Opposition was somewhat startled on the first night of the session when words were read from his address which showed that he, in 1900, repudiated the idea that that election was to be fought on a single issue. But what was of much more importance was the manner in which the electors approached the matter. He was in a position to show that not only in the election address of the Leader of the Opposition a general claim was put forward that the issue could not be restricted, but such a claim was also put forward by the late Sir William Harcourt in his address. The Leader of the Opposition went further, and warned his hearers against sham reforms to be looked for from Unionists, contrasted the legislation of Unionists with what might be expected from the legislation of Liberals, and said the general policy of the Unionists was one of always looking after the interests of a particular Party or a particular class. Lord Rosebery accused the Unionist Party of what he called scamping their legislation, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife jeered at its tinkering character. There were not only these general warnings, but there were particular warnings, and they related to the very legislation which this Parliament proceeded to pass. As to education the late Sir William Harcourt said that one of the greatest questions in such an election must be as to the Party not only most willing but most capable of providing for the education of the people. Lord Rosebery made it one of his principal complaints that the Unionist Party had abandoned the Education Bill of 1896. To summarise the result of all this he would say that language of this kind was indulged in by Liberal candidates all over the country, who followed the example of their leaders, and, therefore, the electors were warned of the kind of legislation that might be introduced by the present Government. With their eyes well opened they cheerfully took their chance, and it was on that ground that the full and ample authority of the Unionist Party rested. It was useless to quote implied promises that if the South African War were finished they would indulge in no legislation at all of any great importance. The electors might have thought, and probably did think, that even unsound Unionist legislation was better than another Majuba settlement in South Africa, and nobody really supposed that the Unionists after such warnings would not attempt any legislation whatever.

What was the next Opposition plea for a dissolution ? Parliamentary history afforded no instance of a Prime Minister dissolving Parliament because by-elections had gone unfavourably to him. No precedent had been cited, except one case in which Mr. Gladstone had given two conflicting utterances on the point. It was said that he wrote a letter on January 8th, 1874, and another letter on January 23rd, of the same year in an opposite sense. The explanation of that was that between the two dates something had operated on his mind which made him think that a dissolution was desirable though it had not presented itself in that sense at first. That something was well known at the time. The late Lord Selborne and others had left on record the true reason for Mr. Gladstone's action. It was not the course of by-elections that had so much dictated his action as the fact that Mr. Gladstone had accepted office, as to the legality of which there were grave doubts, without recourse to a re-election. He maintained that the general doctrine, apart from precedents, as to which there was a singular lack, the universal course of practice was to disregard by-elections, and for the Government to trust the House of Commons, on whom alone responsibility should rest. So long as the House of Commons supported a Ministry, so long as the House was undisturbed by the apparent hostility of constituents, the Ministry should trust the House of Commons. If the House supported them, Ministers should not act as if they knew better than the House. He held that it would be an evil day for the dignity and responsibility of the House if it were not accepted as the sole judge in the issue whether or not the time had come for a dissolution. It was for the House itself to judge of the strength and permanence of any manifestation of feeling outside its doors, and for Members to judge whether they were or were not in a position to say to their constituents, "You may think that we are wrong to-day—but before many years have passed you will know that we are in the right." To act otherwise was to undermine the responsibility of the electors and the moral courage of their representatives. He submitted that no grounds had been shown, certainly in the present debate, for advising a dissolution of the present Parliament, which was asked for merely because the political appetites of hon. Gentlemen opposite were in an unmanageable state.

*MR. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Oswestry) said that one of the arguments of hon. Gentlemen opposite was that trade was not suffering owing to the dissolution of Parliament being postponed. He did not think that that was the case, for at this moment there were all the signs of a coming revival of trade, but that revival was kept back on account of the uncertainty of the political situation. Not only that, the programme of the Government was exhausted, for they had been elected on the purely South African policy of bringing the war to an end. Further, the country was ripe for a dissolution. It was impossible to take up a local newspaper without seeing reports of political meetings and canvassing in behalf of candidates on both sides. That showed that the country was ready to give its verdict, and that would be pronounced enough when the time came to record it. The fiscal question had been before the country for two years, and hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to be carrying out the traditions of their Party and raising once again the cry for protection, which historically they had never renounced, although they had undoubtedly shelved it for a time. The main issue before the country at the dissolution would be protection *versus* free-trade.

Various arguments had been heard as to why there should not be a dissolution. They were told that many questions were unsettled, among them that of unemployment. It might justly be said that unemployment in its serious aspect at present was largely due to the policy of the Government, because unemployment always followed the close of a great war. It was so in the case of the Crimean War and of the great French War which ended in 1815. The country was simply reaping the results of the

Government's South African policy, and it was not for hon. Gentlemen opposite, who had created this great difficulty, to talk of the unemployed as a reason for postponing a general election. A great deal had been said about "dumping;" but, whatever might be said of its occasional disadvantages, it had also its advantages. Take, for instance, the tinplate trade, of which he knew something. Last year was the record year in that industry; and why? Because of the "dumped" bars received from Germany. If the raw material could be obtained at a cheap rate from abroad it could be worked out here in manufactured articles. Then, they had had experience of the benefits of securing cheap sugar; but by the Sugar Convention they had managed to damage flourishing industries such as jam-making and confectionery. That cheerful result had been brought about by trying to stop dumping." But there was something more than all that, if they were going in a country like this to limit the supply of corn and other food from every other source in order to give a preference to colonial products. That, he contended would create a position of danger, for it was impossible to suppose that there would not be times of scarcity in the Colonies, and then there would be a limited market on which to draw from our necessary supplies of food. They had such an experience recntly in the cotton trade. Cotton was mainely imported from America, and there was a limited market. The result was that a year ago thousands of men were out of employment. The same would apply to corn. There would be a limited market; there would be great differences in prices from time to time; and the people of this country would be damaged, because it was on cheap food the people lived. He could not imagine anything more unwise or more foolish. They on that side did not fear a dissolution. The by-elections had shown what the country thought on the question of dear food. His own by-election was fought on the question of dear bread, the next would probably be fought on the question of dear sugar. This country did not want this doctrine of artificial dearness; it was ripe for a dissolution, and he hoped it would get it before long.

*MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, East Toxteth) said he wished to direct a few observations to the terms of the Amendment rather than to the fiscal question. If the Amendment were a naked demand for dissolution on the ground of the general policy of the Government he should have no hesitation as to the course he should adopt. There was a large portion of the policy of the Government with which he was in absolute sympathy; moreover, he had been returned as a supporter of the Government; and if they were merely challenged on general policy he should have no hesitation in giving them his support. But the Amendment was not so drawn. It was drawn in terms which did not raise the clear issue of dissolution on the general policy of the Government; or the clear issue as between the rival policies of free trade and protection. It demanded the dissolution of Parliament, and the termination of the trust which the Government had undertaken, on the ground that the fiscal question had been sufficiently discussed, and that the country was ripe for its decision. He was not quite sure whether the discussion of the fiscal question was really concluded. Judging by the speeches to which they had listened, there was still an ample desire in the minds of Members to discuss a policy which had now been discussed for nearly two years. It had been urged during the course of the debate that if Parliament were dissolved some good might result to the cause of free trade, but it should not be forgotten that during the lifetime of the present House of Commons they had the pledge of the Government that no change should take place in the fiscal system of the country. From that point of view the more prolonged was the existence of the present Government, the further was any change in the fiscal policy of the country deferred. From that point of view it might fairly be contended thatthe existence of the present House of Commons was in favour of free trade. In addition, many Unionist and Liberal free traders thought that the longer the question was discussed in the country the more free trade had to gain. On the other hand, it was perfectly well known that there was going on, all over the country, a determined attempt to capture the Unionist Party's machinery for the cause of a protectionist policy. No doubt the most drastic cure, bitter but salutary, for that process, which was gradually sapping the Unionist Party, and driving out all those elements which made for commercial freedom, would be a general election in which the Unionist Party on the question of fiscal policy received a shattering defeat. It was not perfectly clear therefore, on the terms of the Amendment, and on a review of the general position, whether it was or was not desirable, in the interests of free trade, that a dissolution should immediately take place.

He saw in the newspapers recently a remarkable illustration of what was really going on in the Unionist Party in Liverpool, one of the Divisions of which he had the honour of representing. In that city there had been recently a most regrettable vacancy, due to the retirement of Sir John Willox, whom he was sure they would regret to miss in the debates in that House. His successor in the candidature on behalf of the Unionist Party had recently been adopted, and at the time of his adoption he made a very remarkable speech to the Conservative Divisional Council of the Everton Division. While giving a general support to His Majesty's Government, he reserved liberty of action on two matters of supreme importance. The first of these was the question of Church Discipline, and to all who knew Liverpool that was not surprising. The Bill which he (Mr. Taylor) had had the honour of arguing in that House, and for which he secured a Second Reading, was dear to Liverpool. Might he say in passing that it was consoling to find the Liberal candidate was, strange to say, equally pledged to an ardent support of that measure, and indeed had gone further and had pledged a future Liberal Parliament to pass it without hesitation? That was a pledge which he (Mr. Taylor) would commend to the notice of right hon. Gentlemen on the opposite Benches, because if he was not there to remind them of it he trusted that other Gentlemen would be there to insist firmly on those pledges given broadcast throughout the country being redeemed. He hoped that when, in the hey-day of their prosperity, in the plenitude of their power, they occupied the Ministerial Benches they would not forget among other pressing reforms this measure on which their supporters throughout the country had pledged themselves with unhesitating alacrity. But the candidate who had been selected for the Everton Division of Liverpool to uphold the Unionist cause had made a further reservation on the subject of fiscal policy. These were his words—

> "Under these circumstances whilst a believer in the policy Mr. Balfour advocated, he was prepared to go even further, and he declared that his ideas and aspirations tended towards the policy enunciated by Mr. Chamberlain in the direction he had indicated, namely, a united Empire, with the necessary consequences, Colonial and Indian preferences."

Involving, of course, continued Mr. Taylor, the taxation of food, which had been explicitly excluded from the Government programme by the Prime Minister. The candidate went on to say—

> "If, therefore, they had any doubt as to his suitability as a candidate on those grounds, he should prefer that they should tell him so frankly."

Notwithstanding those explicit statements, for which he thought the candidate was to be commended by all outspoken and honest men appealing for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens, he was adopted by the Conservative Party, and would no doubt in due course receive Ministerial support and all the assistance which could be placed at his disposal. That was an indication of what he (Mr. Taylor) meant when he said that the Conservative machinery throughout the country was being captured, not merely for the policy of the Government, but also for that further policy which had been indicated by Mr. Chamberlain. By the making of these reservations on tariff reform the position of the Unionist free-traders was also incidentally strengthened, because if it was legitimate for a man to make a reservation as to the Government's policy by saying he was prepared to go further and possibly eventually in a contrary direction under the auspices of Mr. Chamberlain, surely Unionist free-traders were equally justified in claiming liberty of action on the question of fiscal policy in the direction of free trade. If these candidates were able to go a little further than the Prime Minister then Unionist free-traders were justified in saying that they could not go quite so far. He was quite clear that the Amendment involved the question of fiscal policy, and the division would to a very large extent be regarded by the country as one more trial of strength between the forces of protection and the forces of free trade. It was that consideration alone which would prevent him giving that support to the Government which, if it had been challenged on general questions of policy, he should have been most happy to do. Unionist free traders were placed in a position of peculiar embarrassment, and whether he abstained from the division altogether or went to the length, in the interests of free trade, of voting with the Opposition, he wished it to be clearly understood that it was not because he abated his sympathy with the general principles and policy of Conservatism, but because he was determined upon this one great issue of free trade—commercial liberty against monopoly and restriction—to cast in his lot with those who were the friends of free trade and to dissociate himself from those who were apparently its enemies.

*MR. HUNTER CRAIG (Lanarkshire, Govan) said he wished to call the attention of the House to an aspect which taxing the food of the people of this country would have, with reference to the wheat-producing Colonies, should a tax be put on wheat on foreigners and the Colonies exempted. Instead of this being an advantage to the Colonies, why the very reverse was the case. He spoke on this subject after an experience of over thirty years as an importer of breadstuffs from foreign and colonial countries and he said that were this policy carried out the price of wheat would not only be raised against the British consumer, to at least the extent of the duty, but it would also be raised against the Colony which exported the wheat. To illustrate what he meant, take the United States and Canada as competing countries for the sale of their surplus wheats in the United Kingdom. In buying from Canada he could pay, say 2s. per quarter more (if that is the tax on United States wheat) to the Canadian farmer than he could pay to the United States farmer, because of the exemption of duty on Canadian wheat. The Canadian farmer gets the amount of the duty over the price paid to the United States farmer. Consequently the local price of wheat in Canada is raised to the extent of this 2s. duty, and raised to this extent against the Canadian population. If the local price is raised in Canada 2s. (the amount of the duty) over the local price of United States wheat, the Canadian milling industry is no longer able to compete on all fours, as they are now doing, for the sale of flour in foreign countries such as China, with its 300,000,000, Japan, etc. They are handicapped by having to pay the same price as the British buyer pays to the Canadian farmer, and which is the amount of the duty more than he pays to the United States farmer, because on Canadian wheat there is no duty to pay on arrival in the United Kingdom. Thus the effect of a tax on wheat from aliens, with free imports to the Colonies, is raising the price to the colonial consumers and to the milling industry of the Colonies who can no longer compete on equal terms in foreign markets. The Colonial farmers are not asking for such a preference. They are a highly prosperous class and immigration to Canada is continuing to the extent of 90,000 per annum from the United States alone to settle on farms there. He had it on the highest authority that a preference to Canada would have the result not only of raising the price of food to the people of that country, but also of taxing the milling industry of Canada to a corresponding extent, and that that industry would be thereby handicapped in competing with the United States for the trade of other countries. When the shilling duty on corn was proposed three years ago he had cables from Canada urging him to endeavour to secure the exemption of Canada. Their view now was the very opposite, the millers urging that preference should not be given because it would handicap them in the flour-exporting trade. Not only would the people of this country be penalised by the adoption of such a policy, but the wheat-producing Colonies would be taxed, because the price of wheat would be raised locally by the amount of the duty. He thought that this was an aspect of the question which ought to be borne in mind.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth) thought it only fair to say that, although a free-trader, he had no fault to find either with the Prime Minister, his colleagues, or the Party organisation in regard to his position in his constituency. Ministers or Party organisation could modify the views of constituencies no more than they could control the winds of heaven. To stand for a seat against the wishes of the Party organisation as the hon. Member for King's Lynn and others had announced their intention of doing, seemed an heroic attitude to adopt, while those who had determined to retire from politics altogether were sometimes accused of weakness. But there was something to be said in defence of those who had been driven into the latter course. It was quite true that one could, if he chose, stand at all hazards and refuse to be elbowed out, but he would not admit that he was open to the charge of undue subservience to Party if he thought it better to retire from politics altogether rather than incur a personal defeat, and, what was more important, break up the Party probably for many years to come. After all, there was a great deal of genuine principle in loyalty to Party. A man pinned his faith more to one set of political opinions than to another, and although he might differ strongly from his friends on one particular point, yet he might consider it better for the good of the country in general that he should refrain from destroying the Party, whose policy as a whole he supported. For this reason he had thought it better to submit to political extinction, rather than take the line to be adopted by the hon. Members for Durham and King's Lynn. As to the Amendment before the House, he should vote with the Government, who had repeatedly stated that nothing would be done in this matter during the present Parliament. He was returned to support this Government, and as long as he was in the House he should do so.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

Mr. Hunter Craig.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [15th February] to Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, the various aspects of the fiscal question having now been fully discussed in the country for nearly two years, the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay.'"—(*Mr. Asquith.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

*MR. TOMKINSON (Cheshire, Crewe) said no one who had been present during the delivery of the lucid speech of the learned and hon. Member for South Shields could do otherwise than regret that it was delivered to so scant an audience on the benches opposite, and it was more to be regretted that the right hon. Member for West Birmingham should be conspicuous by his absence, as it was only across the floor of the House that it was possible to put straight questions requiring straight answers, and to challenge the right hon. Gentleman to make good and confirm in the House the statements he had made throughout the country. The whole question of protection and retaliation rested on what was called the outrageously unfair treatment meted out to England by foreign countries in practically excluding her products from their markets, whilst they themselves found a perfectly free and open market in this country. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had, at various meetings, elaborated the suggestion, illustrating his arguments by means of the tariffs of Germany and the United States of America, but everybody knew his statements were not true; everybody knew we could not buy without selling and that if we bought from foreigners they, in their turn, must buy from us. He had said at Newport—

> "You cannot compete with the United States, for they have a population of 70,000,000 from whom their tariffs practically exclude you, while they have in addition your market of 40,000,000; consequently their market is 110,000,000 to your 40,000,000. Similarly Germany has the market of her 55,000,000 people from which she excludes you; she has, therefore a market of 95,000,000 to your 40,000,000."

Now the Board of Trade Returns showed that the United States of America, France and Germany took from us goods to the value of £98,000,000, of which more than £60,000,000 represented our products and more than £30,000,000 transhipments. A most lucrative trade and one we had because we were the only free market in the world. Such statements as those made by the right hon. Gentleman showed an ignorance that was little less than criminal. France, Germany and America, whom he had thus attacked, were, in fact, our best customers, far better than any other white customers we had, including the Colonies.

Some economists had imports on the brain. They looked upon them as a loss, but he could give the House a concrete instance of the fallacy of that theory. A friend of his freighted a ship with 2,000 tons of Welsh coal at a cost of 15s. a ton, making an export of £1,500 which he sent to Manila. That coal sold for £3,500. The money was invested in 400 tons of Manila sugar which was brought to this country, when it was valued at £7,000. It could hardly be said that that transaction—export 2,000 tons of coal at £1,500, import 400 tons of sugar at £7,000—resulted in a loss to this country. In dealing with the question of exports and imports, it was contended by some that our imports were loss and our exports gain, and he supposed that if this ship, on her return, had been sunk with this cargo of sugar, it would have been said by those Gentlemen that we had gained thereby. It appeared to him that the only way to understand protectionist logic was to read it standing on one's head. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had gone about industriously searching for ruined industries, but, unfortunately for the right hon. Gentleman, wherever he went he found trade flourishing. Cotton was flourishing, the tinplate trade was flourishing, in fact that trade was the greatest instance of the triumph of free trade over protection that could be found. No doubt the McKinley tariff affected it greatly at first, but it had recovered from that and now had markets all over the world, and trade was never better. It was said that the straw hat manufacturing had been ruined; that the poor girls of Luton who made straw plait had been ruined by Japanese plait imported into this country. As a fact, the girls who used to make straw plait were now earning twice the wages they did when they made it themselves. Luton had doubled its population in seventeen years. With regard to agriculture, he made bold to say that agriculture under proper conditions of security was better now than it had been for a long time, and infinitely better than it had been under protection. In the days of protection, farmers were ruined by thousands. Committee after Committee of this House was appointed to inquire into the wretched condition of agriculture, and farmer after farmer came before those Committees to say that agriculture could not be carried on, if the present rents were to be paid, if wheat was allowed to fall below 80s. a quarter. Then with regard to milling. Milling was doing well, and although the little country mills could not compete with the great steam rolling-mills, they made a good business in selling and grinding foreign feeding-stuffs, and so far from our having a shortage of offals we sold between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 cwts. to Denmark and other countries every year. There was not a single industry which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham tried to make out was decadent and ruined, but what had done remarkably well. Ever since the right hon. Gentleman had started his campaign, in spite of the undoubted depression of the home trade which then existed, and which was the result of the war, our foreign trade had gone up until it had reached the astounding total of £920,000,000. When Sir Robert Peel repealed the Corn Laws our total trade was only £120,000,000, although prices were much higher then than they were now. There had been an increase on the trade of eight-fold, but if we took the decrease of values into consideration it would be sixteen-fold. We did more than three-quarters of the carrying trade of the whole world, and yet there were some who wanted it all. We had had depression and suffering at home, but he distinctly dissented from the view that so great a portion of our population were on the starvation line. He believed the figures were grossly exaggerated. Let the House remember that what in one country was comfort was scant commons in another. He read only that week of the miserable condition of 300 horses which were landed at Antwerp every Monday and which, after being examined and certified by the veterinary surgeon to be suffering from no contagious disease, were taken away to be slaughtered for food, a food that our people here would not eat.

The question he desired to ask was, whether on the whole foreign tariffs damaged a free-trade country. He thought when a balance was struck they did us an immense deal of good; they gave us the carrying trade of the world. American protection had ruined American shipping. At one time it was nearly equal to our own; now it was only 800,000 against our 10,500,000 tons. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was a master of lucid speech and expression, and hon. Members had heard many of his utterances quoted, but there was one expression upon this question which he (Mr. Tomkinson) had not seen quoted. It was not to the right hon. Gentleman's detriment. In 1885 the right hon. Gentleman summed up the protective system, and said the effect of it was "to stereotype inferiority." The right hon. Gentleman had been going about trying to account for our unemployed by foreign tariffs, but he had nothing to say about the wasteful expenditure of the war, although everybody knew that unproductive expenditure was one of the greatest causes of unemployment, while productive expenditure was the best means of providing it. Protection was a quack remedy. It gave an inducement to every interest to rise up in turn and say, "What is going to be done for me." That was inevitable, because it taxed some industries to protect others.

It had been said that the Government's mandate was not exhausted, and that there was no need to appeal to the country. On the 8th October, 1900, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham sent a message to his constituents expressing a hope that the men of Crewe would not be so unwise or unpatriotic as to return a friend of the Boers, but the reply they gave to this mesage was that they returned him to Parliament again with a majority of 1,200. The right hon. Gentleman told them at the last election that the real issue was not a question of domestic policy, but a question of the existence of the Empire. Having got the votes of the electors upon that issue, the Government proceeded to legislate upon questions of domestic policy which the electors were assured were not at issue. Some fifteen months after that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, telegraphed to the Unionist candidate at Dewsbury reminding the electors that at that election patriotism came before Party, and declaring that there were only two Parties, those who were for their country and those who were for the Boers. It was for those reasons that he contended that the Government's mandate had been misused, and was now exhausted, and the by-elections had emphatically pronounced against them by an unexampled turnover of votes.

*Sir HENRY KIMBER (Wandsworth) said that, judging from the speeches which had been made in this debate, it was clear that the word "protection" had in the minds of different men a very different meaning. They had been told in another place by a distinguished nobleman, who was understood by many to be the future Leader of the Liberal Party, that the hon. Member for West Birmingham had the design of introducing into the House and the country the protection of 1843. Only yesterday the hon. Member for Durham spoke of the antiquated protectionism of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. But the protection of 1843, represented by a 28s. duty on corn at a 50s. price was a very different thing to the protection presented by the ex-Colonial Secretary, which was a 2s. duty upon a 27s. price. [AN HON. MEMBER from the OPPOSITION side: It is the same thing.] He contended that it was not at all the same thing. Why was the duty of 1843 imposed? It was put on simply to raise the price of the home produce in favour of the home producer, for the purpose of putting large profits into the pockets of a particular class of people at the expense of the rest. The object of the policy of the hon. Member for West Birmingham was not to raise prices, but to enable us to meet our competitors on equal terms, and to enable our Colonies to have a fair chance, unhampered by unfair competition with the rest of the world. Therefore the 2s. duty on corn now suggested was a far different thing not only in amount, but also in principle. [OPPOSITION cries of "No, no!"] He had risen to present to the House the views of one of the largest of the Metropolitan constituencies, composed for the most part of men engaged in commerce and finance in the City of London. He ventured to say that over 90 per cent. of his supporters were in favour of the policy propounded by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. When this question was first brought forward the Opposition were opposed to all inquiry. If any of His Majesty's subjects were suffering under a grievance, he wished to know what objection there could be to an inquiry. In the present case the Opposition not only declared that there should be no reform, but also that there should be no inquiry as to whether reform was necessary.

The new fiscal policy had been described by the hon. Member opposite as an unclean thing and a quack remedy. The hon. Member imagined that these duties were to be imposed for the purpose of raising prices, whereas the proposal was one for making the foreigner pay the duty. What did it matter about imposing a small duty if the foreigner paid it? Two years ago they placed a 1s. duty on corn, which brought £2,500,000 to the revenue, and this did not raise the price of bread by one farthing. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why did you take it off then?] All they desired was to protect the men who were hounded out of their trade unfairly by underselling. Let them suppose for a moment that a 2s. duty was placed upon corn. Who were the vendors of corn? Russia, Argentina, the United States, two of our own great Colonies and others. In the case of a 2s. duty the effect would be that these vendors would drop their profits by the amount of the duty, and it did not follow that the price would be raised in this country by that amount. When France put a duty of 12s. 2d. upon corn the price was not raised in France more than two-thirds of that amount. He admitted that the tendency of an import duty was to raise the price, because it was an additional burden upon the producer of the commodity. But this was not the only factor in the operation of the law of supply and demand. An import duty tended to lessen the price to the consumer, because it increased the supply and stimulated home production. While he supported the policy of the Prime Minister, which he thought was the best and most cautious policy, yet at the same time he was a believer in the principles propounded by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. He might add that he should not be a believer in the new fiscal proposals if he thought they meant a return to the protection of 1843, but if they read the whole of the speeches made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, both inside and outside of the House of Commons, he was sure they would not find the slightest trace of what the hon. Member for Durham called "antiquated protectionism."

He professed and believed he was a thorough free-trader, but he did not believe that free-trade principles precluded anybody from supporting proposals to prevent the dumping of goods upon our shores at less than cost price, which had the effect of destroying our industries. The alleged benefits of dumping were, in his opinion, very dearly paid for by the destruction to such a large extent of the industries of the people of this country. They had already lost profits amounting to £30,000,000 in industries which had been destroyed by unfair competition, although he was glad to say that they had been able to make up for it in other parts of the world. If everything they bought was produced abroad, the workers here would be idle. It was true that the rich could go on buying these dumped goods, but what about the unemployed? Under such circumstances what would be the position of this nation amongst the other nations of the world? They would simply be a people existing upon their riches and depleting their resources, and giving away those industrial occupations which maintained the vigour and the manhood of the people. Was that the position which this country desired to occupy in the future? They had been told by various Leaders of the Opposition that the remedy for men being out of employment and for sacrificed industries was that capital and labour must look out for fresh employment. He knew of one industrial undertaking which cost £300,000, and in consequence of dumping by foreigners it had recently been sold for £50,000. What had become of the capital and labour that used to be employed there? When these works were stopped these skilled workers were obliged to take up other employment, and he knew one of these skilled workmen who had become a porter on one of the railways. That was a sample of the way in which skilled artisans were obliged to transfer their labour in consequence of dumping. Was that the way in which the great industries of this country could be maintained? In conclusion, he urged the House not to reject fiscal proposals which at one period were abused for objectionable purposes, but which were now to be utilised to keep industries in the country, to increase home production, and to put money into the revenue at the expense of the foreigner.

MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs) said he thought the speech of the hon. Member for Wandsworth proved, if any proof were needed, that the arguments on the fiscal question were before the country. In that speech he seemed to hear the arguments of Mr. Ackroyd in 1881, and all those gloomy predictions as to the fate of our trade and the ruin of our industries. Each and all of these had been falsified by twenty-four years of time, and now the hon. Gentleman said that the state of this country was so disastrous that it was only because it was a rich country that it had been able to buy in any market. How did it become so rich? Was it by following the principles of Mr. Ackroyd or those of his hon. friend? No, it was by this island continuing to be the dumping ground, if they would, for all the cheap goods the world could produce, and using that great element of cheapness to transform it into the industrial workshop of the world. The hon. Member said he was the enemy of cheapness. Everybody was the enemy of cheapness who wished to sell dear, and that was the whole story now in a nutshell. Those enemies of cheapness who wished to sell dear were also the enemies of those who wished to buy cheaply, and, after all, it was a struggle between the producer wanting a high-price market, and the consumer wanting a low-price market. No argumentation would conceal from the country or the House of Commons that this was now the threadbare argument, namely, that cheapness was the curse of a great consuming nation. But his hon. friend claimed for himself that he did not wish to go back to antiquated protection, stating that he was a free-trader. Yes, but with a difference. He was a free-trader who was in favour of a tax on corn. How did we get rid of antiquated protection? By a huge agitation headed by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. It was owing to the Anti-Corn-Law League, whose primary object was to get rid of the heavy tax on corn which his hon. friend wished to reimpose.

* SIR HENRY KIMBER: I did not say I was in favour of a tax on corn at all. [OPPOSITION cries of "Yes."] I pointed out that in the circumstances there was a great argument in its favour

MR. THOMAS SHAW said that made the matter wonderfully clear. The hon. Member was not in favour of what there was a great argument in favour of. Why did he give the House the argument while concealing his disrelish for it? It was always the way. When they got hold of those persons who were arguing that they were free-traders, and when they were found to be in favour of a tax on corn and were reminded of all the miserable memories of the country in connection with the tax on corn, they fought shy of it.

* SIR HENRY KIMBER: I am sure the hon. and learned Gentleman does not wish to misrepresent me. I did not pretend that I was in favour of a tax on corn. I do not wish to sail under false colours. I did not propose a duty on corn or anything of the kind, but I said that under circumstances where it would not raise the price I was not unfavourable. I did not say that I was in favour of a duty on corn *simpliciter*.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said that made it still clearer. The first stage was that he was not in favour of a tax on corn; but he thought there were arguments in favour of it. The second stage was that he was not adverse to a tax on corn, and the third stage was that he was in favour of a tax on corn where it would not raise prices, so that they had the old story back again. It was a tax on corn coupled with the prophecy that they would not put so much on as would raise prices. Much the agriculturists of the country would thank them for that. It was always the way. The tax always began in the innocent thin-edge-of-the-wedge form, and, once they had any departure from the principle of taxation for revenue purposes only, there was no saying what stage they might go to.

The Amendment pointed plainly to a dissolution of Parliament. He must confess to some dissent from some views expressed on his own side of the House with reference to the disturbance of trade caused by the present agitation. One of the enormous advantages of a free-trade country was that trade took its own course irrespective of the tactics of politicians. A remarkable instance of this was to be found in the figures of 1904. The year 1902 was admitted to be a record year. Our total foreign trade for 1902 was £877,500,000. But in 1904 it had actually risen to £922,500,000. Then the great argument was that our exports of manufactured goods were bound to decline. But within the past two years those exports to foreign countries and the Colonies had increased by no less than £16,500,000. In view of those figures any one who said, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, that any candid man viewed the present situation of trade with anxiety was fit to make any assertion with regard to the prosperity of the country. He seemed to have lost sight of the elementary distinction between prosperity and adversity. He hoped that the day was far distant when trade would be in the hands of any persons who were able to control the tariffs and the political movements of the time. It was only by trade being left a free course that it could be magnified in our country, and the moment they produced arrangements, and trusts, and cartels which were the ancillaries of these tariffs, they might reasonably expect the depletion of our splendid existing trade.

He attached little weight to the influence of these discussions on the trade of the country, but there were other interests which were far greater, and that was where the politician came in, and made two propositions which he ventured to say still held the field. These propositions were so wide as this, that there was to be no Empire without preference, and secondly, that there was to be no preference without the taxation of food. Notwithstanding all that had occurred these propositions absolutely held the field. They depended upon the taxation of the food of the people of this country, and, therefore, the gravity of the situation was no less than this. The proposal was to postpone a great Imperial issue and prevent the people of this country from making a pronouncement on it—an issue which involved the question that in order to build up or conserve our Imperial unity it was necessary to put an increased burden on the poorest of the community. His reason for approving of the Amendment was mainly this, that he thought the case with regard to protection and preference was fully before the country. That was demonstrated by the action of the Prime Minister himself, who said that his views on the subject were so clear that they could not be restated with advantage, and of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, who, having nothing new to suggest, said the same old things over and over again. The whole case had been stated over and over again by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, who talked about that obliging foreigner who was to pay a large proportion of our import taxes.

All that might be right, or it might be wrong, but at all events the country had had it from him over and over again. Had they not heard with the utmost clearness from the right hon. Gentleman that his view was that the taxation of food would lead to an increase of employment and wages in this county. That was an argument which must go home to every person, if true. It was said that, on the whole, it would not increase the price of living, but that it would tend to help our general trade, especially the export trade, which employed so many hands. That was the case on one branch of the argument. Now he proposed to show equally high authority on the other side. The authority was the right hon. Gentleman himself, because he had dealt with all these problems before. He had dealt with the arguments of Mr. Ackroyd just as they were dealing with the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman himself to-night. The view which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham then took with regard to the taxation of food was this—

> "A tax on food would mean a decline in wages. It would certainly involve a decline in their productive value. The same amount ot money would have smaller purchasing power. It would mean this, for it would raise the price of every article produced in the United Kingdom, and it would indubitably bring about the loss of that gigantic export trade which the industry and energy of the country, working under conditions of absolute freedom, have been able to create."

In these circumstances both sides are fully and fairly before the country, and they have been represented by the same high authority. [AN HON. MEMBER: What is the date?] The date was 1881, and the speech was reported in "Hansard." [AN HON. MEMBER: Times have changed.] The arguments with regard to the Imperial nature of the case were such as would do nobody any harm. They were now perfectly accustomed to the beating of this drum in the country, and they had heard it reverberating in the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But when they came to a close issue as to the appointment of a conference they were on far more serious ground, because here was a proposal as to the basis on which the conference was to meet. It had been asked whether we had anything to offer to the Colonies. It was suggested that we must have something more to offer than we had given already. He regretted that these issues were raised, because they made people consider the actual relation of the mother country to the Colonies. Was it not sufficient that for every shilling the Colonies paid for naval defence the people of this country paid £5, and that whilst the Colonies for the most part surrounded themselves with protective barriers we kept our ports open to the free importation of their products. Was there to be something put to that? Must we make it a measure of the patriotism of the people and of their attachment to the Colonies that we should tax the food of our own people in order to benefit the Colonies? What this Government had done with reference to the treatment of land, licensing, and so on, had raised a good many more points than they had settled, and it was much to be regretted that this question should be raised now as a matter between the two Parties. The Liberal Party had not introduced it, but they deplored its introduction, because they were convinced that it could lead to no good whatever. It was said that apart from fiscal matters there was nothing for the colonial representatives and our country to discuss. Was there not? He thought there were a good few things to discuss, and he would cite only two. He knew nothing more worthy of discussion than the contributions of the Colonies to our Imperial defence; and with regard especially to our newest colony, let them follow the colonial representative into conference and discuss with them the bearing, moral and social, of the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal. He understood that it was a cardinal principle of Members opposite that there was to be no taxation of raw material. If that were so they were in a difficult situation. If there was to be no preference with regard to raw material, as to which Australia would not benefit, they would not only introduce trouble between the Colonies and the mother country, but trouble between the Colonies themselves.

Besides all this trouble there was a great Constitutional question involved here. He attached no great weight to by-elections, but after all the country counted for something, and the only way in which, under the Constitution, they could express their mind was at elections. During this discussion no supporter of the Government had ventured to declare that in his opinion the House now represented the actual mind of the country. What was the Constitutional position they were brought to? He could not express it more briefly than in the language of Burke, who said in a passage quoted by Mr. Green—

> "The value, spirit, and essence of the House of Commons consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation."

That being settled doctrine, who could say that this House of Commons was the express image of the feelings of the nation? The fact, as they all admitted, was that it was an effete, broken, and distorted representation of the feelings of the nation, and that if the nation only got the slightest chance it would make a vast change in the *personnel* and composition of the House of Commons. It was altogether inconsistent with the dignity of the House that this kind of thing should go on. He knew that it was possible to go on evading issues, and with regard to the evasion of issues he would only say this. He did not think that the position could be better expressed than by the words used by Sir Robert Peel in a letter to Mr. Cobden—

> "I do not consider the evasion of difficult, and the postponement of troublesome, questions to be the carrying on of a Government."

On the whole, he contended that this debate had illustrated that all the arguments on both sides were now before the country, and that the only new question to be discussed was how long the country was to be kept from pronouncing its verdict. Varieties of phraseology were indeed employed with regard to the issue now before the House. The hon. Baronet who represented Truro, for example, had asked—

> "Is this Government to be put into the melting-pot to enable us to see who is to take hold of the handle of the ship of State?"

No one could now deny that, although the issue was the same old one, it might be presented in a fresh and attractive form.

*Mr. MALCOLM (Suffolk, Stowmarket) said that the speech to which they had just listened almost tempted him to forget that they were engaged in a most elaborate sham fight. When he saw in the Amendment on the Paper that the country had had enough of discussion of the fiscal question he was inclined to doubt it. Judging by the state of the Benches during the last two or three days, however, he was inclined to think that the House of Commons had had enough of it. He wished to add, for a few moments, his reflections on the Amendment, which contained two perfectly irrelevant propositions in regard to fiscal policy and dissolution. He was one of that despised sect known in the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife as a "pure Balfourian"—pure and, he hoped, undefiled. He did not understand the position of the Opposition. He could not understand their definition. Their political photographs had been somewhat difficult to recognise; they had been both undeveloped and over-exposed. He thought he understood the creed of the Prime Minister, although other people did not, and the reason might be because he wanted to understand it, while hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House did not want to understand it. Anyhow, he would venture that evening to give his definition of it, and likewise to relieve his own conscience. He approved most emphatically of the Prime Minister's scheme for retaliation, a retaliation which would help and not hinder us in our trade. There was a point of disagreement between himself and the right hon. Member for Berwick. The right hon. Baronet said that retaliation meant liberty to go to war, but he thought that what it meant was to give us liberty to arm ourselves when tariff war was declared against us. In the second place, he believed most thoroughly in the summoning of a conference with the Colonies, India and the Crown Colonies to discuss our Imperial position. He did not mean the ordinary conference which would come on in the ordinary course next year, but a conference *ad hoc* to discuss whether our commercial relations were based on the mutual advantage of all parties concerned. He thought that the right hon. Member for Berwick was mistaken the previous night in stating that they, on that side of the House, were making Party capital out of the Colonial Conference question. He seemed to think that the conference next year was the conference referred to by the Prime Minister in his speech the previous day. The Prime Minister meant another conference, to include the discussion of all our commercial relations; and to his mind a conference without India and the Crown Colonies included would be a farce and a sham.

Much had been made of the question whether the Prime Minister and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham agreed in principle. That entirely depended how the principle was defined. His own definition of the principle was that the British colonial trade should be encouraged *inter se* as between manufacturers, buyers, and distributors. And in the second place, that by some scheme of give-and-take, advantages not now available between the Colonies and Dependencies and the mother country should be strengthened by mutual agreement. He believed that to be the principle which the Prime Minister had in view. He hoped he might be allowed to say, however, that he widely disagreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and the Tariff Reform League on the question of methods and of 10 per cent. import duties, for he saw no difference between these and protection. He believed that that was a most unscientific plan for benefiting the trade of our country. He was somewhat led to wonder why it was that we got most of our pauper labour from highly protected countries. If high protection benefited employment, that pauper labour would stay at home. He thought that those who agreed with the Prime Minister might be allowed to reserve their judgment on the question of food taxation until the conference had been called and had reported. Until that had been done their judgment would not be worth anything. Again, he disagreed most entirely with the treatment meted out to the Unionist free-traders by the Tariff Reform League. It was not to be forgotten that the Tariff Reform League was headed by gentlemen who, with the exception of his right hon. friend, a few years ago proudly called themselves protectionists, and who now, when they found the word "protectionist" stank in the nostrils of the nation, said they were not protectionists at all.

On the question of dissolution he agreed with his noble friend the Member for Greenwich. To employ a proverb of our native country, they were not prepared "to buy a pig in a poke." Before giving hon. Gentlemen opposite the opportunity of coming into office, he wanted to know what they were going to do when they did come in. As his noble friend below him had pointed out, what they wanted to know was what they were going to do with the Education Act? Were they going to upset it? And were they going to upset the Licensing Reform Act? Were they going to fight as in 1899 and refuse the renewal of the Agricultural Rating Act? And, above all, what were they going to do in regard to Home Rule? Until they told the House and the country that they could not expect that they would be supported in their demand for a dissolution. With all respect for their stupid Amendment, the Opposition had managed to spike their own guns, and had lost from twenty-five to thirty votes of free-traders on the Ministerial side. Until he knew what the Opposition were going to do in office he, for one, would never dream of voting for the Amendment.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has made, I think, the most interesting speech in the whole debate. I had some difficulty in hearing him, but I think he declared himself a "pure Balfourian." Well, that is the first we have had in the course of this debate. [Ministerial cries of "Oh!"] I have been pretty constantly in the House while the debate was proceeding. We have had free-traders who criticised the attitude of the Government and who were either merely not going to vote against them or going reluctantly to vote for them. We have had whole-hearted supporters of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. But if we have had any one who said that he would support the policy of the Prime Minister, he also added a great deal of sympathy for, and advocacy of, the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. I think, then, I am not wrong when I say this is the first instance we have had of a "pure" unadulterated "Balfourian" speaking in the course of this debate.

I am not going to speak at any great length, bcause I am painfully aware that I made a large call on the time and patience of the House two days ago. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, with that sympathetic anxiety which distinguishes him, said I had forestalled the speech of my right hon. friend the Member for Fife. I may relieve that anxiety when I state that I acted not only with the consent, but with the encouragement of my right hon. friend. The two things we have now arrived at beyond all question are these. First, the Prime Minister will not make in the face of the House of Commons a plain statement of his views and aims, and, particularly, he will not make such a plain statement as to the degree to which he accepts the doctrines and principles of the right hon. Member for Birmingham. And that is a most important point. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham told us how much he agreed with the Prime Minister; but for him to agree with the Prime Minister is a matter of small moment. It is a very different matter how far the Prime Minister agrees with him. That is the first thing we have made sure of. The second thing that is perfectly obvious is that there is another thing the Prime Minister will not do. He will not face the country. Now, as to the first of these points perhaps we need not trouble the Prime Minister any longer. We have given him both in the country and here an ample opportunity of making the statement of his views that we have requested from him, and we have done this in the interests, as we think, of political and Parliamentary propriety. But, after all, with the help of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, assisted by the whole record of the Prime Minister in this matter, and several incidents in it, I think that we may dispense with any open confession on his part. The incidents that I would mention in his record are first of all his letter to the Member for Birmingham when he resigned wishing him Godspeed in the propaganda which he had undertaken; then we had the message last summer of "unabated sympathy" sent through Lord Lansdowne to the reconstructed Liberal Unionist Party in the Albert Hall; we have the speeches of his own colleagues which would form a most interesting bouquet if we were to take the trouble to cull them; and we have the curious episode of the Sugar Convention in which the Prime Minister appeared undoubtedly as a food-taxer, because although sugar is not subjected under that Convention to any duty in this country, it is subjected to something a great deal worse, namely, total prohibition, and the only respect in which that differs from a high sugar duty, a retaliatory duty, is that in that case we should have got some income out of the transaction, whereas now the whole proceeds and profits go into other people's pockets. Therefore the right hon. Gentleman is committed up to the hilt by his own actions and his statements to the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham in its principle. And then we have the letter which I quoted the other night stating that to be his opinion. They differ from each other, as the letter stated, only in methods and in tactics and not in principle. Which is principle and which is method? Take for instance, the question of the special Colonial Conference. The right hon. Gentleman has not yet explained, as I asked him to explain the other day, the reason for his change of front with regard to a Colonial Conference.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): It never was changed.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There was a change of expressed attitude, at all events. The front may be turned the same way; but we can see the attitude has been completely altered. Let me interpolate here that our complaint as to the conference and our reason for objecting to it is not that we are not as willing as any one else—and as desirous—to have the fullest communication with the Colonies and, if you like, a conference every year on subjects generally, if that were necessary or desirable, but we object to a special conference which would have the effect of committing this country to a certain action which we know the people of this country will never willingly take or attempt. My right hon. friend the Member for Northumberland used the words that he would have a conference without prejudice. The right hon. Gentleman took hold of that as if he had said "without prejudices." I take it my right hon. friend rather meant in the lawyer's sense "without prejudice"—that, whatever your opinions, you should not be held to be publicly committed to any course before you entered the conference. As to the objection of the right hon. Gentleman to our representatives in the conference entering it with special instructions, I would ask him whether he thinks any colony all over the world would send its representatives here without giving them any instructions as to their attitude. Is the conference a question of principle or tactics? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham says in effect that every vote given for the conference is a vote given for colonial preference and food taxation. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No."] Practically it comes to that. So that, then, it is a matter of principle. But "Oh, no," says the Prime Minister, "a vote for the conference which I shall ask from you at the next general election leaves you entirely uncommitted and with a free hand." That is a matter of tactics. You cannot have a general election turning upon a mere question of method and tactics. One thing stands out evidently from the whole position as we now see it. When the election comes the issue will not be the partial and nebulous policy of retaliation, but the full-blooded policy whose principle, at all events, is jointly agreed in by the two right hon. Gentlemen.

The present object of the Government and their friends appears to be to gain time. If they believe in their nostrum why do they hesitate? Why do they themselves propose to introduce the gigantic and mountainous obstacle of redistribution of seats? Let us turn our minds back. What was the reason for the introduction of this question? What was the excuse put forward by the right hon. Gentleman when he first brought it forward? It was the extreme urgency of the situation, the imminent peril affecting both our trade and the unity of the Empire. Why was the Cabinet reconstructed in the month of September? This was no slumbering question which could be dawdled over and discussed at leisure with a view to forming a well-informed opinion upon it. It was not a subject like old age pensions, for instance, on which you could have one scheme after another, one Committee after another, and go on with it for years. The trade and the unity of the Empire had to be saved, and did not admit of being treated in that leisurely way. This was the only ground upon which it was taken up and upon which the Government was reconstructed. The doctrines were not new. They were archaic. They were well understood. They have been always with us. The flame on the high altar of protection was slumbering a little. It had flared up in the days of the fair-trade agitation, but latterly it had only been kept alive by the ministrations of the permanent priest—the gallant Member for Sheffield. But the element which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham has the credit of introducing, with the sympathy of the Prime Minister, was the extreme urgency of the matter. That is the particular contribution he made to the argument—the only novelty that I can see in the argument. But now the urgency is not to save the country, but to save themselves from the country. Anything is caught at that will stand between the country and the application of their remedy. What would be the meaning of this vote? The old story—confidence in themselves and no confidence in their principles. The more the country loses confidence in them, the more confidence, if it is conceivable, they have in themselves. They are using the machine of the Party to postpone the first step in the policy which they declare to be essential and vital.

I have looked into this matter a little a view to calculating the future, with a view to forming some sort of idea what the nature of all these manifold elections and negotiations will be. There is to be an election—perhaps next year, or the year after. That is to result, we are told by members of the Government and others, in their defeat and in the elevation to power of [AN HON. MEMBER on the MINISTERIAL BENCHES: Who?] the Party opposite. But the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham said, what I can well believe is his estimate of what will happen, it would not be long before that Party, if it came into power, would be hissed off the scene. I am not so certain he can be sure who it is will be hissed off the scene, but what I am referring to is the length of time that will be, allowing a year or two to the duration of the Government that succeeds them. There will then be an election, which the Party of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham are to win. Then he is to come into power. Then we are to have a Colonial Conference. Then after the Colonial Conference has come to certain conclusions those conclusions are to be submitted to the several Colonies and the mother country. But supposing some of the Colonies do not agree? Supposing it requires a great deal of adjustment in the results of the conference to bring about this great commercial bond of Empire? It will not be easy to do all that in a day or two. So big a work takes time. I have come to the conclusion that before the goal is reached and the Empire saved the youngest man among us will be completely superannuated. Here is this mighty task, this great reform, this high undertaking which between them these two right hon. Gentlemen have set themselves to do; and on their own showing, because the forecast which I have made has all been based upon their ideas and not on mine—mine would make very much shorter work of it—and having this great prospect before them, what do they do? In the direct path of this mighty reform, two sessions are to be given up to redistribution, one of the biggest and most complex problems that Parliament can tackle. What a commentary on the plea of urgency! What a commentary on the plea of sincerity! The postponement which is now threatened is more than a political outrage. It is a cause of positive injury to the trade of the country and to the interests of the Empire. It brings disquiet and confusion and unrest into our commerce. The truth of the matter lies in a nutshell. The Government and their friends dare not face at the polls the people whom they have been inciting up and down the country to revolutionise our fiscal system. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the long campaign of Mr. Cobden and to the many Parliaments that were involved before that campaign was ended. But, Sir, it was not by these mysteries and subterfuges that Mr. Cobden fought his great battle. He conducted his campaign openly and above board, and no one, friend or foe. misunderstood for one moment what his object was. It was not by methods and tactics such as we now see that the battle of our commercial freedom was won; and our great consolation is that it is not by such methods and tactics that the advantages we then gained will be lost.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman referred at the beginning of his speech to the disability under which he suffered from having already made a considerable contribution the other night to what is practically the same debate as that in which we are now engaged. I suffer from a like misfortune. I have, in truth, very little to add to what I said on Tuesday last; nor do I think that anybody who has listened to the right hon. Gentleman will feel that anything he has said gives me much to reply to with which I did not sufficiently deal on a previous occasion. The Amendment which is before us is, I think, of a very special, if not of an absolutely unique character. It says that we have discussed the fiscal question so long, and are therefore so intimately acquainted with it, that the time has come for submitting the issue to the people without further delay. I should have thought myself that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman who moved this Amendment—that the fiscal question had been sufficiently discussed—was a singular prelude to a two days debate, in which it has been still further discussed; and if, as the hon. and learned Member for the Border Burghs has told us in his contribution to the discussion, we really know all about it, I do not quite follow the logic which has induced him to state his very natural desire to turn the Government out in the particular terms which he has selected for the purpose. I am not sure, indeed, whether the passage at arms or brief dispute which took place between the right hon. Gentleman the mover of the Amendment and my right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham does not show that there are yet some questions which required to be discussed.

My right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham has been throughout these debates contrasted with myself as the lucid speaker compared with the obscure speaker, the plain and direct exponent of a policy with the nebulous metaphysician who wraps up abstract doctrines in unintelligible language. I am not at all disputing my right hon. friend's greater claims to the title of a lucid exponent of his views; I hope I do not fall very much behind him; but as I regard him as one of the clearest speakers of my acquaintance, I do not pretend in that respect to put myself on an equality with him. But it appears that, lucid as he is, clearly as every hon. Gentleman opposite professes to understand what he desires, far as he rises above anything that I can do in the way of expounding the fiscal policy, he has not yet succeeded in driving into the head of the right hon. Member for Fife, who certainly does not lack intelligence, the fiscal principles which he is recommending to the country. For the Member for Fife gave us yesterday what struck me as a very strange version of the principles of my right hon. friend—though it is not my business to deal with the subject. My right hon. friend gets up to-day and points out to the Houes that the principles of fiscal policy he recommends are of a totally different complexion or [HON. MEMBERS: Oh.]—That is what he did say.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Hear, hear!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of a totally different complexion from those which the right hon. Member for Fife was good enough to put into his mouth. Well, Sir, I am a little consoled by my total failure to make my views clear to hon. Gentlemen opposite when I find no greater success has attended the even more continuous and able efforts of my right hon. friend.

My noble friend the Member for Greenwich was good enough this afternoon to come to my rescue and to explain that among the ignorant he at all events was understanding—that if nobody else comprehended the obscure metaphysics which I am pleased to describe as a fiscal policy, he at all events understood them now and had always done so. And I am sure he does understand them and has always understood them. But my noble friend was not content with my having succeeded in explaining my views to him in a manner which made them comprehensible; he said it was the bounden duty of every public man to make them understood by everybody, and that if a public man was misunderstood he was not fit for the responsibilities which he had taken upon himself—rather a hard doctrine, I think. I am not sure that even my noble friend is always understood. I am not sure, if we are to proceed to the discovery of each other's views by the process which is now so favoured a one among Gentlemen on the other side—namely, the framing of Questions in their own language, putting them to one across the floor of the House, and demanding aye or no for an answer—if that is the future *organum* of investigation which is to be adopted by this House and the country, I am not sure that my noble friend would fare very well if he were questioned on subjects in which he takes a profound interest, and in regard to which he has made valuable contributions to the debates of this House. If, for instance, somebody were to ask him, "Are you a Ritualist?" Now I know as a matter of fact that my noble friend is not a Ritualist. [An HON. MEMBER: You understand it.] I understand it, and I know he is not; but I am convinced that a series of Questions might be put to him by the Gentlemen who specially arrogate to themselves the proud title of Protestant, put to him across the floor of this House, which he would be very sorry to answer by a direct aye or a direct no. And if they said to him, "Well, it is quite evident you cannot give a plain answer to a plain question, and the natural conclusion is that you are little better than a Papist," my noble friend would, in my opinion, have great reason to complain of the injustice of the operation. But I think he would find it extremely difficult to distinguish it from the species of cross-examination which hon. Gentlemen apply on economic subjects to me and to others on this side, Gentlemen who know in some cases as little about economics as the supposed questioner of my noble friend would know of the mysteries of theology. My noble friend is an economist. He does understand, whether he agrees or not, the economic problems with which he deals. He understands the argument and the distinctions that are necessary—distinctions absolutely ignored in a great deal of the platform splashing-about that goes on during the recess. But there are Gentlemen who really do seem to think that the whole science of political economy can be adequately embodied in two or three sentences, and that the whole body of economic thinkers must fall either into the division which they are pleased to label with some obscure definition of their own as free-traders or into the division which they label with some equally obscure definition which they describe as protectionist. That rough-and-ready method of dealing with great and complicated questions does not help to their serious and sober solution; and I should be sorry to think that the prolongation of this discussion, so much deprecated by the right hon. Gentleman would not do something, at all events, to clear the air of certain of the fallacies which appear to govern the thoughts, and still more the speeches, of hon. Gentlemen opposite. I have been informed—I have not verified the quotation, but I believe it to be true—that Mr. Bright had considerable qualms about the economic orthodoxy, in the matter of free trade, of John Stuart Mill. John Stuart Mill, who, on the whole, perhaps contributed more to economic science than any man in the last century, or, at any rate, in the last three-quarters of the last century, like other economists, had pointed out that there were certain cases in infant communities in which it might be held that a system of protection could give important aid to nascent and struggling industries—nowadays a perfectly familiar contention to those with even a smattering of knowledge of this subject. But I believe that Mr. Bright said that that one proposition of Mr. Mill's did more harm to the cause of free trade than all the good done by the rest of the two volumes which embodied economic science as it was then understood. I believe that nothing is gained by allowing ourselves to become not the masters, but the slaves of the language we use. What we want to know is not the particular classification of a particular opinion or a particular policy, but what the policy is.

The right hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick, in a speech he made last night, showed that he was one of those who, like my noble friend the Member for Greenwich, did not find any difficulty in understanding the doctrines I have tried to preach to the country. But he said it was impossible to argue against them, because they were of too abstract a character. "How," he said, dealing with the particular question of retaliation, "Can you argue in the abstract about war?" I do not like the name, but for the sake of convenience, I will use it. No doubt the policy of retaliation does resemble war. It is a kind of peaceful war. [AN HON. MEMBER: A sort of war.] Well, it is war without bloodshed. And the right hon. Baronet asks, "How can you discuss so abstract a thing as war?" and says, "As you cannot discuss so abstract a thing as war, in the same way you cannot discuss so abstract a thing as retaliation." You may not be able to discuss so abstract a thing as war, but you can discuss that very concrete entity, armaments, fleets, arms, and the *matériel* by which war is made. And that is really the precise parallel between a war in the ordinary sense of the word and retaliation. Liberty of negotiation, as I prefer to call it, does for you in your commercial affairs precisely what fleets and armies do for you in the political arena. They do not mean, as some hon. Gentlemen seem to suppose they mean, war. On the contrary, as everybody knows, they are often the very condition of peace, and so it is with the power, the freedom of negotiation. Attempts will be made against the commerce of this country unless we have this power, which would never be made if we had it. It will not even be necessary to consider how the attack is to be met, because the attack will never be made. It is a thing that cannot be proved; but I believe that the very fact that that policy has obtained so large and, as I think, so growing a measure of support in the general community, has already had a good effect upon the commercial policy of other nations. And if the country were to grant that mandate which we ask of them, then, Sir, I believe that, without changing a tax or going through the labour of considering your fiscal policy, this country would be saved from a vast number of commercial outrages from which we are now unwilling, reluctant, but patient and helpless sufferers.

I have not much more to say to the House upon the Amendment strictly considered, though I have something to say. But before I come to that final word, I do not think I can wholly put on one side some observations made to me in the nature of an appeal by my noble friend in the very interesting speech which he made this afternoon. I was sorry that my noble friend dragged before this House questions of domestic differences among us, the reality of which, of course, I do not deny, and never have attempted to deny. But these, I think, are not matters to be dealt with before an audience which is naturally, and from their point of view, quite rightly, hostile and contemptuous. [AN HON. MEMBER: Sympathetic.] I think that perhaps it is that we on this side of the House, are young and inexperienced in these difficulties. We have not been inoculated with a virus which, with long practice, has perhaps made hon. Members opposite immune. I noticed the other day, for instance, that among the triumphs—I think the most recent triumph—at by-elections was the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Dorset. Well, the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Dorset, as I am informed, has explicitly pledged himself against Home Rule. He has explicitly pledged himself in favour of what his friends call "doles"; and he has adopted a sympathetic attitude even to that iniquitous measure the Licensing Bill of last session. They do not advertise these facts.

* Mr. WILLS (Dorsetshire, N.): If I am in order perhaps I may be allowed to make a single remark. Although in his first two statements I think the right hon. Gentleman may be described as being partly accurate, in his last statement he is absolutely inaccurate.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am obliged to the hon. Gentleman for his interruption and for correcting a misrepresentation which I can assure him was absolutely unintentional. The hon. Gentleman, then, was not sympathetic towards the Licensing Bill, but he is pledged against Home Rule, and he is pledged in favour of "doles."

* Mr. WILLS: I think the right hon. Gentleman is probably aware of the actual facts of the case with regard to what he has called "doles." The pledge I gave was in favour of the retention of the Agricultural Rating Relief Act until such time as the Liberal Party can deal with the rating question upon a proper basis, which is, not partial relief to one set of ratepayers, but relief to all.

Mr, A. J. BALFOUR: I might comment, perhaps, upon the elysium in which everybody is to be relieved of rates, but I will not. The hon. Gentleman is a new Member of this House, and the last thing I should desire to do would be to make an attack upon him. I only want to point out how very much better these little differences are managed on the other side of the House than on this. I regret my noble friend found it necessary to enter into the argument—not strictly relevant, I think, to the question before us—with regard to the position of some members of the Party in their constituencies. My view is that it is the business of the constituencies to select the Members, and, so far as I am concerned, I welcome every man of Unionist opinions who will support the Government, and would be glad to give him any aid in my power. It is injurious to the best interests, not merely of the Party, but what is of much more importance, the causes the Party represents, to have unnecessary divisions in this House or in the constituencies.

Lord HUGH CECIL: What I want to know from my right hon. friend is for whom would he vote if he were an elector of the city of Durham?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Does my hon. friend the Member for the city of Durham come under the category I have described? Is he a supporter of the Government?

Mr. ELLIOT: As Durham has been dragged into the discussion more than I could wish, might I say that the real question is not so much my own position, as whether or not a candidate brought forward by the Tariff Reform League and not accepted by the local Conservative Association is or is not an accepted exponent of the Government policy?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Surely the constituents have the right to select and return whom they please, whether they support the Government or whether they do not? Very well, and surely my duty is confined to giving aid to those who support us? ["Oh, oh!"] Is it suggested that any other principle obtains on the other side of the House? Is it suggested that when they are in power their organisations aid other than the supporters of the Government? Of course the same rule must apply to all Parties. It is a fundamental principle of Party organisation, and nobody can suggest any other. Now it is said this question has been adequately discussed, and I think the last person to make that statement was the hon. and learned Member for the Border Burghs. How did he support it? He said—

> "We have heard all that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has got to say and all that the Prime Minister has to say; we know the whole question; why go on debating a matter which has been thoroughly expounded?"

Well, I dissent from this theory that the questions are all to be asked on one side and to be answered on the other. I put the question on Tuesday, and none of the speakers since have thought fit to answer it: "Why are all the questions to be put to us, and none by us?" ["Because you are the Government."] Is that the accepted answer? Very well. I should have thought that, as this matter relates entirely to what is to happen after the election, the people to be cross-examined are those who are to become the Government after the election. If, therefore, the hon. Gentleman holds with others on that side that those who think with him will be the Government, then it is to them questions should be addressed. But suppose that argument has a flaw in it. We are now considering whether the country is apprised of all the elements it ought to have before it in order to come to a decision. How can it have all the elements before it unless right hon. Gentlemen opposite have undergone their catechism and given their plain answers to plain questions? What do they think about retaliation? Are right hon. Gentlemen of opinion that nothing in that direction is desirable? Are right hon. Gentlemen prepared to allow any steps in tariff negotiation to be conducted under their eyes, however injurious to this country, without making some attempt at all events to stop them? ["Answer."] I do not hold with the methods of cross-examination which require an immediate answer. I am putting questions which might be answered not monosyllabically, but at some length before we come to a decision. I observe that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen cannot answer that question monosyllabically. I will ask another question. Are right hon. Gentlemen who have criticised the Sugar Convention of opinion that we ought to permit the extension of this system of bounties and drawbacks to be organised in foreign nations, in such a way as to prevent the natural sources of supply in our own Empire being developed, and with no future advantage to the consumer at all? Again there is no monosyllabic answer given. I will ask one more question. ["Oh, oh!"] Why are hon. Gentlemen so impatient when I ask two or three questions, seeing they have been showering questions upon us. I have had a great deal of patience with them; let them have a little patience with me. Are the right hon. Gentleman and his friends prepared to state upon their authority as leaders of their Party that they do not think that the Colonies should be permitted with us to discuss freely and openly, without prejudice and without limitations, that which the Colonies have over and over again said is one of the greatest interests that they have in connection with drawing closer the bonds of Empire? I do not say whether a scheme is possible or impossible—the difficulties are great; but are you going to allow them to be discussed freely and openly in conference, or are you going to refuse that permission? That is a question which I think could be answered monosyllabically. That is a plain question; and again the same melancholy silence reigns upon Benches which have been pouring forth questions hour after hour since the House met. Now I hope that these questions will be pressed home in this House and out of it, in the election and before it. I hope that when in the fulness of time this House is dissolved we shall not have simply before us the criticisms of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen upon the fiscal policy which we propose on this side, but that we shall have very distinct answers to our plain questions as to how they propose to deal with difficulties which all must admit to be real, whether they think them remediable or irremediable. I confess that if they are going to sit down permanently under these national and Imperial disabilities, if they are going to shut the door against even the consideration of methods by which they are to be met, they will be ill fulfilling their duties as responsible for the conduct of one of the two great Parties of the State.

The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition indulged in an unwonted vein of prophecy and drew a fancy picture of the length of time it would take in order to carry out any material portion of that policy of closer commercial union with the Colonies for which my right hon. friend and we on this side have so earnestly pleaded. I think the House makes a great mistake with regard to these matters. I notice they are deeply perturbed by the movement of prices in a given six months, and by the Returns which the Board of Trade may show for this year or that. We are dealing—and this is a fundamental thing to be kept in view—with phenomena which do not affect this year or next year, which do not affect our lives alone, but which affect generations. It is not as if these Colonies of ours were stationary communities, always going to remain of the same relative magnitude as at the present time. They are rapidly growing nations with a commercial and industrial future before them which it is impossible to measure and difficult to picture. In what direction that commercial future will develop—whether it will be one in which we are permitted to take a large and permanent share may depend upon the decision which, not this House, but this country comes to in the near future. What answer is it to a consideration like that to say that a month here or a general election there may put off the great and final issues? What we really have to keep in mind is the proportions of the great problem we have to deal with. It is not the problem which presents itself here and now in this country. The problem we have to determine is whether these great creative and formative forces which are moulding the commercial destinies of the Empire shall be turned to the best advantage for Imperial unity, or whether we are to sit quietly by with folded hands idly repeating old formulas, true but in many cases inapplicable to the present condition of affairs, or whether we are to do our best against difficulties the magnitude of which I have never attempted to minimise, and to see that responsibilities greater than which have never been placed on a free people are productive of the greatest results, not for ourselves, not for labour or capital as it is at this moment in these islands, but labour and capital as it is and will be in the vast countries over which the King rules.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 248; Noes 311. (Division List No. 3.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth, C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, G. M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, A. (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hn. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Chas. M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt EC (SAndrw's Bghs
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir F. H. (Maidstone)
Evans, S. T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N. E.)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis Vernon
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C.E.H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Chas. Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Jones, W. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, H. Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Mooney, John J
Morgan, J. L. (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hn. J. (Montrose)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, J. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)

O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. T. (Dumfries)
Richards, T. (W. Monm'th)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, H. L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seely, Maj. J. E B. (Isle of Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, A. (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan, Gower
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, T. Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills, A. Walters (N. Dorset)
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, F. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wood, James
Woodhouse, Sir J T. (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. H. O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir F. T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middles'x
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D (Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J (Manc'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir R B (Invern'ss B'rghs
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'r H'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nd'rry

Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, Sir J. (Staffords. N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks N.R.)

Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton

Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees

Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir J. (Monmouth)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lawson, John G. (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, R. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W

Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt Hn Sir H. E. (Wigt'n
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm. R. Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brook
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander

Samuel, Sir Harry S (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, A. B. (Hertford, East)
Smith, Rt Hn J. Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. S. (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Main Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question, "That the debate be now adjourned,"—(*Dr. Macnamara.*) put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 17th February, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Abertillery Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company Bill [H.L.]; Alexandra Park and Palace Bill [H.L.]; Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Blackpool Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [H.L.]; Clacton Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners Bill [H.L.]; East London and Lower Thames Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Formby Township Bill [H.L.]; Hastings Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Humber Conservancy Bill [H.L.]; Hythe Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; London Squares and Enclosures (Preservation) Bill [H.L.]; Mansfield Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Nine Mile Point Railway Bill [H.L.]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage Bill [H.L.]; Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation) Bill [H.L.]; Sandgate Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Sheffield University Bill [H.L]. ; Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation) Bill [H.L.]; Tees Valley Water Board Bill [H.L.]; Torpoint Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Tralee Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; University College, London (Transfer) Bill [H.L.]; Weaver Navigation Bill [H.L.]; Whitby Urban District Council [H.L.]. Read 1^a.

Barry Railway Bill [H.L.]; Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Bridgewater Canals Bills [H.L.]; Cardiff Railway Bill [H.L.]; Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation Bill [H.L.]; City of London Electric Lighting Company Bill [H.L.]; Commercial Union Assurance Bill [H.L.]; Cordoba and Rosario Railway Bill [H.L.]; East Cowes Gas Bill [H.L.]; Entre Rios Railways Bill [H.L.]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [H.L.]; Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment) Bill [H.L.]; Hastings Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Hessle Gas Bill [H.L.]; Leeds and Liverpool Canal Bill [H.L.]. Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan Railway Bill [H.L.]; Mexborough and Swinton Tramways (Extension of Time) Bill [H.L.]; Mortgage Insurance Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]; Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Rhymney Railway Bill [H.L.]; South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [H.L.]; Southend and Colchester Light Railways Bill [H.L.]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Truro Water Bill [H.L.]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill [H.L.]; West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time) Bill [H.L.]; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas Bill [H.L.]; Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [H.L.]. Read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

NEW BILL.

McCONNELL'S DIVORCE BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to dissolve the marriage of Sir Robert John McConnell, Baronet, of Windsor Avenue, in the county of the city of Belfast, with Elsie George McConnell, his now wife, and to enable him to marry again; and for other purposes. Presented (on petition), and a copy of the proceedings in, and of the decree of divorce of the King's Bench Matrimonial Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland. Delivered (on oath); Bill read 1^a; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday, 28th March. The usual orders made.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

The same was ordered to be printed. (No. 9.)

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACTS, 1854 to 1894.

Sixteenth Annual Report of the Railway and Canal Commission; with Appendix.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3324. Denmark (Supplementary Report for 1903).

No. 3325. Belgium (Finances for 1904–1905).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Draft Order in Council continuing certain provisions contained in the Order in Council of 6th March, 1902.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER).

Order made by the County Council of the County of Lancaster, re-dividing the Chorley Parliamentary Division into two convenient polling districts.

BUILDING SOCIETIES.

Tenth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies of the proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Acts; with an abstract of the annual accounts and statements of the societies, for the year 1904.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION SCHEMES, INDUSTRIAL AND PROVIDENT SOCIETIES, AND TRADE UNIONS.

Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, for the year ended 31st December, 1904.

CERTIFIED INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT).

Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the Lancashire Certified Inebriate Reformatory.

DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

Account of the receipts and disbursements of the Duchy of Lancaster in the year ended 21st December, 1904; also, a separate account of the capital of the said Duchy to the same date.

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

Orders by the Secretary for Scotland prohibiting motor car traffic—

On special roads in the county of Perth. (20th August, 1904.)

On a road in the county of Perth. (3rd February, 1905.)

On certain roads in the county of Midlothian. (3rd February, 1905.)

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SIR ANTONY MACDONNELL AND IRISH DEVOLUTION.

*THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN rose to call attention to certain references to Ireland contained in a speech of the Solicitor-General as reported in *The Times* of the 8th inst. He said: My Lords, I have to ask your Lordships' indulgence while I make, as briefly as I can, a statement which will be of the nature of a personal explanation; but I am afraid I shall have to tax your Lordships' patience by entering into many details which your Lordships will think small and trivial, and which are, in fact, small and trivial in themselves, but upon which a significance has been placed by very determined efforts on the part of some persons to attach a most sinister meaning to many entirely innocent actions and events.

On the 8th inst. *The Times* published a sort of postscript to a report of a speech delivered by the Solicitor-General on the 4th inst., and accompanied it by a note saying that the references of the Solicitor-General to Ireland had been unfortunately omitted in their first report. That, in itself, is a rather unusual thing for a newspaper to do, and indicated, I suppose, that in the opinion of the Solicitor-General or in the opinion of *The Times*, or in both their opinions, the references made by the Solicitor-General to Ireland in that speech were of very peculiar importance. In those references Sir E. Carson alluded to the scheme of devolution which I and some colleagues of mine have lately put forward in Ireland as

> "A fatuous, ridiculous, unworkable, and impracticable scheme, lately set going in Ireland by certain gentlemen whose names had been attached to it."

Now, my Lords, it was impossible for the stupidest man in Sir E. Carson's audience to have mistaken the significance of that expression; it could only mean, and could only have been intended to mean, that certain gentlemen had acted as mere dummies in the matter and had attached their names to a policy and principles for which they were in reality not in the least responsible. I must acknowledge the gracious, though veiled, compliment paid by the Solicitor-General to myself and my colleagues, a few country gentlemen in Ireland, when he suggested that it was impossible that our brains could have orginated so fatuous and unworkable a scheme; but I cannot accept the compliment, because, as a matter of fact, we alone are responsible for that scheme. Sir E. Carson went on to say that

> "The grievance of Irish Unionists was, rightly or wrongly, that the scheme had originated with a permanent official retained under a Unionist Government at Dublin Castle."

Sir E. Carson made no charge, because to make a charge would be very unbecoming on his part; he contented himself with repeating that

> "The charge of the Irish Unionists, that a permanent civil servant retained under a Unionist Government at Dublin Castle had himself evolved a policy which had been disavowed by the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary for Ireland."

I need not say that the civil servant referred to was Sir Antony MacDonnell. For months past there have been circulated in Ireland the most preposterous and ridiculous yarns and stories on this subject; clandestine meetings between myself and Sir Antony MacDonnell in remote inns in the wilds of Kerry have been mentioned, and all kinds of preposterous stories have been circulated—stories so ridiculous that I should have thought their very absurdity would have rendered them innocuous. These stories were all too silly to be taken notice of. But Sir E. Carson's speech, to my mind, puts an entirely different complexion on the case. The charge against us was there accurately formulated. It was that Sir Antony MacDonnell evolved a policy disavowed by his chief, and that he persuaded us, the Irish Reform Association, to publish it as if it had emanated from us; being afraid or ashamed to acknowledge himself the author he got us to assume the authorship. If such a charge were true Sir Antony MacDonnell must have pressed forward a policy disavowed by his superior officer; he must have used us to deceive his chief and we must have lent ourselves to that deception. After reading the charges so formulated I considered myself justified in making an explanation in your Lordships' House, and I need scarcely say that I have asked and received Sir Antony MacDonnell's permission to do so.

I am not at all concerned at this moment to defend our policy, nor am I concerned with Sir E. Carson's opinion regarding it. I will only say this, that the policy of devolution was put forward by us in all seriousness and honesty, believing, as we do, that it is essential for the better government of Ireland, and for the greater contentment of the country. It is also essential to put the legislative union between the two countries on a surer and firmer foundation than any upon which it can stand so long as legitimate and remediable grievances and causes of discontent in Ireland remain unremedied. As I say, I am not now concerned to defend our policy; what I am concerned to show is that we alone are responsible for that policy, and that we were parties to no deception whatever for the best of all possible reasons, that there was no sort of deception to be parties to.

Now, my Lords, what is the genesis of devolution? That is a question that has been bellowed at me through the megaphones of some of my fellow-countrymen persistently for the last few months. I cannot pretend to trace the origin of the policy down to its absolute roots; I daresay the idea may have been in men's minds for many years. But for all practical purposes our policy originated in a circular which was sent out on March 3rd, 1903, and signed by, I think, five members of the Land Conference Committee. I have that circular in my hand.

I need not trouble your Lordships with much of it, but I will read the most pertinent passage—

> "It is, however, now becoming evident that only in a reasonable system of gradual devolution of legislative powers is to be found the solution of the problem that demands such urgent consideration. In no other way can Parliament be relieved from the ever-increasing strain of public business, or the legitimate aspirations of Ireland for some definite form of self-government be met."

I think, my Lords, that indicates pretty clearly where the origin of devolution lies. That circular concluded by suggesting that a meeting should be held in Dublin, and asking for an expression of opinion as to the advisability of holding it.

I received a copy of that circular and gave it as my opinion that the time was not opportune for taking any definite action in the matter. I thought the time was not opportune for reasons which I am sure will appeal to your Lordships as practical and common-sense men. It is perfectly true that very different reasons were attributed to me by the Attorney-General for Ireland. He attributed to us the most sordid and unworthy motives, both in putting forward this policy of devolution, and in not bringing it practically forward at the date of the circular of 1903. Writing to *The Times* on October 27th, the Attorney-General asked—

> "Whether, in short, the devolution scheme is not the price secretly arranged to be paid for Nationalist acquiescence in a settlement of the land question on generous terms."

My Lords, that is a very serious charge to make against us. It is that we privately bargained with the Nationalists to get generous terms from the Land Conference, in consideration for which we were to bring in a scheme of devolution, but to postpone bringing in that scheme until we were practically certain that we were going to get good terms, and had sold our estates in a manner satisfactory to us. I am not going to trouble your Lordships with a denial of that. We disposed of that question at the time, and I need not allude to it further now. I did not advocate proceeding with this matter in March, 1903, because the Land Conference Committee had been appointed for a definite purpose which had not then been fulfilled; because all men's minds were then taken up with land purchase; because, if I may use a vulgar expression, we—the Land Conference Committees—had, I thought, "bitten off quite as much as we could chew." I therefore came to, I think, the very natural conclusion that it was not the time for us to embark on any new enterprise. So I wrote to my friends, and the matter was temporarily allowed to drop.

It was revived last August. I thought at that time that the Land Conference had done all the work it could possibly find to do, that it had fulfilled its purpose and had better be dissolved. I thought, too, for many reasons—local reasons with which I need not trouble your Lordships—that the time was then opportune for starting our policy of devolution sketched out in the circular from which I have quoted. I wrote on June 7th to the secretary of the Land Conference Committee, and suggested calling the committee together on August 25th. Colonel Poë happened to write to me on the very same day suggesting the same thing, and in reply to his letter I said I was quite agreed that the time was opportune for action, and I suggested a meeting on August 25th. I also sketched out what I thought our objectives should be, and among them was larger control for Ireland over her local affairs. We had, I think, one or two informal meetings and a committee meeting on August 25th, when we passed two resolutions—one dissolving the committee, and another forming the Irish Reform Association. At a meeting of the association on August 26th or 27th the report that we brought up was considered, amended, and adopted, and it was published on August 31st. That is the whole history of the genesis of the policy of devolution.

I am sorry to have to trouble your Lordships with all these small details, but after the charge which was formulated against us by the Solicitor-General it became absolutely necessary, for the sake of my colleagues and myself, to show that the whole principles of the policy of devolution originated with the Land Conference Committee, and not with Sir Antony MacDonnell, and that we decided to move that committee to take action in August without reference to Sir Antony MacDonnell or anybody else. On the details of the scheme and in getting it into shape I received much valuable help and assistance from Sir Antony MacDonnell, for which I am very grateful to him. As is very natural, I had many long conversations with Mr. George Wyndham and with Sir Antony MacDonnell on all kinds of subjects and topics connected with Ireland—not conversations with the Chief Secretary or Under-Secretary, but perfectly informal conversations and talks with Mr. Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell. Among other subjects, we have often discussed the condition of what I may call moderate opinion in Ireland, the possibility of in any way making that opinion articulate, and the possibility, in fact, of creating anything like a Moderate Central Party.

I have always expressed my views freely on the matter. I thought that there did exist in Ireland a large body of moderate opinion, lethargic like moderate opinion generally is. Moderate opinion, so far as Unionists are concerned, disinclined, I thought, to any great organic changes, but profoundly dissatisfied with the existing system of Departmental Government in Ireland. I thought it dangerous that these legitimate causes of dissatisfaction felt by them should not be remedied. I thought it perfectly useless to start, or to help to create, a Moderate Party on a purely academic basis. I thought it absolutely essential to have a positive, constructive, democratic policy—the policy which has been wrought out in our proposals for devolution. On those ideas, broadly speaking, I have talked over and over again both with Mr. Wyndham and with Sir Antony MacDonnell. My impression always was—perhaps I may have been entirely wrong—that Sir Antony MacDonnell's views did not coincide with mine, but rather leaned to action on totally different lines. My impression also was that Mr. Wyndham saw no particular objection to a general scheme of administrative reform proposed by perfectly independent and private individuals being put forward for public criticism and discussion.

I remember very well having conversations with Mr. Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell, not on any particular scheme or idea, but on the subject of a Moderate Party generally; and it was suggested—I do not remember by whom —that Sir Antony MacDonnell should invite some gentlemen to meet me who might be useful to me in forming the nucleus of such a Party. That idea was abandoned. I have a letter from Sir Antony MacDonnell, dated October, 1903, in which he says—

> "I have been thinking over our conversation the other day."

He was referring to the conversation I have mentioned; he could not have been referring to anything else. He abandoned the idea of asking the gentlemen to meet me, because, as he writes—

> "The business would speedily become known, and it would be said that Lord Dunraven was forming a new Irish Party."

To that Sir Antony MacDonnell did not see any particular objection, but he went on to say—

> "If the first meeting were held in my house, or at my invitation, everyone would say that Mr. Wyndham was a prime mover in the business."

And he added—

> "Any help I can give I shall be happy to give by supplying you with facts and information, but I think, and in this Mr. Wyndham, to whom I have spoken, agrees with me, it is better I should not appear prominently, or even to the extent of inviting men to meet you."

By that letter, my Lords, I have been guided ever since, and so, I believe, has Sir Antony MacDonnell. I had other talks with Mr. Wyndham last summer on this subject—if I remember rightly they were relative to certain propositions that were made to me, but which did not at all commend themselves to me—and the matter dropped until, as I have already told your Lordships, it was revived last August.

I think it was on the day before the meeting of the Land Conference Committee, when it was dissolved, that I first spoke on this subject to Sir Antony MacDonnell. I then asked him for information and advice on the subject, and I cannot imagine anything more natural for me to do. We had determined to create an association; we had decided that the principal plank in our policy was an extension of self-government to Ireland; we had decided upon the lines on which we were going—the lines indicated in the circular—namely, devolution, delegation of authority. I cannot imagine anything more natural in the circumstances for me to do than to ask for information and advice from the man who probably was better able to give me information and advice than any other human being in the country.

The publication of our first report on August 31st led to a great clamour, in Ireland, at any rate, for fuller particulars. Personally, I was averse to giving fuller particulars at that time. I did not think that the end of August was a very good period of the year for doing business. So far as I myself was concerned, I was on a yachting cruise, but, as a matter of fact, I was out of action, being in very dubious enjoyment of complete repose, owing to a very violent attack of gout in both my feet. All my colleagues were scattered about Ireland and were difficult to get at. In these circumstances I wrote to Sir Antony MacDonnell and asked him to draft out the heads of a more elaborate scheme on the lines of our first report, and he very kindly did so and sent them down to me in Kerry. Shortly afterwards he paid me a visit on his way to stay with my noble friend the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lansdowne) and spent two days with me. We had plenty of time for going very thoroughly into the matter and we pretty well mapped out a report.

I was in a certain difficulty. Our first report had somehow or other been published in the London Press the day before we gave it out for publication in Ireland, which indicated a rather serious leakage somewhere in our machinery. I did not want that to occur again. I did want, however, to get a number of copies of the draft made as soon as I had perfected it to the best of my ability, and not knowing where to get them made I mentioned my difficulty to Sir Antony MacDonnell. I suggested to him, or he suggested to me—I do not know which, but I think he suggested to me—that if I would send him the draft when I had perfected it he would get sufficient copies typewritten for me to circulate among my colleagues on the organising committee, and this was done.

This draft was considered by the organising committee and amended considerably. It was then brought up at a meeting of the association, considered, amended, and adopted, and published on September 26th. Shortly after that came the Chief Secretary's letter in *The Times*, and shortly after that I received a letter from Sir Antony MacDonnell to say that in the circumstances I must understand that he did not feel himself to be at liberty any longer to give me any assistance of any kind. That, my Lords, is, I think, the whole history of the case, and I submit to your Lordships that the charges formulated by the Solicitor-General as charges made by Irish Unionists are absolutely disproved. I deny these charges which have been made, not by "the" Irish Unionists, as Sir Edward Carson says, but by some Irish Unionists. For this policy the Irish Reform Association is alone responsible; it was initiated two years ago by certain members of the Land Conference Committee, out of which the Irish Reform Association was formed; and we determined to bring it into active existence last August without consultation with, or the knowledge of, Sir Antony MacDonnell or any other human being. The whole thing was done within the action of the Land Conference Committee. Sir Antony MacDonnell, the very moment that policy was disavowed by his chief, informed me that he could no longer afford us any assistance of any kind. It is untrue to say that he pursued a policy which had been disproved of by his chief. I regret that the disavowal of our policy by the Chief Secretary did not take place a little sooner. Our first report, which was published on August 26th, set out our policy very plainly, and, goodness knows! enough fuss was made about it to attract the attention of a much less active and intelligent mind than that of the Chief Secretary even at ordinary holiday time. But no notice was taken of it. I am curious to know whether any communication passed between the Chief Secretary and Sir Antony MacDonnell on the subject of the first report. I can only say that I received a letter from Sir Antony MacDonnell on September 25th. I think I must have written to him about the dead-set that was being made against him in Ireland, because he writes to the effect that a friend had told him that a strenuous and most persistent effort was being made to force the Government to get him to resign his place, and he added—

> "I am bound to say that my relations with Mr. Wyndham are such that I attach very little importance or credence to these rumours."

I should gather from that letter, without any information to the contrary, that no remonstrance of any kind had been addressed by Mr. Wyndham to Sir Antony MacDonnell between the publication of our first report and our second report. But I am sure of this, that I heard nothing at all from Mr. Wyndham on the subject, and yet our first report sets out our policy pretty plainly, so plainly that I must ask your Lordships to allow me to read one passage from it. We say that—

> "We believe that the maintenance of the Parliamentary Union is compatible with the devolution to Ireland of a larger measure of local government than she now possesses. We consider that this devolution, while avoiding matters of Imperial concern and subjects of common interest to the Kingdom as a whole, would be beneficial to Ireland and would relieve the Imperial Parliament of a mass of business with which it cannot now deal satisfactorily, and which occupies its time to the detriment of much more important concerns. In particular we consider the present system of financial administration to be wasteful . . . . We think it possible to devise a system of Irish finance whereby expenditure could be conducted in a more efficient and economic manner and whereby the sources of revenue could be expanded. We believe that a remedy for the present unsatisfactory system can be found in such a decentralisation or localisation o Irish finance as will secure to its administration the application of local knowledge, influence, and ability without in any way sacrificing the ultimate control at present possessed by the Imperial Parliament."

That shows just as plainly as our more detailed second report our objects and intentions, yet I received no intimation of any kind from Mr. Wyndham on the subject after the publication of our first report.

I do not mean to say for a moment that if I had received an intimation from Mr. Wyndham I should have refrained from pushing this policy to the best of my ability, because I believe it to be absolutely essential both for the benefit of Ireland and the maintenance of the Union. But if I had heard from Mr. Wyndham it would at least have cleared up the position between myself and Sir Antony MacDonnell, and would have prevented the necessity that I am now under of entering into this long explanation. Sir Antony MacDonnell gave me his assistance as to the facts and information which he had promised to give in the letter of October 15th, 1903, which I have quoted to your Lordships. I was glad to have that assistance. I went to him naturally. If I had been proceeding on different lines, say on the lines of the provincial legislatures in Canada, I should have asked for information from somebody who was conversant with that system; but as we had determined to go on the lines of devolution—something in the nature of a Financial Council—I went to a man who, from his past experience in India of a system analogous to that, was best capable of giving us information.

I never had any idea of concealment, and certainly the idea could never have entered the head of Sir Antony MacDonnell. Sir Antony MacDonnell knew perfectly well that I would talk this matter over with both Mr. Wyndham and Lord Dudley when I met them. Is it conceivable, in these circumstances, that any man in his senses would have given me all that information, knowing that he was bound to maintain secrecy, without asking me to connive with him in thus deceiving his superior officer? I do not know whether, under ordinary circumstances, there is anything in the least improper in a civil servant giving this kind of information. If that is so, I would respectfully suggest that it would be a good thing to have a schedule of the topics which may be discussed between a private individual and an official in his private capacity.

When Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed it was currently stated that his appointment was of a very exceptional character. Whether that is so or not, and, if so, to what extent it was exceptional, perhaps my noble friend the noble Marquess when he replies will be able to tell us; but, whether that be so or not, of this I am certain, that it never entered into Sir Antony MacDonnell's head that in giving me the assistance he did he was in any way going behind the back of his superior officer. I must apologise for taking up your Lordships' time at this length, but I think noble Lords will agree with me that the charge made against me individually and against my friends in the Irish Reform Association is of so serious a nature that I was bound to justify myself before your Lordships from my place in this House. I have, of course, been obliged incidentally to frequently mention Sir Antony MacDonnell by name. It is not my business in any way to defend him; my object is to defend myself and my colleagues. But I will say this of Sir Antony MacDonnell. I have not had the honour of his acquaintance very long, but I have become intimately acquainted with him during the last two or three years, and I will say that a more impartial-minded man, a man more absolutely and fearlessly honest, a man more incapable of acting in any way disloyally behind the back of his chief, it has never been my privilege to meet.

*THE EARL OF WESTMEATH: My Lords, it will not be necessary for me to trouble the House at any length this afternoon, but I do not wish to let this occasion pass without expressing the relief which I, in common with all my colleagues and associates among the Unionists of Ireland, feel that His Majesty's Government, and particularly the Chief Secretary, have at length, almost at the point of the bayonet, consented to give us some explanation of this matter which has been troubling us so long. I do not think, my Lords, that it is possible for me to exaggerate the extreme sense of uneasiness which loyalists all over Ireland have been feeling at the vagaries of an official who, apparently without the sanction of his official chief, has taken upon himself to inaugurate a policy in Ireland which we Unionists emphatically and entirely disapprove of, and from which we wish in every way to dissociate ourselves.

All over Ireland the feeling has been one of great unrest, because we never know in Ireland whom we ought to attack. The Chief Secretary is nominally responsible to Parliament for Irish administration, but, rightly or wrongly, an impression has gained ground that the present Chief Secretary, Mr. Wyndham, has practically abdicated the position he ought to occupy, and the power has gradually passed from his hands into those of his official junior. There are even rumours that no less a person than the Lord-Lieutenant is not entirely without a policy of his own, and occasionally even my noble and learned friend the Lord Chancellor of Ireland is referred to in this connection, though I feel confident that in his case his instincts, when he is allowed to give proper expression to them, are on the right side. We feel that we have been badly treated by being kept so long in the dark in regard to this matter, and we demand to know what official, if any, is responsible for these absurd schemes.

I am one of those who do not like making a scapegoat of any one particular person unless I feel perfectly confident that that is the person who deserves the blame. For that reason I have, in common with many others, felt the greatest reluctance in joining in the campaign, as it has been called, which has been conducted against Sir Antony MacDonnell all over Ireland and in this country; but when we find so important an official as the Attorney-General for Ireland breaking what I believe was the silence of years and going up to his constituents and urging them to insist upon the origin of this scheme being announced publicly, and when we find no less a person in England than the Solicitor-General also insisting on this point, then it is perfectly plain that some such pronouncement as was made yesterday by the Chief Secretary becomes absolutely necessary. I think the statement which the Chief Secretary made yesterday has abundantly justified the attitude which we Unionists in Ireland have been forced to take. I certainly think this matter is one which should have been set at rest before.

The noble Earl, Lord Dunraven, who has occupied so large a share of public attention lately, has been appealed to over and over again to set this matter at rest. He has chosen not to do so. He has preferred to allow the unrest to go on. I do think this is a serious want of thought on the part of one who has lately been hailed by the somewhat exclusive title of the most thoughtful man in Ireland by one of that small but enthusiastic group of admirers who follow the noble Earl about from place to place, and who appear to play very much the same part as the Chorus in the Greek plays.

I think His Majesty's Government, knowing the unrest which has existed all over Ireland, might have taken an earlier opportunity of disavowing any connection on the part of the Government with this scheme. I think they have shown a self-denial and a meekness worthy of earlier days when we consider that not so very long ago Sir Antony MacDonnell went down to the West of Ireland and there permitted himself to receive an address from the Nationalist body congratulating him on his superior breadth of mind, and his general superiority over the rest of his colleagues. I believe that was so. I have never seen any contradiction of it, and I think a more improper action for a civil servant to take it would be impossible to imagine.

Let us hope, my Lords, that this show-up, if I may call it so, this fiasco will bring about the end of the policy of which we so bitterly complain—the policy of truckling to disloyalty and trying to conciliate those who will not be conciliated. The ignorance of people in this country with regard to Irish affairs never seems to grow less. As a small matter, I may mention that a few days ago I was travelling over from Ireland with an Englishman who had been spending a week in that country. He said, in the course of conversation, "Oh, you have no more real grievances in Ireland. You only bring them forward *pour rire.*" When I recollected that the whole of his time had been spent in official circles in Dublin I was not so much astonished at that remark as I otherwise would have been. I would appeal to my noble friend Lord Dunraven to leave Ireland alone in future. He has taken up the land question, the University question, and Home Rule in disguise. Now, I earnestly suggest to him that he should remain in this country and take up some question here which will give vent to his great energy. What we want in Ireland is to be let alone. We want to manage our own affairs. We want to be free from agitators and faddists with, no doubt, excellent intentions.

With regard to the question of Private Bill legislation, there is a general feeling that if something in the nature of devolution could be brought about it would be a good thing. At the same time, I have never heard that any body has been suggested which would command the confidence of Unionists and Nationalists alike. I am very much afraid that if any tribunal of this kind could be constituted it would fall under the sinister influences which have made the position in Ireland what it is to-day. I wish, however, to say that if at any future time anything of this kind should be proposed I do not think Unionists should be considered bigoted if they scrutinise such proposals with great care and caution. The time may possibly come when Unionists and Nationalists may be able to work together, but that time has not come yet; and any attempt to force a union on lines which are not generally accepted by the country will only lead to trouble and annoyance and a repetition of the painful incident we are discussing to-day.

THE EARL OF MAYO: My Lords, I am sure the House will agree with me that Lord Dunraven has, to say the least, cleared the air in regard to this question of devolution. We now know that the scheme originated with the noble Earl and his colleagues, and that he consulted with the Under-Secretary upon it. Let me leave that for one moment and allude to the speech which has just been made by my noble friend Lord Westmeath. The noble Lord has attacked everyone all round; he has attacked the Government; he has attacked the Chief Secretary; he has attacked Lord Dunraven; and he has attacked the Under-Secretary. Living in Ireland as I do, and taking a great interest in affairs there, I feel quite certain that the Chief Secretary can well take care of himself, especially after his pronouncement in denial of the devolution policy which appeared in *The Times.* I quite understand the attitude which Lord Westmeath has taken up, because he was one of those noble Lords who, at the time we were trying to arrive at a little peace in Ireland, set his face entirely against it. He was one of those with whom we had the greatest difficulty in dealing, and therefore your Lordships must not take quite seriously all the very hard words he has just uttered.

As I was a member of the Land Conference I should like to take this public opportunity of denying that there was any bargain whatever made with the Nationalists in the Land Conference. These sort of rumours have been flying about all over the country, and now at last we have got to the bottom of things and know where we are. There was not even any chaff about there being Home Rule, or about our having any arrangement with them whatever. I am not one of those who joined Lord Dunraven in his devolution scheme, but there are parts of it with which I agree, notably the part referring to Private Bill procedure. I deny that there are not some means by which Private Bills could be dealt with in Ireland instead of being sent over at enormous cost to be dealt with at Westminster. If Irishmen are clever enough to come to an arrangement with regard to the land question, I think we can come to an arrangement with regard to Private Bill procedure, having before us the example of Scotland. I have to thank Lord Dunraven for clearing the air. I think, however, there are portions of his speech which, with all due deference to him, were somewhat mischievous, but we do not mind a little mischief in Ireland. We can get over it. We now, at any rate, know where we are, and can go ahead with that part of the scheme which does not tend to what Lord Westmeath described as absolute Home Rule.

* THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, I do not rise for the purpose of interfering in the interesting domestic quarrels of the Irish Unionist Party. I leave them very readily to settle those matters among themselves. But I feel bound to rise for the purpose of saying something in respect to my right hon. friend Sir Antony MacDonnell. Sir Antony MacDonnell served under me when I was Viceroy of India. I have known him for a long time. I entertain the very highest opinion of the services which he rendered in India, and I am glad to see that my noble friend the noble Marquess opposite concurs in that opinion. For those services when he left India he received the highest distinction, except a Peerage, which can be given to any person in the Civil Service of this country. He was selected by Her Majesty's Government to be made an English Privy Councillor. He is a man of long and very varied experience. It was not, I believe, at any solicitation of his that His Majesty's Government selected him for the post of Under-Secretary in Ireland. I believe they picked him out because they thought him a man of great experience in administration, and of great ability, who would ably occupy the position of Under-Secretary in Ireland. That being so, and looking to his past career, I cannot help thinking that it is probable that they did not expect him altogether to confine either his activity or his influence within any narrow sphere of official duty.

There was a very famous Irish Under-Secretary towards the middle of last century, a man whose name is still cherished in Ireland—I mean Mr. Thomas Drummond. Mr. Thomas Drummond was subjected, at the time he held the office of Under-Secretary, to very much the same attacks from precisely the same quarters as those that are now being directed against Sir Antony MacDonnell. Mr. Drummond was gallantly defended in the House of Commons by Lord Morpeth, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Drummond held office for something like five years, and he has left a memory in Ireland which I believe to be still green. But is it to be supposed, or does anybody who knows the history of those times imagine, that Mr. Thomas Drummond was only employed by the Government upon the ordinary routine duties of the office of Under-Secretary? I trow not, and I cannot help thinking that it is highly probable that when Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed his position was very similar in reality to that which Mr. Thomas Drummond filled.

I was very much struck by the statement in the speech made by my noble friend Lord Dunraven that certainly on one, if not on more than one, occasion he had an interview with Mr. Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell together, and that at that interview or interviews Irish affairs were freely discussed. That in itself, I think, shows that the Chief Secretary employed Sir Antony MacDonnell in a different manner from that in which possibly persons of less experience might have been employed. Therefore, I think I may fairly conclude—my noble friend opposite will correct me if I am wrong—that the position which Sir Antony MacDonnell held was considered to be one of more extent and scope than that which other persons might have been allowed to occupy. It is, I think, remarkable, as the noble Earl said, that when the first report was published by the body which he got together, a document which certainly attracted considerable amount of public attention at the time, no communication was received by him from the Chief Secretary.

Surely we may conclude that in acting as he did—I am speaking of his action generally in communicating with outside persons with a degree of freedom perhaps unusual—Sir Antony MacDonnell was consistently keeping within the terms and conditions of his appointment. I have always understood that at the time of the preparation of the Land Bill Sir Antony MacDonnell was in communication with all sorts and conditions of men, including some who would be most obnoxious to noble Lords opposite, and that he had a considerable hand in the preparation of that successful measure. Then, again, there is the question of Irish University education. How was Sir Antony MacDonnell engaged in that matter? I should like to know whether I am right in thinking that he did hold, and was known by the Irish Government to hold, a position somewhat superior and wider than that of a mere ordinary subordinate officer. I am sure my noble friend opposite, when he addresses the House, will agree with me when I say that from our knowledge of the character of Sir Antony MacDonnell it is perfectly impossible that he could have been guilty of any improper or unworthy conduct. Any man may make a mistake, but it is the one thing which cannot be possible of a man of Sir Antony MacDonnell's high character that he should have done anything which deserves serious censure of a moral kind.

But there is one matter upon which we have no further information. The noble Earl, it has been said, has made a clean breast of it, and the noble Lord who just sat down rejoiced that we had now got to the bottom of this matter. But there is one person of whom nothing has been said—I refer to the Viceroy. Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed by, and was in constant communication with, the Viceroy. The Viceroy is not here to-night, but, if it is possible, I think it ought to be stated, in justice to Sir Antony MacDonnell, to what extent he was in communication with Lord Dudley upon the details of this question. Whatever may be the result of this discussion, I cannot but hope that your Lordships, whatever may be your opinions or feelings with regard to questions of Irish administration or Irish government, will not allow yourselves to be carried away by misrepresentations. Great misrepresentations have been made, but I trust your Lordships will not allow yourselves to be carried away by the strange forgetfulness of the Solicitor-General of the honourable understanding which exists between political and non-political servants of the Crown, and that whatever may be your views of my noble friend's scheme, you will not be ready to commit an injustice to one of the most distinguished servants that India has ever had.

*LORD RATHMORE: My Lords, I have no quarrel with Lord Dunraven's aspirations for the appeasement of unfortunate controversies in Ireland, and for the formation of what he calls a Party of moderate views on all Irish subjects. But setting rolling again the ball of Home Rule, which the noble Earl has undoubtedly done, is not the way to assuage the bitter controversies in Ireland which formerly raged over that subject, and which I, at any rate, had hoped were settling down. The noble Earl referred to the speech of the Attorney-General for Ireland. I had no idea he was going to refer to it or I would have refreshed my memory with regard to it. I cannot very accurately recall the particular part of the speech to which the noble Earl referred, and, therefore, I will not attempt to answer him; but I do remember that the speech of the Attorney-General for Ireland was a very powerful and, as I thought, complete destructive criticism of the plan with which the name of the noble Earl has been associated, and I also remember that he again and again called upon the noble Earl to let us know whether he had received any assistance from other quarters. The noble Earl, however, gave no answer to those appeals or to the other appeals made to him until the disclosure we have now before us was made.

I do not propose to occupy your Lordships' time on the present occasion by arguing with the noble Earl upon the general scheme which he has propounded. I would only incidentally refer to those clauses of the devolution scheme which were intended, I suppose, to create, and which certainly would have had the effect of creating, a subordinate Legislative Assembly in Ireland, composed mainly of Irish Members of Parliament and Irish Peers, with vaguely adumbrated functions and powers, which, from the nature of the scheme, were capable of indefinite extension. The noble Earl has told us that his scheme contains safeguards which he evidently considers would have had the effect of preventing the undue expansion of the powers he proposes to confer on this subordinate Legislature in Ireland, and would have maintained the absolute supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. But we were familiar with the same protestations from the lips of Mr. Gladstone when he introduced and endeavoured to carry his Home Rule Bills in 1886 and in 1893. That question was thoroughly gone into at that time. The judgment of the nation was challenged upon it. The greatest political controversy of a hundred years was fought over it, and we had thought that that controversy had been set at rest for ever.

I will not attempt to deal with the argument of the noble Earl on this subject. I have no doubt that he is sincere in his belief that his scheme is of a harmless and milk-and-water character, and that it is unjust to give it the nickname of Home Rule. I am content to say that if the noble Lord holds that opinion, he and his immediate followers are the only people in the three kingdoms who do. No sooner was his scheme published than the Chief Secretary thought it necessary to declare to the[1] public that the Government had nothing whatever to do with it, that they could not tolerate or support it, and that they would never consent to the establishment of a subordinate Legislature in Ireland. Not only did the Chief Secretary repudiate it, but all the organs of Conservative opinion denounced it as Home Rule in disguise, while the organs of the Liberal Unionist Party in Ireland denounced it as worse than the Home Rule of Mr. Gladstone. Not only the Unionist Party in Ireland, but also the Nationalist Party understood perfectly well what it was. No doubt they nobly proclaimed that it bore no affinity to the grander scheme which they would prefer, but I may say that any language used by my right hon. friend the Solicitor-General for England was mild in comparison to the language of contempt which a great many of the Irish patriots showered upon the proposals of the noble Earl. The Nationalists gladly accepted his destructive criticism of the existing state of affairs in Ireland. They adopted all the premises of his argument, and then contemptuously told him that the principles he had adopted would carry him much further than his halfway house, and that he was sowing seed which must have fruit of a much more important description. I do not know whether the noble Earl will find any supporters of his view as to the innocency of his scheme, but if he believes that the scheme is anything other than Home Rule in disguise or in embryo, then in that opinion he stands alone.

But, my Lords, what I thought we were going to discuss to-day was the speech of my right hon. friend the Solicitor-General, Sir E. Carson. It is not necessary for me to make any eulogy of Sir E. Carson. He won for himself in Ireland the first position at the Irish Bar. He transferred his professional labours to England, and, with extraordinary rapidity, obtained a place second to none at the English Bar. That great profession, with the generosity for which it is famous, accepted him and gave him all the honours which he had fairly won. Sir E. Carson is not only distinguished in his own profession, he has been identified with Unionism not only in these easier times, but in the dark days of the Land League and in the later struggles in the House of Commons. My right hon. friend was attending a quasi-political dinner, and, in the course of his speech, made some observations to which I think the noble Earl has very wisely made but a cursory reference. At that meeting

[1] *Lord Rathmore.*

Sir E. Carson, speaking on behalf of the Irish Unionists, deplored the fact that many of them intimated that they could no longer support His Majesty's Government—

> "It is," he continued, "the duty of the Government, of which I am a member, and which exists in power for the purpose of maintaining the Union, to sift to the bottom, and, if possible satisfy, the grievances of our fellow-Unionists in Ireland."

I suppose the noble Earl would not object to that part of the speech. Then Sir E. Carson proceeded to describe the devolution scheme. I will not quote the language he used—it might not be agreeable to the noble Earl—but he said that he himself would much prefer Imperial Union to any such tampering with constitutional government. He added that the scheme had not attracted many Unionists from their ranks. That is perfectly true, my Lords. I do not believe the noble Earl can name a score of men in the whole of Ireland, in the Unionist Party at all events, whose names are known or who have any influence whatever in the country, who have followed him in this crazy scheme of devolution.

The plain meaning of the whole speech of my right hon. friend was that it was the immediate duty of the Government to set at rest the suspicions of an important section of their followers, and that those suspicions, even if unfounded, should not be allowed to go uncontradicted. He did not make any accusation against Sir Antony MacDonnell or express his belief in the suspicions that had been aroused. Sir E. Carson did not, as a matter of fact, know at the time that these suspicions were well founded, but he saw that they were creating distrust and almost mutiny among the most loyal supporters of the Government. He said that if they were true, such conduct on the part of a permanent official was a scandal to the Civil Service. These were strong words, no doubt, but are they stronger words than have been used by the Cabinet themselves in the message they sent to Sir Antony MacDonnell telling him that his conduct was indefensible. We have now arrived at the truth of the matter, partly, I think, in consequence of the action taken my right hon. friend; and I say that, so far from being blameworthy from any point of view for what he said on that occasion, Sir E. Carson has done his duty not only to the Civil Service and to the Unionist Party but to the country at large.

I can assure your Lordships that I have no sort of personal feeling or animus of any kind against Sir Antony MacDonnell. I have not the pleasure of being acquainted with him, but from what has been told me by friends of mine who were with him in India, I should be inclined to agree that every word we have heard in his praise from the noble Marquess opposite is true. There is no doubt that Sir Antony MacDonnell was a very powerful and successful administrator in India, and in that way did good service to the Government under which he served. But, my Lords, I have also heard from my friends who were in India at that time that he was known to hold most advanced opinions on Irish matters, and that he earned for himself the sobriquet of "The Fenian"—of course not in any felonious sense. I feel not only no antagonism to Sir Antony MacDonnell, but considerable pride, as his fellow-countryman, that he has added another Irish name to the long list of famous men who have been identified with the expansion and safeguarding of our great Indian Empire; but all that can be said in favour of Sir Antony MacDonnell as a useful servant of the Crown in connection with India strengthens my amazement at his being transferred to Ireland. I cannot understand under what unhappy influence he was removed from his place on the Indian Council, where no doubt his experience and ability enabled him to be of great service, and sent to Ireland.

All Sir Antony MacDonnell's experience of government has been of the autocratic kind which prevails in India, and he was well known to be a man of domineering temperament and the most advanced views on Irish politics—yet this powerful influence was let loose in Ireland upon a community which is only too easily excited by influences of this kind. The noble Earl, Lord Dunraven, has taken exception to the suggestion that Sir Antony MacDonnell "evolved" this scheme of devolution, but according to the Chief Secretary himself, who has denounced this scheme, Sir Antony

MacDonnell assisted in "discussing and formulating" its proposals. The position is worthy of a comic opera. The Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant sits in Dublin Castle formulating a scheme for establishing some form of Home Rule in Ireland which is immediately denounced by his own Chief Secretary whose subordinate he was supposed to be and also by the Prime Minister as inadmissible and not to be entertained for one moment. I do not wish to speak of Sir Antony MacDonnell in any hostile spirit, but his retention in the office of Under-Secretary under a Unionist Government is grotesque. Personally, I should be only too glad if some sphere of honourable and useful employment under the Crown could be found for him out of Ireland—some sphere in which his great abilities could be utilised; but in the circumstances which have arisen his retention in the position of Under-Secretary is really impossible, and I trust that the noble Lord who will speak for the Government will give us some more definite information on that subject than we heard from the Chief Secretary in the other House.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE). My Lords, I cannot help thinking that I shall best consult the convenience of the House by avoiding any attempt at a discussion of the merits of the proposals embodied in Lord Dunraven's scheme, which has been analysed rather mercilessly by the noble and learned Lord who has just sat down. The merits of the scheme are not now before your Lordships' House and whether it deserves the more moderately worded condemnation which it has received at the hands of His Majesty's Government or the more trenchant vituperation it has encountered in other quarters does not, so far as we are concerned this evening, matter very much. In the same way, I doubt whether we can very profitably enter this evening into an examination of those other charges which have been brought against Sir Antony MacDonnell, and which were referred to by the noble Lord on the Back Benches. What I should like to say with regard to them is that, if any noble Lord chooses to bring them up in this House, we shall be prepared to meet them. They have been met in another place by my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary, and although I cannot pretend to have entered minutely into them, I know that to some, at all events, of the counts of the indictment a triumphant answer is forthcoming.

I may, however, notice now one particular incident to which the noble Lord behind me referred, that of the address of welcome presented to Sir Antony MacDonnell on his return to his native country. It was not very unnatural that an address should be tendered to him on his return to his home after many long years of brilliant service in India, but so strongly did he feel that any manifestations of this kind were dangerous that he actually refused to receive a public address, and the address which he did receive was, I believe, presented to him informally in the drawing-room of a private house, and under circumstances which made it, in his opinion, unnecessary that he should greatly concern himself as to the language in which it was worded. He had no idea it was to be made public, and no one was more surprised than Sir Antony MacDonnell when it appeared in the newspapers.

But the subject before the House this evening is the speech delivered by the Solicitor-General. As to that, let me say at once that I accept unreservedly the interpretation put upon it by the noble and learned Lord. I understood that speech as implying, in the first place, a strong expression of opinion that, as a matter of principle, it is wrong for the members of the Civil Service to concern themselves in political movements, and, in the next place, I understood the Solicitor-General to say that, if it was indeed true that Sir Antony MacDonnell had been the originator of this scheme, the matter was one which required further discussion—I think the expression he used was that it should be sifted and set at rest. The statement of the noble Earl, Lord Dunraven, threw an important light upon that particular point, for we learned from him that it cannot be said that Sir Antony MacDonnell was in the proper sense of the word the originator of the Dunraven scheme. That is stated categorically. We accept that statement of the noble Earl; but we must also accept from him

Lord Rathmore.

that there is no doubt that Sir Antony MacDonnell was called in and did take part in putting the scheme into shape.

I will notice at this moment, lest I should forget it afterwards, the question which was asked by, I think, the noble Lord on the Back Benches. He asked why it was that the Chief Secretary did not at once put his foot down when the first notice of the scheme of the Irish Reform Association appeared in the newspapers. I think the answer is a two-fold one. In the first place, the first statement was much shorter, and was couched in much more general and indefinite terms than the second statement. I am speaking from memory, but I am almost confident that your Lordships would not find in the first statement the two particular proposals to which the Chief Secretary afterwards took special exception—I mean the proposal for the creation of a Financial Council, partly elected, and the proposal for the establishment of a statutory body to which legislation of a particular kind, and under specified restrictions, was to be entrusted. But whether or not, I am bound to add this, that the first scheme appeared in *The Times* at a moment when, after a particularly arduous session, the Chief Secretary, who is, after all, a mortal man, was taking a well-deserved holiday—I believe he was on the Continent at the time—and when he could hardly be expected to rush into print the moment he saw an announcement of this kind in the newspapers, without any particular knowledge of the circumstances under which it was made.

There has been so much controversy as to the facts of the case that I think it almost worth while to recapitulate very briefly those facts which have been ascertained, and which are not controverted, because there are a good many statements which are open to a good deal of controversy. In the autumn of 1904 the noble Earl and his friends were working out proposals for an improved scheme of local government for Ireland. We know that they called in Sir Antony MacDonnell, with whom they had on many previous occasions been in the habit of conferring, and with whom they had been in the habit of conferring with the full knowledge and approval of the Chief Secretary. We know also that Sir Antony MacDonnell's assistance was readily given; and we know that in the result the scheme of the noble Earl made its appearance, not, of course, as in any sense a scheme officially inspired, but as a scheme put forward by him and his friends as a basis for the discussion they desired to initiate upon the subject of Irish local government. When the noble Earl's scheme was made public, the Chief Secretary at once thought it his duty to make it known that, in his opinion, it was opposed to Unionist principles and that it was one from which His Majesty's Government desired entirely to dissociate themselves, and he dwelt particularly upon the two proposals which I described a moment ago. Upon that Sir Antony MacDonnell at once placed himself in communication with the noble Earl, and intimated to him that his connection with the noble Earl's association must from that moment cease and come to an end.

My Lords, these are the events as they happened, and upon these events His Majesty's Government took the following action. They intimated to Sir Antony MacDonnell that in thus connecting himself with the preparation and publication of these proposals he had been led into an error which they were unable to defend. But they added at the same time that they did not regard his conduct as open to the imputation of disloyalty, and that they did not in any way call in question his candour and integrity.

That is a bare historical statement of the facts which I thought it might be convenient that I should lay before your Lordships' House. But such a statement is perhaps not quite sufficient, in view of the speeches to which we have listened this evening; and I have to ask your Lordships to consider with me for a moment the circumstances in which this mistake of Sir Antony MacDonnell's was made. I think it necessary to take that course. I think it is due to him; I think it is due to us. I think it is due to him, because it is right that the circumstances under which he took this action should be understood. It is due to us because, if half the charges which have been made against Sir Antony MacDonnell were true, we should deserve to be assailed for not having treated him with infinitely greater severity.

Now, my Lords, Sir Antony MacDonnell came home from India in 1902, having served in that country for nearly forty years. During his career, after a long and laborious apprenticeship in a number of minor appointments, he held successively a series of the highest and most responsible posts in the Indian service. He was at different times at the head of the Government of Burma; at the head of the Government of the Central Provinces, with a population of 12,000,000 committed to his charge, and he was Chief Commissioner of the North-West Provinces, with a population of no fewer than 47,000,000 under his government. Subsequently he became a member of the Viceroy's Council, and on his return home, as the noble Marquess reminded us, he had the high honour of a place in the Privy Council conferred upon him. Now, my Lords, during that long and arduous service in India Sir Antony MacDonnell had to deal with the most difficult of the many difficult problems with which Indian statesmen are confronted. He dealt with great famines, and, thanks to his administration, waves of distress, the volume of which we can scarcely conceive in this country, passed over the districts committed to his charge and left the population scathless behind them. He dealt with religious difficulties in a country where there are cleavages of religion and race as bitter even as those which are to be found on the other side of the Irish Channel. He dealt with the great and intricate problems of Indian land tenure—problems as complicated as any with which we are familiar in these islands. And may I say that during the five years which I spent in India, years during which I was constantly in contact with Sir Antony MacDonnell, and had ample opportunity of watching his work, I came to the conclusion that amongst the many able, distinguished, and upright men with whom I had to deal no one was more distinguished, more able, or more upright.

I was sorry to hear my noble and learned friend trump up an old story that he was nick-named "The Fenian." I never heard the story during my stay in India, nor did I ever hear that while he was in India he ever proclaimed himself a partisan in regard to Irish politics, or asserted any strong views of his own in regard to them. My impression is that most of our Indian administrators have plenty to do in attending to Indian affairs, and that while they are absorbed in the duties of their posts they are apt to forget for the moment the, by comparison, almost microscopic affairs of these little islands. May I add as a personal reminiscence that, when I arrived in India, Lord Dufferin, another eminent Irishman, mentioned to me the name of Sir Antony MacDonnell as a man without reproach with whom I could safely confer upon the most delicate questions, and who was likely to render me the most invaluable service?

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

Well, my Lords, Sir Antony MacDonnell came back to this country with this great reputation and experience, and I am bound to say that it seemed to me that if ever there was an Irishman from whom it might be hoped that he would be able on his return to his own country to render good service in Ireland, that man was Sir Antony MacDonnell; and it was in the belief that he was such a man that I introduced him to the Chief Secretary. He produced on the Chief Secretary the same favourable impression that he had produced on me. At that moment there was no vacancy in the Under-Secretaryship; but not long afterwards the post became vacant, and the Chief Secretary offered it to Sir Antony MacDonnell. I think it is right that your Lordships should remember that when he accepted that onerous and almost thankless office he sacrificed for the sake of it a place on the Secretary of State's Council, a place full of interesting but not excessive work, most honourable to a man who has retired from the Indian service and which naturally must have had great temptations for him. And I do not think I am committing an indiscretion when I say that not long afterwards Sir Antony MacDonnell forwent another appointment in India, the appointment of Governor of the Province of Bombay, one of the most honourable in the whole of India, which was within his reach if he had chosen to be a candidate for it.

Now I suggest to your Lordships that it follows almost as a matter of course that a man of that kind, a man of those antecedents, could scarcely be expected to be bound by the narrow rules of routine which are applicable to an ordinary member of the Civil Service; and I answer the noble Marquess's question by telling him that when Sir Antony MacDonnell took up this appointment it was understood both by himself and the Chief Secretary that he was to have greater freedom of action, greater opportunities of initiative, than he would have expected if he had been a candidate promoted in the ordinary course. And it was also understood between Sir Antony MacDonnell and the Chief Secretary that there were certain subjects to which their efforts were to be addressed and which they had reasonable hope and expectation of being able to deal with should they remain in office; amongst those subjects one was the co-ordination of the many detached and semi-detached boards into which the government of Ireland is at present subdivided. Anybody who has studied that question is aware that there is room for considerable improvement in that old-fashioned and complicated organisation. I think I ought to explain that I say this to your Lordships with the knowledge and concurrence of my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

In these circumstances does it not follow that Sir Antony MacDonnell was justified in assuming that he had more than usual freedom of action? He certainly acted upon that assumption, and acted upon it with the knowledge and approval of the Chief Secretary, and it was with the Chief Secretary's approval that Sir Antony MacDonnell made himself accessible to persons of many kinds and descriptions whose ideas upon important subjects were worth collecting. I maintain that, in endeavouring to arrive at that result, and to break down the barrier which has too long and too often divided Dublin Castle from the rest of the country, my right hon. colleague was taking a step in the right direction, and one for which he deserves the greatest possible credit. It may, I think, fairly be claimed that it was in some measure the result of this happier régime that that most difficult and intricate measure, the Irish Land Bill, was safely piloted through Parliament. We all knew that Sir Antony MacDonnell took an active part in the preliminary discussions, and in the course of the debates on the Land Bill the noble Earl more than once received congratulations from both sides of the House upon the success that had attended the efforts of himself and his friends to bring about an understanding on difficult technical points.

Well, that was the situation in the summer of last year. The noble Earl was taking a holiday in the not particularly favourable circumstances he has described to the House, but, although he was taking a holiday, he and his friends were engaged in the elaboration of the scheme they had so much at heart, and Sir Antony MacDonnell was called to their councils. Now, shall I be told that he ought to have refused that invitation? I have no doubt Sir Antony called to mind the understanding upon which he had taken office in 1902. I have no doubt he called to mind conversations and consultations with the noble Earl and his chief, recollecting that the subject of local government was one they had agreed to discuss and examine together. I say, therefore, that it appears to me Sir Antony MacDonnell might well feel himself able to take part in the symposium of the noble Earl with a perfectly clear conscience and without any idea that he was by so doing running counter to the wishes of his chief.

But while I have no difficulty in arriving at this point, I am bound to say that when as the result of these discussions the question arose of putting forward proposals for the creation of a partly elective financial board and of a statutory body with delegated legislative powers, Sir Antony MacDonnell might well have asked himself whether any instructions or authority that he had ever received covered proposals of that kind. I am sure he honestly believed he was not departing from Unionist principles or running counter to the wishes of his chief, but the fact remains that he did find himself involved in proposals which His Majesty's Government were obliged to repudiate. He interpreted his discretion in one way, His Majesty's Government in another. I do not know that the mistake was a very astounding one. It is curious that Sir Antony MacDonnell had a kind of premonition that trouble of this kind might arise, and I will read a passage in a letter he wrote to a friend at the time he took office—

> "My best friends tell me that I am deluding myself, that I shall be abused by Orangemen as a Roman Catholic and Home Ruler, and denounced by Home Rulers as a renegade, that I shall do no good, and that I shall retire disgusted in a year. But I am willing to try."

I think it did him credit that he tried, and I believe the efforts he made have not been without many excellent results. If at this particular point he overstepped the line which we consider he might have drawn or which might have been drawn for his guidance, we, nevertheless, hold strongly that his conduct has not in any way tarnished the high reputation for loyalty which he brought home with him from that Indian Empire which he served so well to the country of his birth, for which he desired to do something before he died.

*Earl SPENCER: My Lords, I feel that I must say a few words on the very interesting discussion that has taken place to-night. As your Lordships know, I have had considerable experience in Ireland, and particularly understand the relations between the Under-Secretary, the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary. I am not going to follow the noble Earl who raised this discussion, nor the noble Lord opposite, Lord Rathmore, into the topics on which they enlarged. I do not think it necessary to discuss the principles of the proposals which the noble Earl and others in Ireland have put forward. All I would say in that connection is that I naturally look with sympathetic interest on those proposals, and shall watch their course with care. But I feel that it is necessary that I should say something with regard to the position of the Under-Secretary and the attacks which, I venture to think, have been unjustly made upon him. The noble Marquess rather put a gloss on the speech of the Solicitor-General. For myself, I certainly think that the language used by the Solicitor-General, though it was put in hypothetical form, was hardly such as one member of a Government should employ in reference to another.

The noble and learned Lord opposite very properly eulogised the many Irishmen who have distinguished thsemselves in India, but he attacked the Government for having appointed Sir Antony MacDonnell to the position he holds in Ireland. On that subject I feel that it is not necessary for me to add to the generous and eloquent defence of Sir Antony MacDonnell which we have heard from the noble Marquess the Leader of the House. I leave the defence of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment and conduct entirely in the hands of the noble Marquess. Though some criticism was mingled with the praise, a great deal turns upon the exceptional conditions upon which Sir Antony MacDonnell received his appointment. An ordinary Under-Secretary would not have been allowed such conditions, but, settled as they were by the Chief Secretary, an entirely different complexion is put upon the action of the Under-Secretary. The conditions to which the noble Marquess referred enumerated some of the questions in connection with which the noble Earl wished to introduce reform. What can be more closely identified with the proposals for reform in Ireland which Lord Dunraven proposes than the co-ordination of the boards and semi-boards that are so well known to exist in the government of Ireland. These conditions, it seems to me, justify action which an ordinary Under-Secretary would not have taken with regard to all these matters.

We know that directly Sir Antony MacDonnell noticed the view taken by the Chief Secretary on the detailed proposals which came out later in the newspapers, he at once ceased to give any help of any kind, showing, as I think, his loyalty to the Government. I would go further, and inquire whether he did not lay the effect of his communications with Lord Dunraven before the Lord-Lieutenant himself, and also before the Chief Secretary. It seems to me very improbable that, even under the conditions under which he held the office, he would go so far as he did without keeping the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary acquainted with all he was doing in the matter. I have said these few words in justice to a very distinguished public servant, against whom I think a most unfair attack has been made. I confess I heard with great satisfaction the statement of the noble Marquess, but I think that even the noble Marquess's criticisms, though they were exceedingly mild, were hardly deserved, considering the remarkable conditions under which Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed to this office.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (The Marquess of LONDONDERRY): My Lords, I hope my noble friend Lord Dunraven will not think I am guilty of any discourtesy when I say that he devoted far more time in his speech to an account of the career of the Irish Reform Association, of which he is president, than to the Notice on the Paper. I do not complain of that in the least. He made what I think was a very interesting speech, and I should not have spoken had it not been for the remarks of the noble Earl opposite. I am glad, however, that this discussion has been raised, for it has given His Majesty's Government the opportunity of repudiating entirely any idea of support of any sort or kind to the proposals put forward by the noble Earl and his association. This requires the more emphasis in view of the possibility that at a future time the Liberal Party—personally I think that the time when they will be in office is very far distant—recognising how impossible it would be for them to carry Home Rule, may adopt some such insidious scheme, but they can never taunt the present Government with anything but repudiation of such a scheme.

I pass on to the attack which has been made on the Solicitor-General by the noble Earl opposite. I think the noble Earl entirely misunderstood the speech of my right hon. friend. Had he carefully read that speech he would have recognised that its point turned on the word "if." The Solicitor-General said simply that, if the statements made about the actions of Sir Antony MacDonnell, which had created such alarm amongst Irish Unionists, were true, then the conduct of Sir Antony MacDonnell was scandalous. Sir Edward Carson did not assume that the Irish Permanent Under-Secretary would have a policy, not only of his own, but one directly opposed to the Government of which he was an official. Therefore, the Solicitor-General considered it his duty to endeavour to allay the alarm which prevailed in Ireland, and, that being so, he was absolutely justified in making the speech The principal author of the scheme in question, Lord Dunraven, has a quick brain and a very active body, and he always requires some occupation in the recess. At one time it is yacht-racing in America, at another he is evolving some scheme. During the last recess he formulated this scheme. I wonder what his scheme will be next autumn. At any rate, I can say this with regard to the present scheme, that hardly twenty Unionists in Ireland view it with approval.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, if I am in order I should like to supply one omission. The noble Marquess opposite challenged me particularly as to the extent to which the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was aware of Sir Antony MacDonnell's action. Lord Dudley anticipated that that question might be asked, and he has authorised me to say that he was aware that Sir Antony MacDonnell was helping Lord Dunraven, and that he discussed the reforms suggested in the noble Earl's scheme on several occasions with the Under-Secretary. He adds that he did not think that Sir Antony MacDonnell was exceeding his functions, because, in the first place, he knew that under the terms of his appointment his position differed from that of an ordinary Under-Secretary; and, secondly, that on two previous occasions—the Land Conference and the University question—Sir Antony MacDonnell had been in close communication with Lord Dunraven.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Seven o'clock to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 17th February, 1905.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.

Petition from Lancashire, for continuance; to lie upon the Table.

JUVENILE SMOKING.

Petition from Burnley, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

SUGAR TAX.

Petitions for repeal; from Newport (Mon.) (two); and Salford; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

Paper [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 34.]

GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE AUTHORITIES, ETC.

Return [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 35.]

PUBLIC OFFICES SITE (DUBLIN) ACT, 1903.

Account [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 36.]

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACTS, 1854 TO 1894.

Copy presented, of Sixteenth Annual Report of the Railway and Canal Commission, with Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF LANCASTER).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County Palatine of Lancaster, dividing the Chorley Parliamentary Division into two convenient Polling Districts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

INEBRIATE REFORMATORIES (REGULATIONS).

Copy presented, of Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the Lancashire Certified Inebriate Reformatory [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS).

Appropriation Accounts presented, for the year ending 31st March, 1904, together with the Reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon and certain Reports upon Store Accounts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 37.]

DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

Accounts presented, for the year ended 31st December, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 38.]

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Draft Order in Council continuing certain provisions contained in the Order in Council of 6th March, 1902 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 39.]

PAUPERISM (ENGLAND AND WALES) (MONTHLY STATEMENTS).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 16th February; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 40.]

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of Order by the Secretary for Scotland prohibiting Motor Car Traffic on certain roads in the county of Midlothian [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of Order by the Secretary for Scotland prohibiting Motor Car Traffic on special roads in the county of Perth [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR CAR ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of Order by the Secretary for Scotland prohibiting Motor Car Traffic on a road in the county of Perth [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Friendly Societies, Workmen's Compensation Schemes, Industrial and Provident Societies, and Trade Unions.—Reports of the Chief Registrar for the year ending 31st December, 1904 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 41.]

Building Societies.—Copy of Tenth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies of the Proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Acts, etc. [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 42.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Resolved, "That this House, at the rising of the House this day, do adjourn till Monday next."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

NEW WRIT.

For the county of Bute, in the room of the right hon. Andrew Graham Murray, Lord Justice General and Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Imperial Exchequer and Cost of Tibet Expedition.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury, seeing that the expedition to Tibet was determined on partly through Imperial interests and not in the interests of India solely, will the Government consider the expediency of charging the Imperial Exchequer with part of its cost.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) On 13th July, 1904,† the Secretary of State for India informed the hon. Member for West Denbighshire that the Tibetan question was essentially an Indian interest. Under these circumstances it seems neither just nor expedient that the expenditure should fall upon the British Exchequer.

Salary of Secretary of State for India.

MR. WEIR: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will consider the expediency of placing the salary of the Secretary of State for India on the Estimates.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) His Majesty's Government do not propose to take any action in the direction suggested by the hon. Member.

Overtime in Linen Factories.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department upon what representations he decided to issue the Special Exception (Overtime) Order with regard to the employment of women in the making up of any article of table linen, bed linen, or other household linen, and processes incidental thereto; and whether the Home Office took any steps to inquire what were the views of the workers concerned, either by communicating with the Textile Operatives Society of Ireland, the Belfast Trades Council, or with any other labour organisation in the districts affected by the Order.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) It was brought to my notice last year that overtime was being worked in certain places in Ireland in the processes referred to, and inquiry showed that the practice had been in existence for many years, that the particular processes were carried on to a large extent in the same places, by the same classes of operatives, and under much the same conditions as other similar processes in which overtime was legal, and that the operatives concerned would strongly object to any interference with the practice. I informed the manufacturers that the practice could not be continued without an Order under the Factory Act; and, on an application being made for such an Order, I caused a draft Order to be published for forty days in accordance with the provisions of the Rules Publication Act. No objections having been sent to me within that period, I decided to make the Order. I may point out that textile workers were not concerned, as the

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 1467.

Order applies only to non-textile factories and workshops.

Compensation Allowance for Indian Medical Service in Burmah.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to a memorial presented over three years ago on behalf of the officers of the Indian Medical Service in Civil employ in Burma, praying for the grant of compensation allowance for the extra expense of serving in that province, on the same footing as such allowance is made to the officers of the public works, telegraph, forest, and postal departments; and whether any steps are about to be taken to grant the prayer of such memorial.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) Officers of the Indian Medical Service in Civil employ in Burma were placed upon the same footing as officers in other departments in respect of local allowance in December, 1903.

Increase of Salary for Strabane Dispensary Doctor.

MR. HEMPHILL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the recent resolutions of the Board of Guardians of the Strabane Union increasing the salary of Dr. Trimble, the medical officer of the Strabane dispensary district, from £120 to £150 a year, in consideration of his length of service and the heavy duties which he has to discharge; and, if so, whether he can state on what grounds such resolution has been disregarded by the Local Government Board; and whether effect will now be given to same.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Local Government Board has not disregarded the resolutions. With a view to carrying out the proposal of the guardians the Board suggested that a scale fixing minimum and maximum salaries with interim incremental additions should be formulated and made applicable to the entire dispensary medical staff of the union. The Board consider that this alternative is preferable to increasing individual salaries at irregular intervals. In September last the guardians decided to prepare and submit a scale, which, however, has not yet been received.

Disposal of Site of Duke of York's School.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether any decision has been arrived at as to the disposal of the site of the Government's Military School at Chelsea.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The question of the disposal of this site cannot be definitely decided until the provision of accommodation for the school elsewhere is further advanced.

British South Africa Company.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will inform the House what is the total share capital of the Chartered Company of South Africa; at what price these shares have been respectively issued to the public; what is the amount, if any, of the debentures issued by the company; what is the amount of shares held by the company in other companies or undertakings; what is the monetary amount of interest held by the company in other companies, based upon the value of the shares of such companies at par; and what is the annual amount of the interest guaranteed by the company in respect of other companies or other undertakings.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) Much of the information desired by the hon. Member may be derived from sources which are open to the public, such as the published annual accounts of the company and "Burdett's Official Intelligence." For the rest the Secretary of State would be obliged to ask the British South Africa Company for a Return and for permission to publish it, and it would probably save correspondence if the hon. Member would apply to the company direct.

NEW BILLS.

SHIPOWNERS' NEGLIGENCE REMEDIES BILL.

"To enlarge the remedies of persons injured by the negligence of shipowners," presented by Sir Harry Samuel; supported by Mr. Brynmor Jones, Major

Evans-Gordon, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Mr. Ernest Gray, Mr. Jacoby, Sir Ernest Flower, Mr. Marks, Sir Albert Rollit, and Mr. Harold Reckitt; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 3rd, and to be printed. [Bill 1.]

TRADES UNIONS AND TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Trades Unions and Trade Disputes," presented by Mr. Whittaker; supported by Mr. Henderson, Mr. Bell, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Johnson, Mr. John Burns, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Paulton, and Mr. Fenwick; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 2.]

TOWN TENANTS (IRELAND) BILL.

"To improve the position of Tenants in Towns in Ireland," presented by Mr. Patrick O'Brien; supported by Mr. John Redmond, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Joseph Devlin, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Field, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. Mooney, and Mr. Charles Devlin; to be read a second time upon Friday, 24th March, and to be printed. [Bill 3.]

COAL MINES EMPLOYMENT BILL.

"To amend the provisions of the Coal Mines Regulation Acts which relate to Employment," presented by Mr. Jacoby; supported by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Joseph Walton, Mr. Parrott, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Thomas Richards, Sir Joseph Leese, and Mr. Norman; to be read a second time upon Friday, 17th March, and to be printed. [Bill 4.]

COAL MINES (WEIGHING OF MINERALS) BILL.

"To amend the provisions of The Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, which relate to the Weighing of Minerals," presented by Mr. Compton Rickett; supported by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Haldane, Sir William Holland, Mr. Warner, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Hatch, and Mr. Parrott; to be read a second time upon Friday, March 31st, and to be printed. [Bill 5.]

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister," presented by Colonel Lockwood; supported by Sir William Gurdon, Sir Gilbert Parker, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, Colonel Denny, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Mr. Hambro, Sir Joseph Leese, Mr. David MacIver, and Sir Barrington Simeon; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 6.]

LAND VALUES (ASSESSMENT AND RATING) BILL.

"To provide for the separate Assessment and Rating of Land Values," presented by Sir John Brunner; supported by Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Bell, Mr. Charles Douglas, Mr. William Jones, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. McCrae, Dr. Macnamara, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. J. H. Whitley, and Mr. Watson Rutherford; to be read a second time upon Friday, 14th April, and to be printed. [Bill 7.]

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To give the ratepayers a direct veto on the Liquor Traffic in their respective areas in Scotland," presented by Mr. Hunter Craig; supported by Mr. Asher, Mr. Black, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Crombie, Sir William Dunn, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. John Hope, Mr. Robert Wallace, and Mr. Eugene Wason; to be read a second time upon Friday, 5th May, and to be printed. [Bill 8.]

VEHICLES LIGHTS BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to lights upon vehicles on highways," presented by Mr. Bigwood; to be read a second time upon Friday, 12th May, and to be printed. [Bill 9.]

LAND VALUES TAXATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To provide for the taxation for local purposes of Land Values in burghs in Scotland," presented by Mr. Ainsworth; supported by Mr. Black, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Hunter Craig, Mr. Dalziel, Mr. Findlay, and Mr. J. D. Hope; to be read a second time upon Friday, 19th May, and to be printed. [Bill 10.]

CANALS BILL.

"To establish public trusts under one control, with power to acquire, develop, extend, and administer the Canals and inland navigations of the United Kingdom, and to exercise all powers and authorities conducive or ancillary thereto," presented by Mr. Barran; supported by Sir John Brunner, Sir William Tomlinson, Sir William Holland, Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. Channing, Mr. Platt-Higgins, Mr. Crombie, Mr. Kerr, Mr. Field, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. McArthur, and Mr. Alexander Cross; to be read a second time upon Friday, 26th May, and to be printed. [Bill 11.]

PLURAL VOTING BILL.

"To prevent Plural Voting at Parliamentary elections," presented by Mr. Soames; supported by Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Henderson, Dr. Hutchinson, Mr. J. A. Pease, Mr. Price, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Shackleton, and Sir Edward Strachey; to be read a second time upon Friday, 2nd June, and to be printed. [Bill 12.]

WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

"To enable women to vote at Parliamentary elections," presented by Mr. Slack; supported by Colonel Denny, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Emmott, Mr. Nannetti, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. George Whiteley, and Mr. Keir Hardie; to be read a second time upon Friday, 12th May, and to be printed. [Bill 13.]

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) BILL.

"To enable women to be elected and act as members of county and borough councils and metropolitan borough councils," presented by Dr. Shipman; supported by Mr. Channing, Sir Richard Jebb, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Mr. Emmott, Captain Norton, Mr. Bousfield, Mr. Yerburgh, Mr. Crooks, Sir Henry Kimber, Mr. Lough, and Mr. John Burns; to be read a second time upon Friday, 31st March, and to be printed. [Bill 14.]

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (WALES) BILL.

"To provide for improving and extending the procedure for obtaining Parliamentary powers by way of Provisional Orders in matters relating to Wales," presented by Mr. Vaughan-Davies; supported by Sir Alfred Thomas, Mr. Brynmor-Jones, Mr. Osmond Williams, and Mr. Herbert Roberts; to be read a second time upon Friday, 5th May, and to be printed. [Bill 15.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SUNDAY) BILL.

"To prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday," presented by Mr. Perks; supported by Mr. Bell, Mr. Cameron, Sir Frederick Mappin, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Mr. John Wilson; to be read a second time upon Friday, 26th May, and to be printed. [Bill 16.]

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO CROPS BILL.

"To give compensation for damage by fires caused by sparks or cinders from railway engines," presented by Mr. Mount; supported by Sir Edward Strachey, Mr. Spear, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Courtenay Warner, and Mr. Gardner; to be read a second time upon Friday, 3rd March, and to be printed. [Bill 17.]

DUBLIN POLICE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Dublin Police Acts," presented by Mr. Clancy; supported by Mr. Harrington, Mr. Nannetti, Mr. Field, Mr. Mooney, and Mr. Waldron; to be read a second time upon Friday, 19th May, and to be printed. [Bill 18.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Local Government (Ireland) Acts," presented by Mr. Mooney; supported by Mr. Clancy, Mr. Roche, Mr. McHugh, Mr. Kilbride, Mr. Hayden, Mr. J. P. Farrell, and Mr. Conor O'Kelly; to be read a second time upon Friday, 2nd June, and to be printed. [Bill 19.]

SMALL HOLDINGS BILL.

"To further facilitate the provision of Small Holdings," presented by Mr. Channing; supported by Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Herbert Samuel, Mr. Price, Mr. Bright, Mr. Lyell, Dr. Hutchinson, Mr. George White, and Mr. Slack; to be read a second time upon Friday, 24th March, and to be printed. [Bill 20.]

LAND DRAINAGE AND SEWERS BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the drainage of Land for Agricultural Purposes and the Law of Sewers," presented by Mr. Harold Reckitt; supported by Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Perks; to be read a second time upon Friday, 31st March, and to be printed. [Bill 21.]

CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL BILL.

"To remove certain disabilities affecting Catholics," presented by Mr. MacVeagh; supported by Mr. Kilbride, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Moony, Mr. McKean, Mr. Vincent Kennedy, Mr. Waldron, Mr. Delany, and Mr. Boland; to be read a second time upon Friday, 2nd June, and to be printed. [Bill 22.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SATURDAYS (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays, and for other purposes connected therewith," presented by Mr. Sloan; supported by Sir James Haslett, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. T. L. Corbett, Mr. Wood, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 23.]

HOUSE-LETTING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To amend the system of House-letting in the burghs of Scotland," presented by Mr. Alexander Cross; supported by Sir John Leng, Mr. Hunter Craig, Colonel Bain, and Mr. T. W. Russell; to be read a second time upon Friday next, and to be printed. [Bill 24.]

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

"To deal with Church Discipline," presented by Mr. Austin Taylor; supported by Mr. William Lawrence, Mr. Charles McArthur, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. W. W. Rutherford, Mr. Channing, and Major Seely; to be read a second time upon Friday, 12th May, and to be printed. [Bill 25.]

STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS (PERSONS IN CHARGE) BILL.

"To grant certificates to Persons in Charge of Steam Engines and Boilers," presented by Mr. Joseph Walton; supported by Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Parrott, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Levy, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. John Johnson, and Mr. Arthur Henderson; to be read a second time upon Friday, 26th May, and to be printed. [Bill 26.]

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

"To provide for the Enfranchisement of Leaseholds," presented by General Laurie; supported by Mr. Spear, Mr. Cohen, Sir George Fardell, and Mr. Louis Sinclair; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 27.]

MEDICAL ACT (1886) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend The Medical Act, 1886," presented by General Laurie; supported by Sir Walter Foster, Sir John Tuke, Mr. Rothschild, Sir Howard Vincent, Mr. Middlemore, and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree; to be read a second time upon Friday, 14th April, and to be printed. [Bill 28.]

COLONIAL MARRIAGES BILL.

"To legalise certain Colonial Marriages," presented by General Laurie; supported by Mr. Rothschild, Mr. Arthur Stanley, Sir Gilbert Parker, and Captain Jessel; to be read a second time upon Friday, 5th May, and to be printed. [Bill 29.]

CONTEMPT OF COURT (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to committals for Contempt of Court in Ireland," presented by Mr. Patrick Aloysius McHugh; supported by Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. Clancy, Mr. James O'Kelly, and Mr. William McKillop; to be read a second time upon Friday, 2nd June, and to be printed. [Bill 30.]

DRUNKENNESS (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Drunkenness in Ireland, and for purposes connected therewith," presented by Mr. T. W. Russell; supported by Mr. Hugh Law, Sir James Haslett, Captain Donelan, and Mr. Wood; to be read a second time upon Friday, 31st March, and to be printed. [Bill 31.]

FRANCHISE AND REMOVAL OF WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.

"To establish a single Franchise at all Elections, and thereby to abolish University representation and to remove the disabilities of women," presented by Sir Charles Dilke; supported by Mr. Bell, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Dr. Macnamara, Captain Norton, Mr. Shackleton, and Mr. Sheehan; to be read a second time upon Friday, 28th April, and to be printed. [Bill 32.]

WAGES BOARDS BILL.

"To provide for the establishment of Wages Boards," presented by Sir Charles Dilke; supported by Mr. Bill, Mr. John Burns, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Tennant, and Mr. Trevelyan; to be read a second time upon Friday, 28th April, and to be printed. [Bill 33.]

SUNDAY CLOSING (WALES) ACT (1881) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend The Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881, and to make further provisions respecting the sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Wales and Monmouthshire," presented by Mr. Herbert Roberts; supported by Sir Alfred Thomas, Mr. William Jones, and Mr. Herbert Lewis; to be read a second time upon Friday, 19th May, and to be printed. [Bill 34.]

CHILDREN'S COURTS BILL.

"To establish Children's Courts," presented by Sir Howard Vincent; supported by Mr. Samuel Smith and Sir John Gorst; to be read a second time upon Friday, 3rd March, and to be printed. [Bill 35.]

MERCHANDISE MARKS BILL.

"To amend the sixteenth Section of The Merchandise Marks Act, 1887," presented by Sir Howard Vincent; supported by Mr. Evelyn Cecil, Mr. Middlemore, Sir. Carne Rasch, and Mr. Field; to be read a second time upon Friday, 3rd March, and to be printed. [Bill 36.]

PUBLIC TRUSTEE AND EXECUTOR BILL.

"To provide for the appointment of a Public Trustee and Executor," presented by Sir Howard Vincent; supported by Mr. H. D. Greene, Mr. Howard, and Colonel Tufnell; to be read a second time upon Friday, 3rd March, and to be printed. [Bill 37.]

VOTING DISQUALIFICATION (POOR LAW) REMOVAL BILL.

"To prevent the disenfranchisement of persons receiving Poor Law relief," presented by Mr. Schwann; supported by Captain Norton, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Churchill, Mr. Kearley, and Mr. Fenwick; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 38.]

MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE (COMPANIES) BILL.

"To confer the municipal franchise upon mercantile corporations and companies, and to amend The Municipal Corporations Act, 1882," presented by Sir Albert Rollit; supported by Sir James Woodhouse, Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir William Holland, Mr. H. C. Richards, Mr. J. Howard, and Captain Jessel; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 39.]

CHURCH ORGANISATION AND DISCIPLINE BILL.

"To repeal certain enactments; to provide for the constitution of churchwardens' councils in England and Wales; to amend the Law relating to institution to benefices, to ecclesiastical suits, and to public worship; and to otherwise make better provision for the organisation and discipline of the Church of England," presented by Lord Hugh Cecil; to be read a second time upon Friday, 17th March, and to be printed. [Bill 40.]

LANDS VALUATION (SCOTLAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend The Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854," presented by Mr. McCrae; supported by Mr. Bryce, Sir John Leng, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. Eugene Wason, Mr. John Dewar, and Mr. Robert Wallace; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 41.]

PHARMACY BILL.

"To provide for the further regulation of the sale of poisons and the compounding of medical prescriptions, and to amend the Pharmacy Acts, 1852 and

1868," presented by Mr. Lough; supported by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, Mr. Henniker Heaton, Mr. Crooks, Mr. Osmond Williams, Mr. Ellis Griffith, Mr. James Reid, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Marshall Hall, Mr. Remnant, and Mr. Ernest Gray; to be read a second time upon Friday, 24th March, and to be printed. [Bill 42.]

MILK DEPOTS (LONDON) BILL.

"To allow metropolitan borough councils to establish and maintain Milk Depôts," presented by Mr. Lough; supported by Dr. Shipman, Sir Charles Dilke, Dr. Macnamara, and Mr. J. H. Whitley; to be read a second time upon Friday, 12th May, and to be printed. [Bill 43.]

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

*DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) said that last year, when the Transvaal Labour Ordinance was before the House, there were grave misgivings expressed, and not alone by men on one side of the House, lest we might be committing ourselves to a policy which would be fraught with great evil to the future of the Transvaal. To allay this apprehension the Colonial Secretary gave certain assurances, and without them the Ordinance would hardly have been passed. But as the session went on it became painfully clear that these assurances were not being carried out, though no discussion of the subject in the House was possible, because of the appearance on the Order Paper of a very remarkable variety of ingenious blocking Motions. They had consequently to fall back on the unfruitful task of bombarding the Colonial Secretary with questions. He did not think that under the circumstances the right hon. Gentleman would now complain because he had deliberately seized this opportunity of raising the whole question. The first grave apprehension was that, if the Chinese coolies went to the Transvaal unaccompanied by their women-kind, we should be setting up in the heart of our newest colony a cesspit of Oriental immorality. The Bishop of Worcester on that matter wrote a powerful letter to *The Times* on October 7th last year, in which he said—

> "I am informed by some who appear to speak with knowledge that the transportation of a great number of Chinese to the mines, especially apart from their women-folk, is certain to result in the establishment of demoralisation of a sort which I do not care to characterise more exactly."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester and many others in another place expressed pretty much the same view, and in order to meet this anxiety, Lord Onslow gave an assurance that facilities would be offered, in the freest possible way, at the cost of the importer for the passages of the wives and children of the coolies. On February 16th, in the House of Commons, the Colonial Secretary in reference to the arrangement thus foreshadowed said—

> "Manifestly it would be most wrong that they should go without their women-folk. I undertake on behalf of the Government that all the coolies who wish to take their wives and children shall have the opportunity of doing so."

That reassured hon. Members. But what had proved to be the sequel? The right hon. Gentleman gave a Return on January 10th this year which showed that down to October last there were 12,965 coolies on the Rand; on Saturday last there were 27,182; and in a short time there were to be 34,000. Of all these thousands two only had brought their wives with them. He could not accept the excuse that the Government were not to blame, as they had provided all facilities, and he would tell the right hon. Gentleman why. In the first place, in the first draft of the Ordinance of December 5th, 1903, there was provision made for bringing the wives and children of the coolies. In the second draft—that of January 25th, 1904—that provision was dropped out, because, as he suggested, the mineowners looked upon it as an expensive, troublesome, and intolerable nuisance. Then the Bishops began to get apprehensive, and the provision was reinstated, in order, as he suggested, to allay the tender susceptibilities of the Episcopal conscience. He did not believe, however, that the Government, when the reinstatement was made, thought that it was worth the paper it was written upon. The Colonial Secretary would no doubt remember a letter sent to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton from a Chinese missionary, the Rev. Mr. Arnold-Forster, alleging that the recruiters were making no endeavour to inform the coolie that he might bring his wife and children. The Colonial Secretary promised, on August 1st, to send that letter to Lord Milner for his observations. Had these observations reached the right hon. Gentleman?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): Not from Lord Milner himself; but I have had information on the subject.

*DR. MACNAMARA said that the undertaking was given six months ago, and yet no observations from Lord Milner had arrived. Lord Milner had said that he did not care twopence for the opinion of people 6,000 miles away; but it was about time to make him care. He had in his possession a facsimile of the advertisement issued by the recruiting agents of Tientsin. He did not pretend to understand the document, but the translation of it showed that there was no hint of facilities being provided for the coolies taking their wives and children with them. Even the Colonial Secretary and the Archbishop of Canterbury could find no hint of that in the hieroglyphics. He would be interested to know what answer the right hon. Gentleman had to make to the charge that this particular assurance of his had not been carried out. Was the right hon. Gentleman quite easy in his mind when he thought of all these thousands of coolies cooped up together without their women-kind? "concerning whom it would be manifestly most wrong that they should come without their women folk."

Now, the next assurance which he held had not been fulfilled was with reference to the wages paid to the Chinese coolie. When they were discussing the Ordinance, a great many of them expressed the apprehension that the competition of the coolie would be used to make the Kaffir work for less than 2s. a day. But the Colonial Secretary repeatedly denied this. On March 21st the right hon. Gentleman asked whether it would not be a deplorable thing to prevent the coming of a Chinaman who is anxious and willing to work, and who would receive in the Transvaal "at least 2s. a day." They were very pleased to hear that, and said "Put it in the Ordinance," to which the right hon. Gentleman replied—

> "I do not consider it necessary or desirable to specify a minimum wage, but I have no fear that the standard of wages of the Chinese will be lower than that of the Kaffir labourers."

That was perfectly clear and unmistakable. The coolie was to have at least 2s. a day, and he was not to be paid a lower wage than the Kaffir. What was the sequel? On June 22nd, after the Ordinance was passed, the right hon. Gentleman admitted that, while the minimum wage of the Kaffir was 45s. a month, that of the Chinese labourer was 30s. a month; but he added that after the first six months the minimum was to be increased from 30s. to 45s. a month. The six months had expired, but the minimum still remained at 1s. a day. In that matter he submitted a grave charge rested against the Government for having got this Ordinance by the assurance that the coolie would not undercut the Kaffir and would get at least 2s. per day.

The third point to which he had to refer had reference to the nature of the work which the coolie had to do on the Rand. They were assured in the House any number of times that the coolie was to be engaged wholly and exclusively on unskilled labour. These were the precise words of the Colonial Secretary on May 2nd—

> "The indentured Chinese are restricted under the Ordinance to unskilled work in the mines, such as is usually performed by natives. This restriction would appear to exclude the Chinese from work of the class in which white men have hitherto been engaged."

On June 8th the right hon. Gentleman said that Section 9a of the Ordinance read in conjunction with the first schedule, made it clear that Asiatics were not excluded from acting as overseers, and that the actual gangers would probably be Chinese. On that point he desired to make a serious complaint. Before the Ordinance, under no circumstances were Asiatics to touch anything but unskilled work or act as overseers; immediately the Ordinance had been sanctioned the announcement was made that they could be overseers and gangers—positions which before the Ordinance were specially reserved for the white men. Then there was the assurance, without which the Ordinance would probably never have been passed, that the coming of the coolie would mean a large increase in the opportunities of employment for white men. Lord Milner stated in a letter that every ten Chinamen introduced would mean employment in mining operations for one more white man, and there was not a Unionist platform last year on which that declaration was not repeated. What were the facts? There had been an increase of white labour to the extent of 1,600 or 1,700 since the introduction of the coolie, but they had been engaged, as the Colonial Secretary admitted, not in mining work, but in the building of compounds and other incidental occupations which would disappear almost immediately. Moreover, the increase in the number of white men employed was going on at a rapidly diminishing rate, and would soon be extinguished. In a month, at the end of 1904, there were ninety-two additional white men employed on the Rand, while the number of coolies introduced during the same period was 5,583, or one white man, not for every ten, but for every sixty Chinamen, and there was no assurance that even those white men had been employed in mining operations. Never was a greater fraud perpetrated upon the British public than when they were assured that the introduction of the coolie would mean increased opportunities for the permanent employment of white men in the mining industry. These were four specific points as to which he would be glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman's reply. Last year if any hon. Member ventured to whisper the echo of a doubt that all would be well, the Colonial Secretary waxed very indignant indeed, laying his hand upon his heart, and soundly rating his opponents for doubting the word of a British Minister. In fact, there was just a little too much "hand-upon-the-heart" about the Colonial Secretary's attitude. On February 22nd last year, the right hon. Gentleman specifically stated—

> "I have given pledges in this House, a breach of which, if I should be so base as to depart from them, can be visited on me by this as well as by that side of the House, with the condemnation which I shall be worthy to receive if I do break them."

He did not doubt the right hon. Gentleman's word or his honour; what he doubted was his capacity to make the Rand magnates carry out his pledges. The Colonial Secretary was an English gentleman and a first-class sportsman, and he must often have thought that the way in which his pledges had been handled was not precisely "cricket." The right hon. Gentleman had one of two things to do—either to make the Rand magnates carry out the pledges given to the House or to resign his office as Colonial Secretary. He further complained that no attempt had been made to test the opinion of the Transvaal on the question of the introduction of coolies. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham took up an absolutely correct attitude on this point when, in a letter on April 21st last year, he wrote—

> "You are aware that while I was Colonial Secretary I laid down the principle on which I proposed to deal with the question—viz., to offer no opposition on the part of the Imperial Government to the employment of Asiatic labour if it were clearly shown that such employment was desired by the great majority of the white inhabitants of the two Colonies. . . . I assume that the Government have satisfied themselves that the condition I laid down is now fulfilled, and that the feeling of the white inhabitants is strongly in favour of the proposed employment."

That assumption was the absolute reverse of the fact. The present Colonial Secretary had flatly departed from the policy laid down by his predecessor. The Prime Minister himself had taken up a most amazing position on this point. In a letter to the electors of Chertsey, on

July 5th last year, the right hon. Gentleman stated—

> "All fair-minded men will remember that these labourers, who came willingly on the terms offered to them, have been introduced into the Transvaal at the express wish of the white population."

Allowance had to be made for everybody at election times, but this suggestion of the Prime Minister was what the Americans call "rather steep." What evidence was there of the "express wish of the white population?" The Government would doubtless answer that the Legislative Council, by twenty-two to four, adopted the Ordinance. But who were the Legislative Council? That body consisted of twenty-seven persons, not one of whom was elected, there being thirteen Government officials and fourteen selected outsiders, and to say that the act of such a body represented "the express wish of the white population of the Transvaal" was the climax of effrontery. But there was some expression of the wish of the white people. First of all there were the Boers. ["Oh."] The Boers were now British subjects, and their opinion was surely worth some consideration. Two hundred delegates attended an important Congress at Pretoria on May 23rd, and unanimously passed the following resolution—

> "This meeting expresses its approval of the cable sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Boer leaders with reference to the importation of Chinese labourers for the mines, and expresses the feeling of the Boer population that [this step is a very dangerous one, which should not, under any circumstances, be taken without the constitutional approval of the people of the Transvaal."

The other section of the white population was the British, and at a congress in April last, British working-class representatives unanimously resolved—

> "That this council, comprising the whole of the trade unions of the Rand, carpenters' engineers, engine-drivers, typographical union, plasterers, bricklayers, boiler-makers, miners, bakers, masons, confectioners, shop-assistants, musicians, do hereby protest against the importation of Asiatics, being firmly convinced that it will ultimately result in a reduction of white labour, and thereby be detrimental to the State."

And the conviction of these men had been amply confirmed by the figures officially supplied. He was surprised that they were able to hold that meeting without being smashed up. They had all heard of that historic meeting in the Wanderers' Hall, Johannesburg, in favour of a referendum, which was smashed up by ruffians hired for the purpose at 15s. a time. Referring to this incident the *South African Guardian* said—

> "The day following the meeting at the Wanderers, a scene was witnessed in Johannesburg the like of which it may be safely said has never occurred before in a British colony. This was the paying off of the men engaged to attend the meeting to prevent Mr. Quinn getting a hearing. This was done in the building at the corner of two streets. On Friday afternoon hundreds of people congregated in front of the building, the crowd stretching right across the road. At the entrance to the room and standing in the street were two constables to preserve order in the admission of applicants, one by one, for the 15s., the pay of the night. The doorkeeper stood inside, and, with the door slightly ajar, took the name of each man, and admission was not granted until an inspection had been made of the register inside, which had been signed the day previously. Amongst the onlookers exclamations of surprise at the utter shamelessness of the proceedings were heard on every side."

If the Colonial Secretary would like to go further into this matter he could let him see a photographic reproduction showing those gentlemen receiving their 15s. for having broken up that meeting. Then there had been expressions of opinion from Australia. Lord Northcote, the Governor-General of Australia, had forwarded to the Government the following Resolution passed in both branches of the Federal Legislature—

> "That this House records its grave objection to the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal until a referendum of the white population of the colony has been taken on the subject, or responsible government is granted."

The Colonial Secretary's reply to that was curious—"The Government adhered to the policy of treating the Transvaal as a self-governing colony."

MR. LYTTELTON: I do not think that is an accurate account of what I said, and I should prefer the hon. Member to quote the words from my telegram.

*DR. MACNAMARA said as far as he could remember it was to that effect. The Colonial Secretary appeared in this instance to have broken all records by his classic official evasion. With regard to the opinion of Australia Mr. Deakin, the Federal Parliament Premier, made a very important statement. He said—

> "Australia had been told that the war was a miner's war, but not for Chinese miners; a war for the franchise, but not for Chinese franchise. The truth, if it had been told' would have presented a very different aspect, and would have made a very different appeal to Australia."

Associated with Mr. Deakin was the Leader of the Opposition in the Federal Parliament, Mr. Reid, who said—

> "The Chinese stimulant to Empire-building is peculiarly offensive to Australian sentiment. It lowers the best Imperial standards to put capitalistic interests before colonising ideals. Slow progress under better auspices is best."

Next came the New Zealand Legislature, which had made urgent representations to the home Government in the following terms—

> "The Government of New Zealand foresees grave perils, racial, social, political, and sanitary, in the introduction of coolies."

The Ministers of Cape Colony said that the importation of Chinese—

> "Will greatly hamper, if not altogether prevent, the federation of South African Colonies. They plead for patience as the wise means of solution, and are assured that native labour in plenty will be forthcoming if a fair wage be offered and considerate treatment in the way of housing and food be accorded."

And all this time, while the Government were flouting colonial opinion upon this question, the ex-Colonial Secretary was going about the country on a pilgrimage as the missionary of Empire, insisting that they must, upon another question now before the country, respect colonial opinion. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham started his fiscal campaign in 1903 at Glasgow, he said—

> "Our children are calling to us. With them rests, as with us, the maintenance of the traditions of which we are proud—the continuance of the glorious history of our past. They invite you to co-operate with them. They stretch their hands to you across the seas. Will you not grasp them? Will you not do all in your power to make this vision real and hand down undiminished and untarnished the sceptre of that great dominion, and the recollection of that glorious past which we have received as an inheritance, due to the courage, the tenacity, and the self-sacrifice of our ancestors through many generations."

This flamboyant exhortation was all very fine, but they had to forget altogether the coolie on the Rand while they were saying it. They had also got to forget those appeals from the Colonies in protest against the introduction of Chinese labour to which they had to turn a deaf ear of cynical disregard. The ex-Colonial Secretary, in a speech at Birmingham on November 4th, said:—

> "For my part I say when I remember how the Colonies responded to our appeal, when I remember how when we were in stress and difficulty they sent us men in thousands and tens of thousands, how they paid money; when I remember how, when every one's hand seemed raised against us, we relied and rested on the moral support that we had from these great growing States across the sea—I for one am not prepared to treat their proposals with contempt."

As a Colonial born he agreed with that, for they had no right to treat proposals from the Colonies with contempt; but if that was good enough in regard to imaginary offers relating to trade preference, it was equally good in respect of the protests from the Colonies in regard to the shameful sequel to a war in which our brothers across the sea freely and even eagerly spent their blood and treasure. He begged to move.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland), in seconding the Motion, said that in some quarters this question appeared to be regarded as a mere Party agitation on the part of the Opposition with no reality or substance in it, as a question taken up solely in order to win support in the constituencies. He assured the House that that was not so, for many of them felt a profound conviction that the introduction of Chinese labour under the conditions in which it had been introduced in the Transvaal was unnecessary for the economic development of that country, was injurious to British labour, opposed to the future well-being of South Africa, and deleterious to those principles of liberty to which this nation had long been profoundly attached. Would those who regarded this merely as a Party agitation explain why our great Colonies, who were far removed from any such considerations, had expressed opposition to the introduction of Chinese labour even more emphatically than it had been expressed in this country? They had now had six months experience of Chinese labour. 27,000 coolies had been introduced into the Transvaal and another 7,500 were upon the sea bound for the Transvaal mines. He thought the time had now come when they could review the results of this experiment. He had heard no complaints with regard to the feeding and housing of the Chinese coolies, and they seemed to be in this respect well treated; but there was still the essential evil, the essential blot upon the whole scheme, that this was an attempt to keep in isolation and subordination a vast body of men in the midst of the surrounding population. They had this helot community established in the midst of the surrounding white and black population on conditions degrading to those who suffered them, and still more degrading to those who inflicted them. Never in the history of the world had there been such an attempt as this to keep isolated and separated from the rest of the community a vast body of tens of thousands of labourers.

The Colonial Secretary said that he had done no more in this matter than previous Liberal Governments had done in the case of the West Indies. The employment of coolies in the West Indies was essentially different in principle to that of the Chinese coolies in the Transvaal, because there had never been any attempt to isolate them from the rest of the community. Nor were they limited to unskilled labour. The great majority of Indian coolies in the West Indies ultimately settled in the country—to the extent of about 62 per cent., and they were regarded as most valuable members of the community. This experiment of keeping 30,000 men within a ring fence was bound to break down. It was an impossible undertaking. There had been numerous cases of riots as a result of the conditions under which the Chinese labourers were confined. According to Mr. Harold Strange, the Chairman of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, there were in January last 168 coolies in jail, twenty-one had deserted and 685 had died or had been sent back again to China. It was reported that these riots had occurred largely on account of conflicts between the Kaffirs and Chinese, because the Kaffirs were defending their women-folk from interference by the coolies. Last night the Prime Minister deprecated cross-examination across the floor of the House, but, nevertheless, he should like to ask a single question, which he thought would be considered pertinent and legitimate. Did the right hon. Gentleman still adhere to the view that it would be manifestly most wrong that they should go without their women-folk?

MR. LYTTELTON: I wish to point out that what I said is perfectly clear if the whole sentence is read. With the context the sentence makes it perfectly clear. I said it would be wrong for the coolies to go without their wives if they wished their wives. That is perfectly clear from the pledge I gave immediately afterwards.

SIR JOHN BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): Is it quite right to desert their wives?

MR. LYTTELTON: I am answering the question of the hon. Member. I say that the context of the sentence which he read shows that what I said was that it was wrong that the coolies should go there without their wives if they desired to bring them. I gave pledges that they should have the opportunity, and full opportunity, of bringing them. I asked hon. Members whom I was addressing afterwards if they could make any suggestion whereby that facility could be increased. From that day to this I have heard none. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Forest of Dean showed that he understood the pledge which was given in that sentence.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL said he had not the whole of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman in his hand, but he had one or two sentences which came before the one he had quoted. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "I entirely agree that the provisions for the reception and accommodation of the wives and families of these people should be clearly made. We were advised in this matter by men the most experienced in the whole Empire on the subject of Chinese labour. We were advised that the coolies would not go without their women-folk. Manifestly it would be most wrong that they should go without their women-folk. I undertake that if they wish to bring their

wives and families they shall be allowed to do so. ["All of them?"] All of them . . . I undertake, on behalf of the Government, that all the coolies who desire to bring their wives and families shall have the opportunity to do so."

He did not know what was in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, but he had always thought until this moment, and he thought the majority of the Members of the House were of the same opinion, that he regarded it on moral grounds objectionable that these Chinese should be herded together in large celibate communities on account of which certain practices were notorious. He had had the benefit of the advice of a man who was equal as an authority to any of those the right hon. Gentleman had consulted. This man, who had been for many years the Protector of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements, assured him that the Chinese would not take their women-folk with them when they went temporarily, and the result was that in the Malay Peninsula there occurred the abhorrent evils which they thought must occur in South Africa. That was one of the grounds on which hon. Members on his side of the House had opposed the introduction of Chinese labour in South Africa. The right hon. Gentleman said that it would be manifestly most wrong that the Chinese should go there without their women-folk. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman what steps he now proposed to take to stop what was a manifest wrong.

There was a second result which was important. In the six months from June to December there were 1,600 more white workmen employed on the Transvaal mines. His hon. friend had pointed out on the authority of an answer which the right hon. Gentleman gave to a Question that a proportion, but he did not know how large a proportion, of these men were employed, not as miners, but as builders in providing accommodation for the Chinese, who were being imported at the rate of 5,000 or 6,000 a month. His hon. friend had pointed out that these white workmen were rapidly decreasing, and that while in December 5,500 Chinese arrived, only ninety-two additional whites were employed. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, and those who supported him, said that the effect of Chinese labour was to increase the number of white workmen. They on the other hand said that the effect of Chinese labour was to reduce the labour of the whites. Contradictory as it might seem, both these statements might be true, and both were true. We were increasing the number of supervisors, but we were excluding the labourers. We were increasing the employment of white men by hundreds, but shutting them out by thousands. A great deal turned on the question whether or not whites would work in the mines as unskilled labourers. That was a matter of controversy on the platforms throughout the country, and hon. Gentlemen opposite based their case on the statement that white men would not work in the Transvaal mines. On February 16th last year the Colonial Secretary said—

"It is, I think, more than unfortunate, but still an undoubted fact, that white men in Africa will not do the work which black men do."

Again and again they had proof that white men actually did this work in South Africa, not indeed side by side and in the same gangs with the Kaffirs or Chinese. No one had ever suggested that. The hon. Member for Chester had made an offer to his constituents that he would send out a certain number of selected men if they would undertake to work side by side in the Transvaal mines with Kaffir labourers. That offer was entirely beside the mark.

*MR. YERBURGH (Chester) said one reason he made the offer was because his statement that white men would not work side by side with Kaffirs was challenged.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL said the offer made by the hon. Member had fallen through, for local reasons, but the hon. Member was quite right in his contention that whites and blacks would not work together. No one had proposed that as a solution of the Transvaal Labour problem. But either in the mines or on the surface whites and blacks would work separately at unskilled labour. In his report for 1903, the Government mining engineer said—

> "In the majority of the crushing mills the native has been entirely replaced by the European."

If white men would not do black men's work, how did the right hon. Gentleman explain the fact that the black men had been replaced by the white men? On June 16th last the Colonial Secretary stated, in reply to a Question—

> "Lord Milner has furnished me with a statement showing that the number of whites employed in the Witwatersrand Gold Mines on unskilled labour, which prior to the war was performed by Kaffirs, is 998."

If, again, white men could not be got to do Kaffir work, how was it that there were 998 so employed in June last? They might say that it was uneconomical to employ white men, or that it was undesirable for social or political reasons. That was a question of argument. But as to the white men being unwilling to do work which black men do was a question of fact and not of argument, and the statement of the right hon. Gentleman had been absolutely disproved. These labourers had been rapidly displaced since the Chinese went there. In the Village Main Reef Mine, of which Mr. Creswell had been manager, white men were employed, and after Mr. Creswell was removed they were even increased; but as soon as Chinese were introduced in the Simmer and Jack Mine the blacks were sent from there to the Main Reef Mine, and the white men were dismissed. He had here a letter in which Mr. Strickland, the secretary of the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council, said—

> "These 200 boys were engaged by the Village Main Reef, and the two contractors are now lashing and tramming certain drives of the V.M.R. on contract with their boys, and at least 140 white men have been discharged. I interviewed the men, some young fellows who had fought through the war. They had hoped to have saved sufficient to pay their passage home. Now all they saw before them was the same hopeless struggle for work, and destitution staring them in the face. It was a most depressing interview. Others were Dutchmen, mostly living at Vrededorp. One old man named Steyn had been successful in getting the job and he had taken a part on contract, the whole male portion of his family were working with him and making a living, and I feel safe in saying that at least 1,000 members of the community have been deprived of their only hope of sustenance by the shifting of contract natives from one mine owing to the introduction of Chinese."

Mr. Herbert Samuel.

Mr. Albu, one of the leaders of the mining industry, speaking at Johannesburg in December, at a meeting of the Rand Collieries Gold Mining Company, said—

> "After careful calculation, the general manager of the Van Ryn mine has reported to me that with 2,650 coolies, which allows 12 per cent. for idlers and contingencies, he will be able to operate the whole 160 stamps, crush 24,000 tons per month, sort 25 per cent., and do the whole of the mining, stoping, and developing with hand labour, discarding all machine drills."

But hand labour was the work of the coolies, the machine drills gave employment to the whites.

Mr. Gillam, Chairman of the Van Ryn Company, speaking in London on 18th January last, said—

> "When the Chinese had become thoroughly proficient workmen it was the intention of the management to resort more and more to hand drilling."

There had been two courses open to the Rand mining industry, either to become more and more dependent on high-grade labour and high-grade methods as in the United States and in Western Australia, or to depend on low-grade labour and low-grade and primitive methods. The mineowners had always been determined to rely on the latter, not, he believed, for economic reasons, but for political reasons. They feared the power of the white man through his trade union and through his vote. According to an answer given by the Colonial Secretary to a Question, the ratio of white men per 1,000 coloured labourers employed was in 1897, 137; in 1898, 130; in 1899, 119; in 1902 after the war, 250; and in 1903, 174. In the first half of 1904 the figure was fairly stationary. There was a scarcity of labour in the middle of the year. The ratio per thousand in January was 170; February, 164; March, 159; April, 161; May, 169; June, 177; July, 183; August, 183. Then the Chinese began to come in; September, 170; October, 158; November, 150; December, 143. So that there had been an exceedingly rapid decline. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary had always proceeded on the theory that the amount of white labour was proportioned to the amount of coloured labour—that the more coloured labour there was employed the more white labour would be engaged, and that the scarcer the coloured labour the smaller would be the proportion of white labour employed. Now these facts proved precisely the contrary — that the more plentiful the coloured labour the smaller was the proportion of white labour employed. The outcome of all this was very obvious. There was in London an Emigrants' Information Bureau, which was under the Colonial Office, and the officials provided very reliable information to intending emigrants. In their last circular, issued in January, they said, in regard to the Transvaal—that was six months after the Chinese had been introduced there, and when there were 23,000 in the country, which ought on the Colonial Secretary's theory to have had a considerable effect on white employment. They said—

> "There is a considerable amount of distress in the Transvaal, both in the towns and in the country districts, owing to the general want of employment, so that persons are warned against going there at the present time in search of work. There is no demand for white miners, of whom there are large numbers on the spot without work."

That was the result of the Chinese Ordinance so far as the white miners were concerned. What was the result to the mineowners? He had been looking at the price of the shares of some of the mining companies in the Transvaal. He had not taken all, for they were very numerous; but he had taken the twelve largest, all those with a subscribed capital of over £1,000,000. He had taken the price of the shares of these companies at the end of the last half year, December 31st, and at the end of the previous half year, June 30th. Of the twelve companies, the shares of eleven of them had risen as the result mainly, of course, of the introduction of Chinese. The increase in value of the shares of all twelve in six months was £14,699,000, and that was on a total subscribed capital of £22,000,000. Well, it was worth taking a great deal of trouble to make a profit of £14,699,000 in six months. It was worth while conducting a prolonged political agitation for that. It was worth while packing a good many meetings on the Rand, and taking trouble to arrange petitions. It was worth while dismissing a good many mine managers and newspaper editors for a profit of £14,000,000.

He wished to refer very briefly to one other point. They had said from the very beginning that it would be possible to get a largely increased supply of Kaffir labourers if they were properly treated and cared for. He thought that all credit should be given to the Transvaal mining industry for the fact that the death-rate had recently very largely decreased. It was a matter for gratification that while in the first eight months of 1903 the death-rate was 72 per thousand, the death-rate in the first eight months of 1904 was 40 per thousand, or a reduction of 32 per thousand in one year. It was, indeed, still far too high. Lord Harris, Chairman of the Consolidated Gold Fields, had claimed that the death-rate was not now excessive, for that at Cape Town among the coloured people it was 50 per thousand; but he forgot that that included all the coloured people in the Cape—infants and aged, while the Transvaal figures only included able-bodied men in the prime of life engaged for six or twelve months at a time. This reduction had been achieved by better treatment, better feeding, and by not allowing the coloured people who arrived in a weakly state to work in the mines until they were fit. But why had not these measures been taken long before? It was not until the debates took place in this House, not until Lord Milner had found that the death-rate was the "weakest point in our armour." There had been a reduction of 30 per thousand amongst the 100,000 employed; that was, 3,000 lives had been saved. He thought that those of them who had taken a part in this matter ought to feel some satisfaction at the result. The reporter's gallery in the House of Commons was a wonderful sounding board; it enabled a whisper to be heard all over the world. The discussions in that House had had their effect in the compounds on the Rand. They who were interested in this matter had had to meet with many unfair attacks; they had been accused of false sentimentality, of exaggerating evils, of doing injustice to their own fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal. Yes; but they were right.

They said that the death-rate was unnecessarily high, and the event had proved it. In the consciousness that they had done some little to save 3,000 lives by their action last year they had their reward.

Now, what was to be done with the Chinese now in the Transvaal? The Government started with the policy that the Transvaal should be treated as a self-governing colony and that the opinion of the colony should decide the matter. That policy—the Colonial Secretary would contradict him if he was wrong—had been frankly abandoned. The right hon. Gentleman said he had not abandoned it, but the Prime Minister had. The Prime Minister on Tuesday, said—

> "If it should be found that the immigration of these labourers from any point of view was on the whole producing a balance of ill, the right hon. Gentleman may rest assured that we without hesitation should prevent any augmentation of their numbers."

That was, not the people of the Transvaal, but "we," the British Ministry. If a Liberal Government stopped the importation of the Chinese that would be a monstrous trifling with Imperial interests and making a colonial question a plaything of Party; but if a Conservative Government prevented the augmentation of their numbers that was a very proper proceeding. For his own part, he had always been content to leave the main issue to the people of the Transvaal themselves. England, indeed, had a right to a voice in the matter if she chose to exercise it. They had bought that right with £250,000,000, and, what was far more precious, with the lives of 20,000 of our soldiers. The other Colonies were also entitled to be heard for similar reasons. Nevertheless, they were willing to leave the ultimate decision of the question to a referendum of the people of the Transvaal. He trusted that when a Liberal Government came in they would stop the importation of the Chinese at once. If necessary that could be done by Executive Act. No Act of Parliament was requisite; no repeal of the Transvaal Ordinance was required. It could be done by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal by a discontinuance of the licences to import. It might be necessary to appoint an Imperial Commission to investigate the practicability of employing white labour in the Transvaal, and to state fully the facts of the case. Then let the matter be referred to the free voice of the white people in the colony, not confusing it with other issues, such as the relations between Boers and British, and not allowing the declaration of public opinion to be manipulated by financiers whose interest in South Africa was limited to the interest they drew out of it, but leaving it to the free, unfettered decision of the whole white population.

Amendment proposed—

> "At the end of the Question to add the words 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the facts now made known in respect of the importation of indentured Chinese coolies into the Transvaal show that Your Majesty's Government gave, during the discussion of the Transvaal Labour Ordinance in this House, assurances which have not been fulfilled; and represent further that this House expresses its regret that nearly a year has elapsed since the promulgation of the Ordinance without securing the opinion of the people of the Transvaal on the question of the policy of the Ordinance, especially since the opinion of the British Colonies generally, so far as officially expressed, appears to be vigorously opposed to that policy.' "—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said he trusted that hon. Members on the other side of the House would not assume, because one might take a different view of this question from those hon. Members who had spoken, that one was necessarily swayed by what might be called the capitalist interest. He supposed that the hon. Member who moved the Amendment and the hon. Member who seconded it would credit him with the same amount of honesty of conviction by which, he believed, they were possessed in moving the Amendment. He had lately been in the Transvaal and had travelled a good deal in the Transvaal and in South Africa. He did not pretend that his knowledge or information was complete, because none of them were infallible; but he had had the opportunity of seeing the working of Chinese labour in the mines; he had seen the working generally of the mining industry, and he would dispute some of the statements made by hon. Members opposite. Some of them were, he thought, not in accordance with the real facts. It was interesting to know, as the seconder of the Amendment had stated, that he and his friends affirmed that a Liberal Government, if they came into power, would stop the importation of Chinese into the Transvaal. He presumed that they might consider that to be the intention of the Liberal Party. Well, it was quite possible that if a sufficient number of Chinese had been brought into the Transvaal to give that command of labour necessary for the proper development of the mines, that that might be a reasonable proposition. He did not disagree with it. But he held that it was a mistake to say that they should arbitrarily perform that act in spite of the local conditions which obtained. He also suggested that some of the references to the death-rate were inequitable. He wanted to put this point, because it might appear to play into the hands of his friends opposite—that in accounting for the very considerable death-rate of the natives in the Transvaal there had to be considered the natives from British Central Africa and from the Lower Zambesi. For himself, he spoke quite candidly on that point. He thought it was a very grave error to import natives from these tropical parts and it ought not to have been done. He visited the compounds when these natives were brought into the Transvaal. Fifty per cent. of the natives from these districts were suffering from cold and pneumonia. That accounted for the heavy death-rate among the natives. He did not pretend to be an authority on the question—a great many people who were unimportant professed to be authorities—but he maintained that the death-rate was due to an importation which ought never to have been carried out.

As regarded the question of white labour in the Transvaal, hon. Gentlemen opposite, he knew, presented their case with all sincerity, but what were the facts. He himself was not an authority: but he would quote an authority. Mr. Drummond Chaplin, in this month's *National Review*, discussed the question. He instanced the Simmer and Jack Mine, and showed that in May last the supply of unskilled labour was only 2,138 out of a total complement of 5,430. Now, 1,769 natives, 3,242 Chinamen and 575 Europeans were employed. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment stated that the increase in the employment of white skilled labour in the mines was due to the putting up of compounds and similar work. In May, 394 skilled Europeans were employed; now there were 575 employed. That was a difference of 181; yet the number employed in the special work of erecting compounds was only seventy-three. It was only fair that the case should be presented fully. Every hon. Member knew that the permanent staff of a mine was kept up, no matter what the proportion of unskilled labour might be. The same amount of skilled labour was kept in a mine even when the unskilled complement was reduced to a minimum. There could be no increase in skilled appointments until the balance had been struck between skilled and unskilled labour. But as soon as that had been arrived at there would be an increase in the number of skilled appointments. Mr. Chaplin stated that in November the proportion of Europeans to unskilled coloured labourers employed on the Rand was one to six, although the aggregate number of Europeans employed had increased by 1,663. In the same way at the Simmer and Jack Proprietary Mines the proportion in May was 1 to 5·5, and in November 1 to 8·7, though the number of Europeans employed had increased by 181. Further, he stated—

> "Every mining company, if it is working at all, has to maintain a regular staff of Europeans whose numbers do not appreciably vary in proportion to the number of unskilled labourers on the mine. Their services are equally necessary whether the complement of unskilled men be complete or 50 per cent. below its strength. In the latter case the proportion is simply abnormal. It gradually rights itself as the complement of natives or Chinese approaches towards completion."

As to the statement that there was lack of employment and that the Emigration Office had advised emigrants not to proceed to the Transvaal, he accepted that. If he were asked to-morrow whether it was wise to go to the Transvaal he would say "No." Why? Because every unemployed man who could pay his way went there from every other portion of South Africa. The Secretary of the Rand Aid Association informed him that they had there useless people — "wasters" they were called—from every other part of South Africa. That was common to every mining community. It attracted the worst and the best. There would be found the loafer as well as the man who went to make his fortune. If the latter failed, he resumed his legitimate trade or occupation. At present the Transvaal was in a transitory condition. It could not yet absorb all the skilled labour, it would absorb eventually. Hon. Gentlemen had presented one side of the case; not the other.

It was said that with the introduction of the Chinese native labour would decrease. During the war the natives made a great deal of money; and were not inclined, in consequence, to return to the mines. They had wives and cattle, and were enjoying themselves. It was said that the Chinese would drive out native labour; but they had really increased it. In June, 1904, the number of natives in the mines was 68,174; in December, 1904, it was 76,611. That was a matter which ought to be taken into consideration. There had been a decrease in the death-rate, but he agreed with hon. Members opposite that the discussions in this House had brought that pressure to bear which was desired. He did not believe that any class of public men did their duty towards the public unless they were pressed. He did not impeach the mineowners for not having done their duty as regards the treatment of the natives, but he admitted that reasonable pressure brought to bear where the public might think that the natives were not being well-treated, was proper and right. Since the war the native administration had done a great deal to improve the condition of the natives. That was no argument against the present Administration of the Transvaal, but against the old conditions of things under the Boer Government. It was said that there had been riots among the Chinese and that they were a source of danger because of their quarrelsome dispositions. While he was in the Transvaal he had read telegrams which had been sent from this country dealing with the subject, and he was astounded to see the sensational statements made as to the riots. They were described in these telegrams as "a war," and one paper announced that a battle had taken place among the Chinese on the Rand. No doubt there had been a certain amount of disturbance, but it was not serious. There were faction fights among the Chinese, just as there had been similar fights among the natives, and he could cut out from South African papers reports of faction fights among the natives, which were more serious than those of which so much had been made in connection with the Chinese, of which nothing was known outside South Africa. Hon. Gentlemen did not trouble about them. They were more concerned with what advantaged them in their constituencies. Why, when these things occurred among the natives, did not hon. Members opposite raise the same question? [Cries of "We do."]

Stress had been laid on the opinion of the Colonies on this subject; but Canada had expressed no opinion because it was not subject to emotional prejudices in the same way as some other portions of the Empire. It was more easy to understand the position of Australia. He had lived in Australia and he could explain the position there. In Australia the Chinaman was admitted as a citizen and permitted to compete in the skilled labour market, and therefore the prejudice in Australia against the Chinaman was well founded. Canada had imported Chinese labour as long as it needed it. British Columbia had been developed practically by Chinese labour; but the colonists put a limit to the importation, as he believed a limit would be placed upon the importation of Chinese labour in the Transvaal. [OPPOSITION cries of "When?"] Hon. Members had quoted Canada, but they must remember that the Canadians were a shrewd and sensible people who were not going to throw themselves into any controversy which they had not made their own. The conditions of South Africa were totally different from those which obtained in every other colony, and hon. Members approaching this question from a colonial point of view did themselves a great injustice. They impeached their own knowledge. Everybody who knew the Transvaal knew that the ratio of unskilled to skilled labour was seven to one, in spite of the ambitions of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who were as ambitious to put as many white people as possible into the Transvaal as those who sat on the Unionist Benches.

He took the view, and still adhered to it, that white skilled labour did not work in the mines to any great extent. Mr. Creswell's experiment showed that the stay of white men in the mines was on an average seventeen days. Grievous pictures had been presented to the House about the conditions of Chinese slavery in the Transvaal. Hon. Members, however, must admit that their prophecies as to slavery had not come true. He had been in the Transvaal mines and had seen the Chinamen at work underground. They earned their wage of 2s. a day with comparative ease, for there had been established in the mines a rising scale of wages according to the amount of work performed. The House had been told that when these men, who had worked hard in the mine, had come out and enjoyed their luxurious bath, for they had as comfortable quarters as anyone in the House, they were apt to go abroad on an orgy of immorality and debauchery. He knew of no men who were less likely to do anything of the sort. Never in his life had he seen a more healthy-looking lot of men, and he did not see why the Chinamen should be suspected of greater immorality than British or any other workmen living under the same conditions of work. Would any Gentleman opposite say it was impossible for a race to avoid immorality, because, if that were so, he would be casting an imputation on a great many thousands of people who were not married, and others who were sent abroad for years on their country's business. Certainly his view was that hon. Members opposite were too apprehensive in the circumstances. He admitted that there were dangers, but they were not of that sensational character mentioned by hon. Members. The conduct of the Chinese had been exceptionally good, and he did not himself think that faction fights were the worst things that could occur with regard to the mines themselves and these so-called compounds, so little did they look like compounds, and so large were they that it was difficult to see the fences at all, and the Chinese went about them and were apparently as free as anyone. While there was discipline in the compounds there was also a relaxation of it, and he had met scores of Chinese outside their compounds interested in all that they saw. Indeed, there was as little an appearance of slavery as any one could imagine. The Kaffirs in the Kimberley compounds were under much more severe restrictions than the Chinese coolies, but no political agitation had been raised on their account. There the restrictions were so severe that he could hardly imagine even natives accepting them. The only thing was that there the natives stayed a less time. In the Transvaal compounds the restrictions did not keep the Chinese in any sort of terrorism or anxiety, and there had never been a protest from any of them since they entered the compounds. As to the attitude of the Boers in the two colonies, it would be impossible to get a dozen farmers to advocate the abolition of the Ordinance, because the Chinese labour set free Kaffirs for the farms. The Boer politicians were moved by the desire to put spokes in the wheel of the present Administration. Their action was political, and was not based upon the merits of the case. They were fighting for self-government, not with a view to co-operation with us, but to achieve that political domination which would in some degree compensate them for the loss of territorial domination. In conclusion, he did not believe the vote to be taken on this Amendment would be against the Government, but would support them in securing for a period the benefit of Chinese labour in the mines of the Transvaal.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) thought that the mover and seconder of the Amendment had made out a good case against the Colonial Secretary, and had shown that the promises the right hon. Gentleman had made to the House had been violated. He did not for one moment accuse the right hon. Gentleman of breaking faith. No doubt he made the promises in good faith, but anyone who had gone into the matter closely knew how impossible it was to trust to any assurance obtained from the authorities in the Transvaal. It was very weak on the part of anyone to suppose they would obey any order sent out from this country. Lord Milner had said he did not care sixpence for public opinion here, and no doubt he included in that the opinion of any Colonial Secretary who suggested anything of which he did not approve. The mover of the Amendment had suggested that the Colonial Secretary should resign. Well, they had been urging the Government to dissolve, which was much the same thing, but he did not think any hope could reasonably be entertained that any Minister would resign because the Opposition asked him to. But the right hon. Gentleman, having given these pledges to the House, ought to insist on their being carried out, and should make the authorities in the Transvaal understand that when a Minister in that House, with the full approval of the Chamber, promised that certain action should be taken it must be carried out, and not ignored by Lord Milner and his myrmidons in the Transvaal.

The only speech in support of the Government that day had been the one delivered by the hon. Member for Gravesend, and he had listened to it with great interest, hoping to find something in it to which he could reply. But he had been disappointed. The hon. Gentleman seemed to have taken the Colonies generally under his wing. He had, in the past, had much to say about Canada, and no doubt he would now be often on his legs discussing South Africa. The hon. Member for Gravesend had made some extraordinary statements. He had said that the British would get on exceedingly well in the Transvaal, but he advised no Briton to go there, not because of the presence of the Chinese, but because of the number of loafers from all parts of Europe who went there and were unable to get work. The fact of the matter was, that the hon. Member perceived that it was useless for any sensible British working man to go to South Africa with the expectation of getting work; he had to get some reason for it, and somebody had told him that cock-and-bull story. He had also stated that the best way to get the mines worked by natives was to fill them with Chinese, a proposition which on the face of it was absurd. There had also been repeated the old story of what an elysium the compound was. According to the directory, the hon. Member inhabited a fine house in Carlton House Terrace, and yet he declared that the miners in the compounds were lodged as well as he was! The hon. Member, together with the Colonial Secretary and others, did not really grasp what was the objection of the Opposition to this Ordinance. They did not care whether it was profitable or unprofitable. With the assent of the Chinese or without, the employment of these people under existing conditions was against their principles. Technically, and to a lawyer's mind, it was not slavery; but they considered that the *status* of these men was such that its existence in any country over which floated the British flag was derogatory to the name and honour of the nation. It was all very well to say that the Chinese desired to go. Everybody knew what China and her mandarins were; the House had been informed by a Blue-book of what happened in connection with similar contracts between Peru and the Chinese Government; and they knew that, through the intervention of the British Government in the name of morality and civilisation, those contracts were put an end to. Even though it were with the free assent of the Chinese, he should object to British colonies being made a dumping-ground for chattels of this description. No man could contract himself out of his inherent rights under the British flag.

What was the position of the Chinese when they reached the Transvaal? He totally denied that they were free men. They were shut up in compounds, flogged if they would not work, liable to arrest if seen wandering about, given a small pittance, and not allowed to return to their own country until the expiration of the term of their contract unless they paid their expenses, and that to men earning a shilling a day was practically an impossibility. He was a so-called "Little Englander;" he was a parochial Englishman. He looked to the worker of the United Kingdom and the leading Colonies, and did not trouble himself about what went on outside the British Empire. He had a certain sympathy for the suffering and oppressed of other lands, but considering the greatness of the Empire and the importance of this country, he thought a Member of the House of Commons had his hands full if he tried to look after the interests and the well-being of the people under the British flag. The presence of chattels of this description under the conditions existing in South Africa he regarded as harmful to the body politic, likely utterly to demoralise the public sense of right and wrong, and to attack the dignity of labour.

He also denied the soundness of the policy on economical grounds. There were in South Africa the three races of the Boers, the Britons, and the blacks. Every day the blacks were increasing in numbers and becoming more civilised, and the great danger to South Africa as a British colony was the vast numbers of the subject races already there. It was perfect madness that we should go out of our way to introduce the yellow race also. In the time of Boer rule there was undoubtedly a racial oligarchy in the Transvaal. The Boers were determined to remain political masters of the country. We made war on them because the miners were said to be treated as helots and so forth—a story which was somewhat exploded now. He did not contend that the Boer's was a perfect Government, but if he had to choose between living under the oligarchy of the Dutch Boers and living under the present autocracy of the mineowners, he would certainly select the former. The idea of the mineowners seemed to be that they should form themselves into a cosmopolitan class of rulers simply because they were wealthy, and that all manual labour should be done by serfs.

The falsity of the statement that the employment of Chinese would lead to greater employment of white men had been conclusively shown. What was really wanted was to attract a British population to the colony, and that unquestionably would not be done by the present policy. The reason Englishmen would not work in the mines was that the owners would not pay proper rates of wages. The owners pleaded that if higher wages were given the mines would not pay. Then why work them? There were many coal seams in the mines of England that might be worked if Chinese labour were employed. ["You could employ them."] The working men of the country would have a very strong word to say on that matter. People did not sufficiently realise that, although there were some honest men connected with the South African mining industry, speaking generally the whole thing was more or less of a swindle. The present market value of the shares of the different companies totalled up to about £300,000,000; only £50,000,000 had been *bona fide* spent on plant and so forth, so that £250,000,000 had gone into somebody's pocket. According to the returns for last year, gold to the value of £16,000,000 was extracted, and dividends to the amount of £4,000,000 were paid. Considering the character of the investment, a person ought reasonably to have 10 per cent. on his money in the mines. To pay 10 per cent. on the capital drawn from the British public would require the extraction of gold to the value of £120,000,000. But the total produce of gold all over the world was only £78,000,000, and it was estimated that at their present rate of output the mines would be exhausted in from twenty-five to thirty years. Would any mineowner venture to say that £120,000,000 worth of gold could be drawn from the mines in the Transvaal in a year? Therefore he submitted that the whole thing was more or less of a swindle, in the sense that the money had been obtained by persuading the public that the mines would yield an absolutely impossible return. The mineowners had made their money, not out of the mines, but out of the public, and when Parliament was asked to do this, that, or the other, it should be borne in mind that the so-called mining industry was really a doubtful species of roulette table. Immediately the war was over the mineowners claimed the right to tax the natives in order to compel them to work in the mines. It would be just as reasonable to tax landowners to such an extent as to compel them to work in their own fields for a portion of the year. So sure were the mineowners that they were masters of the situation that they reduced the already paltry wage, and then complained that the natives would not work. That dodge having failed, they fell back on the Chinaman, thinking he would be more profitable than the native, in that he would be paid less and would work the whole instead of a portion of the year. The object was simply to get rid of the shares on their hands, to bring out more companies, and to draw more money out of the British public.

But there was another objection to the presence of British working men. The mineowners feared the introduction of "the serpent of trade unionism" and the necessity of having to give British working men votes, the granting of which might result in the loss of their oligarchical hold of the country. It was not thus that our great Colonies had been built up; a community would not thrive if controlled by a comparatively small dominant class while the manual labour was supplied by subject races. What surprised him was the positive impudence of these millionaires. They forgot what we had spent to acquire the Transvaal. We got it and were not going to give it back; but it was not theirs. The millionaires wanted to rule there entirely and be the dominant factor in the State, while the British workmen, who had to pay largely through indirect taxation for the war, were to be kept out of the country because they would introduce trade unionism into the Transvaal and would require votes. He wondered why it was that such men had such influence with His Majesty's Government. Was there some dark secret connected with the Raid? He knew that when during the inquiry they were getting near to the question of the late Colonial Secretary being connected with the Raid he was stopped. With regard to the Government, to use a common expression, they knew enough about them to hang them. He noticed that a great deal of money was being spent by the Tariff Reform League. He should like to see the subscription list of the Tariff Reform League, for it would be well worth—

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is referring to matters which are not in order upon this Motion.

MR. LABOUCHERE said they were being asked to bribe the Colonies and invite them to join in a conference with us to discuss public affairs, but when those same Colonies protested against the introduction of Chinese labour into South Africa the Government would not listen to them. This policy was foolish from an economical point of view, because although by adopting it they might do a little business and obtain a spurious prosperity for a little time, when they considered the permanent interests of the Transvaal and the Empire as a whole, they would find that they could not possibly do a worse thing than introduce Chinese labour. He did not know exactly when the Liberals would come into office, but he knew it would be as soon as the electorate had a chance of turning the Government out. The members of the Government stuck like limpets to their places, and he believed that they would go on to the end of the septennial epoch, and probably at the end of that time they would bring in a Bill to continue in office. They had considerable difficulty in understanding whether the Prime Minister represented his own Party's views or not, but at any rate they knew he did not represent, and never would represent, the views or the intentions of hon. Members sitting on the Opposition side of the House. The Prime Minister had rightly said that if they asked for support for this Motion on the ground that they considered the introduction of Chinese labour a moral crime, and yet refused to reverse this policy, they would be hypocrites. The hon. Member, after quoting an extract from the *Johannesburg Star*, concluded by expressing the hope that the time would soon come when there would be a Ministry in power that would show these millionaires that they were not our masters, as they seemed to be under the impression, but that the Government were the masters of the situation.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR (Lancashire, Blackpool) said he had had the opportunity of trying to inform his mind upon this question during a very recent stay of two months in the Transvaal. He approached the consideration of it without any preconceived ideas or bias of any kind, having no investments whatever in South Africa, and no connection with its finance, and by no means approving of the financing and the speculation with which a legitimate industry had unfortunately been overlaid. In answer to the contention that the introduction of the Chinese was unnecessary in the interests of the mines themselves, he pointed to the shortage of labour, which seriously imperilled the white wages, and to the report of the Government mining engineer—which was absolutely conclusive to his mind—that a supply of labour could not be obtained from Africa. He laid emphasis on the fact of the heavy cost of procuring outside labour. When the mineowner had brought his Chinamen into the country, and housed them, and finally returned them, he would not have much left out of £20 a head. Applying that to 50,000 labourers—the number contemplated by next June—it was at once obvious that a very serious sum was being risked, because they did not know how the experiment would turn out. That was some proof that the mineowners felt there was good reason why they should seek for labour outside Africa. As to the point about employing white labour, nobody who knew the conditions had seriously suggested it. It had been honestly tried. The mineowners had tried to get white labour at 5s., 10s., and even 15s., and yet they could not get white men. Here, we could not appreciate the intensity of racial feeling out there. The Kaffirs lived under such conditions that when white men got out there, having gone out with the honest intention of accepting unskilled work, they would not work with the Kaffirs. When the white man realised the actual state of things he said, "I am not going to take on this Kaffir job," and he generally threw it up. The result was that white men generally stayed at this kind of unskilled work about seventeen days on the average, and they could not be induced to stay longer. White labour, therefore, had been tried and it had failed. Black and white labour could not be got to work together, and there was no other course available except the importation of labour from outside.

A great deal had been heard about the treatment of the Chinese. He had used the opportunities which had presented themselves to him of examining into the treatment of the Chinese labourers. It was his experience, as it was the result of the experience of every Englishman whom he had consulted there, that from the day when the labourer landed in Durban to the day when he was set to work and thenceforward he was treated well and liberally in every respect. Every mine was thrown open to inspection, and all information and statistics were placed at the disposal of the inquirer. He could wish nothing better than that the mover and seconder of this Amendment should go out and inspect the mines for themselves, and he at any rate would be bound by their report. The compounds were not narrow prisons. They were wide and spacious open squares, with good buildings round them. The rooms were comfortable, warm, well-ventilated, with baths and good sanitary arrangements. One of the complaints of the mineowners, indeed, was that the sickness rate had increased among the Chinese because they could not induce the men to take advantage of all the opportunities given to them to change their wet for dry clothes. He had examined the various kinds of food eaten by the labourers and tasted several of them. In quantity it was ample, and of good quality, so that no one could doubt that the men were well housed and well treated. The term "Helotism" had been applied to the Chinese because they were confined in compounds. They were not truly "confined" in compounds. The men were allowed to wander at will over the property of the company, and in some cases the property extended to hundreds of acres. When they wanted to go into the town they applied for a pass, and unless there were urgent reasons to the contrary the pass was granted as a matter of course. The treatment, indeed, was not practically different from that which had been meted out to thousands of Kaffirs as to whom no one had uttered a syllable of complaint.

Then it was said that promises had been broken with regard to wages. The Chinese were better off in this respect than the Kaffirs. There was no minimum wage for the Kaffir; there was for the Chinese. Again, the Chinamen had the opportunity to bring their wives with them. He challenged any hon. Member to say that what was done for the Chinese labourer in this respect was done for any other imported labourer in any part of the world. Everyone sympathised with the men who had been obliged to leave their wives and families, but this experience was not peculiar to the Chinese. There were thousands of our own fellow-countrymen in South Africa in precisely the same position. He travelled home with a professional man who had not seen his wife and children for two years, and there was an officer who had been kept away by duty from his family for five years because he could not afford to bring them out to South Africa. But it was not the Ordinance which restricted the Chinese from taking their wives with them. On the contrary, the Ordinance did all it could in this respect, for it gave the Chinese the opportunity of bringing their wives with them if they so desired.

DR. MACNAMARA: The coolies were never told that.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said the Chinese were pretty cute in their business transactions. He had watched them in the mines when their wages tickets were being marked, and if hon. Members could only see this for themselves, they would be very much surprised at their sharpness and intelligence; and if there happened to be the slightest error they noted it at once and went off to their interpreter. He ventured to think that if these Chinese felt that they had been brought to the Transvaal under false pretences, and that the promises made to them had been broken, they would very soon have protested. Allusion had been made to the advertisements, but the hon. Member for North Camberwell did not give the date.

DR. MACNAMARA: It was the 14th of March, 1904.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said if the hon. Member had inquired, he would find that that was explained by Mr. Perry, who was the principal agent in China of the Labourers Association for the importation of these labourers.

DR. MACNAMARA: Why were they recruiting coolies before the Ordinance had been passed?

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said that provisional arrangements were being made before the Ordinance was passed because there was urgent necessity for this labour. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the full terms of the Ordinance had been circulated in the districts where these Chinese labourers were recruited as soon as the terms were settled. So much for the charge of bad faith on the part of the mineowner.

In looking at the economic results of Chinese labour, he thought that no one would dispute the plain fact that it caused a great and decided increase in the output from the mines. The total output at the end of last year overtopped any previous record. At the end of December last there were 1,250 more stamps running than in the same month of the previous year. That was an increase of 25 per cent. But the most serious charge against the importation of Chinese was that it had been injurious to the employment of white labour. The white wages bill in the year before the importation was £4,500,000. Salaries and wages paid to white men amounted altogether to £4,500,000. There was not the shadow of doubt that the importation of Chinese labour assured that. Without that it would have been decreased. He ventured to say that if the importation of Chinese had done nothing more than that, it might be regarded as having done something considerable. But since that time it had also increased the number of white men employed by about 2,000, which meant another £500,000 of white wages. By June next it was in contemplation to have 50,000 Chinese at work, involving, according to the best estimates, the employment of another 5,000 white men. But even putting the figure at 4,000 it represented another £1,000,000 in white men's wages. He was putting it at a much lower figure than those on the spot. He had got a calculation from Mr. Evans, the manager of one of the large mines, putting the total additional expenditure at £7,000,000, and of that he calculated that the white men's wages would be £2,000,000. That was no inconsiderable addition to the income of white men now there, or who intended to go out there. But the matter did not stop there. It had been proved by experience, both before and since the war, that for every white man employed on the mines there were ten other white persons living on the Rand in some capacity. So that this importation of Chinese labour would increase the white population of the Transvaal by 40,000 or 50,000. He ventured to say that those who desired to see an increase in the voting power of the white men would have their desire fulfilled, and it would be fulfilled owing largely, mainly, in fact, to the importation of Chinese labour. Last year, largely moved by the prospect of imported labour, orders to the extent of £3,250,000 were given for new machinery, of which the greater part was for extensions. That would increase in future; and why should not the manufacturers and workmen of this country get their share of these orders?

But the mere direct addition to the number of whites employed in the Transvaal was the smaller part of the advantage which had been derived from this importation of Chinese. The Rand was the heart of South Africa, and if it were beating strongly it would send the life-blood coursing right to the extremities. Agriculture, the railways, the ports, and all the interests in South Africa were looking to the prosperity of the Rand, and were now convinced that that prosperity was assured. There might be difficulties, no doubt; and he approved of the Colonial Secretary keeping a watchful eye on future developments which might arise, and reserving power to deal with those developments. He understood his attitude to be that of satisfaction with the experiment so far as it had gone, and of watchfulness for the future. He entirely endorsed that attitude. The experiment had already proved itself a success, and if allowed to continue to a reasonable extent it would prove itself a still greater success.

The only other matter he desired to bring before the House had reference to public opinion—he meant instructed public opinion—the opinion of those on the spot who knew. The hon. Gentleman who seconded the Amendment referred to Mr. Albu, and he thought he might also quote the same Gentleman as showing the opinion of the mineowners.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: I did not quote him as an impartial authority, but only as an authority as to the intention of the mineowners.

*Mr. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said the opinion of the mineowners was worth listening to. Addressing a meeting of the shareholders of the Rand Collieries, Mr. Albu said—

> "The employment of Chinamen on the Van Ryn and Aurora West has necessitated the engagement of a large number of additional white men on these properties, and I point this out advisedly, because it has been stated or hinted by the newspapers in England that the Chinamen would be used to replace or oust the white labourer, a statement which we need hardly refute here. It has been amply proved that as fast as we have been able to obtain Chinese labour we have employed more white men . . . Furthermore, an additional influx of Chinamen —and I do not limit myself to any particular number—will enable us to start developing a good many mines which have lain dormant for years and years owing to the want of labour. Of course, for the first three or four years these properties will be in a state of development, and I need not point out to those conversant with working conditions on the Rand, that the proportion of skilled labour on developing properties is much greater than on working mines. It is quite possible that, for every hundred Chinamen we are able to import, we shall be able to employ at least ten additional white men. Moreover, I wish to point out to you, and to the public in general, that whereas before the war we had something like 95,000 natives with whom to carry on work, the industry in a short time will require over 200,000 unskilled

labourers. This means, if we are allowed to import the additional labour needed, we shall within a year two be able to employ another ten or fifteen thousand white labourers on the Rand as a result of the introduction of the Chinaman."

That was the opinion of the authority to whom his hon. friend on the other side had referred. In dealing with the matter of public opinion, he would refer hon. Members to one of the most outspoken and persistent opponents of Chinese labour before the facts were known. After he had had experience of it, Mr. Quinn said—

> "With regard to the Chinese question (continued Mr. Quinn), which your esteemed president alluded to in words that seemed to indicate something about it—gentlemen, let me ask you to believe me at once when I say that as far as I am concerned, and I speak not only for myself, but also for others who agree with me—I make no apology. I cannot make any apology for my past action with regard to the introduction of Chinese into this country. If you expect an apology from me you are bound to be disappointed; I cannot. Whatever my faults may be, and unfortunately I know they are many, I have always endeavoured to say what I believed to be true at the time, and if tomorrow or the next day I have occasion from new information or knowledge to change the views I held last week, I trust I shall be man enough to come forward and say so. [Hear, hear.] As far as I am concerned—please understand I speak for myself—the Chinese are here, the Ordinance is passed, the people appear to be contented, there is no objection raised, and as far as I am concerned, in any politics I may take part in in the future the question is finished, and I ask most strongly, and every fair-minded man will sympathise with me, not to have this honest objection raised and dragged out for the purpose of making an objection to my taking my part as a citizen, a part that I am entitled to take, in the politics of this country."

That was the statement of a man who fought tooth and nail against the introduction of Chinese before he knew the facts. One could not have stronger testimony in favour of Chinese labour than that. Then again, Sir H. Goold-Adams, governor of the Orange River Colony, said that 90 per cent of the thinking men in that colony were in favour of Chinese labour, as tending to release Kaffir labour for the farms. Sir Alfred Hime, ex-Premier of Natal, said—

> "I have had every reason to believe that there will be a great trade revival in the near future. It largely depends upon the Transvaal mining industry. As your readers know, the lack of labour on the Rand, combined with the overstocking by merchants, was chiefly responsible for the recent depression, but the work of the Chinese will remedy that. Once the mines are in full swing, all South Africa will feel the benefit, for money will circulate much more freely."

Mr. Worsley-Taylor.

Therefore they had testimony from the Rand, from the Orange River Colony, and from Natal. His own experience was that practically every man he talked to, no matter from what part of South Africa he came, agreed that, though he might have had objections to the Ordinance before he knew what the facts were, now the experiment had been tried there was no reason, up to the present at all events, for retaining those objections. Everyone was satisfied that the experiment had worked well and was promoting the prosperity of the mines and consequently the prosperity of the whole of South Africa. There was no point on which there was a stronger feeling in the Transvaal than the attacks made in the House of Commons and elsewhere on the policy of this Ordinance and the action of the mine owners under it. They felt that it was a matter which in its essence did not concern the interests or the honour of this country, but that it was a matter mainly for the Transvaal. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why not allow the referendum?] He thought that in the interest of harmonious relations between the mother country and the colony it was right that these attacks should cease, and that what had been a success in the past should be allowed to continue.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight) said the hon. and learned Member in his most lucid speech had shown that several things had taken place which he anticipated would take place—that, there being a shortage of labour, the easiest thing to do was to introduce Chinese, and that the Chinese were in point of fact well treated on the Rand, as, indeed, was only likely in the circumstances of the case. But that was not the ground on which he and his friends opposed the Ordinance. They did so because they believed it to be intrinsically wrong. They believed it to be wrong to break the solemnly pledged word of the country, and if there were any doubt whether that word had been broken, he would point out that the right hon. Member for West Birmingham solemnly pledged the honour of the country that the importation of Asiatic labour should be conditional on its being clearly shown that the great majority of the white inhabitants of both colonies were in favour of it. Had it ever been clearly shown that this was so? There was not an hon. Member opposite who would stand up in his place and say that it had been clearly shown. They all knew that the trade unionists of the Rand had practically declared against the importation of Chinese labour, and that on May 23rd the Dutch unanimously and emphatically declared against it. All would admit that the great majority had not been clearly shown to be in favour of it. If, in spite of there being no clear expression of the will of the majority of the inhabitants in favour of such importation, the Ordinance had received sanction, then they had deliberately cheated the people of the Transvaal, and no amount of wealth derived from the importation could possibly excuse so gross a crime. He had frequently ventured to put this before great audiences of his countrymen during the recess and he had never found a dissenting voice, and he would beg hon. Members to believe that he regarded this matter in no Party spirit. As one who had bore a humble share in the war he must know something of the feelings and aspirations of the country. He thought hon. Members would admit that one who spent very many months in the company of his fellow-country men in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies must get to know something of the reasons for waging the war. It was not for any Party reason that he spoke, but because he believed the thing was in itself wrong and he challenged any hon. Member to contradict him.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham): I certainly do.

MAJOR SEELY submitted that it had not been proved that a great majority of the white inhabitants were in favour of Chinese labour. On the other hand, the people of this country and the people of the Transvaal bitterly resented it. It was wrong in itself, because it was against the law of this country, and of every civilised country, to confine men under these conditions, and he said that on the authority of the standing counsel of the Government of India. Would the Colonial Secretary tell them why the Government of India were opposed to allowing our Indian fellow-subjects to go to South Africa under these conditions? The fact was that that Government regarded these conditions as degrading. Hon. Members on his side of the House asserted that what was not good enough for the British-Indian subjects of the King was not good enough for any man under the British flag. It was argued that Chinese labour led to an increase in the production of gold. [Laughter.] It was easy for hon. Members to laugh, but if the thing was morally wrong no material wealth would make it right. He had nothing more to say except to point out that the damage done to our Imperial interests in this matter had been very great. He thought it would be admitted that the Colonies felt deeply on this matter, and all who knew the facts would admit that the feeling was not dying down. He asked the House to remember that, so recently as last month, the principal newspaper in New Zealand, speaking of the proposed Colonial Conference, said that the memory of the hideous outrage that had been brought about in South Africa in this matter was too fresh in their minds for them to dance to any new Imperial tune at this moment. Therefore he would ask the House to reflect long and carefully before rejecting an Amendment which would tend perhaps to heal the sores created by this disastrous policy.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I agree with one sentiment expressed by the hon. Member for Northampton. He said that we were a very long way from the Transvaal. It is obvious to me that a great many statements which have been made in the course of these debates would not have been made if we were not a long way from South Africa. I would ask hon. Members opposite to exercise their imagination as far as they can and try to place themselves in the situation of an English Government face to face with a demand—I will make this good afterwards—which is practically unanimous on the part of the white inhabitants of the Transvaal for an Ordinance of this kind. Suppose for a moment that I am discussing this matter with a Transvaal citizen who says, "We are ourselves substantially unanimous upon the question; we require this unskilled labour in order to restore the fortunes of our country, which for a time have been desolated by war; we require it in order to enable us to discharge the burden of debt, which, I believe, is greater upon the Transvaal, and in contingent liabilities is certainly greater, than that upon any British colony; we require it for the purpose of recovering the country." I do not think any hon. Gentleman opposite will deny that that is a strong plea. He will have to admit that in cases of Crown colonies which we absolutely dominate we have permitted indentured labour in all essential points upon similar conditions. [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] I know that that is disputed, and that the hon. Member for Poplar said that there is a cardinal distinction, inasmuch as in Trinidad and British Guiana no opposition is made to settlement at the end of five years, whereas the Transvaal Ordinance provides for repatriation at the employer's expense at the end of three years. I ventured to say at the time that that argument was shallow and unsubstantial, and I put it to hon. Gentlemen that the fact that the Member for Wolverhampton expressly declined shortly afterwards even to argue the point corroborated my view. I will take back the House to the dialogue I am imagining. If I said there were certain provisions in the Ordinance which I myself, were I an employer of labour, might dislike, what would be the force of such an argument? I might be told that it was not my affair—that I and my predecessor had promised to treat the Transvaal in all matters in which there were not vital Imperial interests concerned, as a self-governing colony. With what face therefore, our record being what it is in regard to these other Crown colonies, could I refuse a demand which is almost unanimous, and for which it cannot be contended that there is not grave and substantial reason? That is the standpoint from which I beg the House to approach this subject. I do not claim any elevation in opinion or character above any other human being. Personally, as a matter of taste, I would prefer that anybody who was serving me should be absolutely free from restrictions. But that is not the question. The question is whether I am entitled to advise His Majesty's Government to advise the King to veto this legislation, which has been prepared with the most scrupulous care, and which is being administered with a jealous desire for fulfilment of its provisions.

I come to the questions that were put by the mover and seconder of the Amendment, for the House will forgive me for saying that since these two hon. Gentlemen spoke no real contribution has been made to the discussion [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh!"] on that side of the House, but on this side very important contributions have been made to the argument on that subject by the hon. Member for Gravesend and the hon. and learned Gentleman behind me. Both these gentlemen were eye-witnesses of that of which they spoke. The first criticism of the hon. Member for Camberwell was that the Government had broken its pledges with regard to the introduction of women. The history of that is this. Early last session the seconder of this Amendment asked me a couple of questions as to whether there was any objection to giving facilities to the labourers to bring their wives with them. Later on I went into the matter, and on 16th February I said that it would be manifestly wrong that the coolies should go without their women if they desired to have them, and I undertook that, if they wished to bring their wives and families with them, they should be allowed to do so. Again, I undertook, on behalf of the Government, that if more was desired, to consider fully and give effect to any reasonable demand in regard to the matter. But I do not suppose the mover of the Amendment would go so far as to say that I should impose any compulsion on coolies to bring their wives with them. The House has a sufficient sense of humour not to credit me with saying what, of course, would be entirely absurd, that I would compel Chinese labourers to bring their wives if they did not desire it. It was said that the coolies did not know of this provision. This was a most extraordinary statement, in view of the fact that no fewer than 4,000 coolies have registered themselves as married men and have registered their wives under the Ordinance, in order to have an opportunity, if they wish, of sending for them afterwards. I think I may ask on what ground the Member for Camberwell alleged that this matter was not brought to the notice of the Chinese. I think it was because of an article by the Rev. Arnold-Forster.

DR. MACNAMARA said he went further and showed the right hon. Gentleman a *facsimile* of an advertisement for coolies by a recruiting agent in which he understood, for, of course, he could not read Chinese, there was no hint whatever of facilities being given to the coolies for bringing their wives.

MR. LYTTELTON: I thought it was so. The hon. Gentleman was misled by the mistake of the Rev. Arnold-Forster. I will explain exactly what happened. The Rev. Arnold-Forster, a missionary who lived 600 miles from Tientsin, saw in a newspaper in March, 1904, an advertisement which no doubt was an incomplete copy of the final form of the contract, and did not contain the provision in question. I will explain how that advertisement happened to be put in that paper. Before the final terms of the contract were settled a rough draft was circulated to certain firms; and one of these firms thereupon took steps to negative some of the preposterous falsehoods which were being circulated on the subject. That was in March, but before June, I am informed, thousands of copies of the full contract were sent into the districts concerned.

DR. MACNAMARA: The first arrival of coolies in the Transvaal was on June 21st.

* MR. LYTTELTON: Precisely. June was the month I mentioned. In June there was recruiting. This *précis* was drawn up for circulation in January and was forwarded to Tientsin in March. It was published in March. Recruiting did not take place until it had been superseded by documents containing the full contract and published by thousands in Tientsin itself. Can the hon. Gentleman tell us of any authority as to the fact that these men were not properly informed? Who would desire to mislead the coolies by placing an advertisement in an English newspaper costing ten cents, to which the coolies have no access at all and which they could not read? That shows the mare's nest which the hon. Gentleman has got hold of; and that is in keeping with what he says in regard to the substantial condition of the Chinamen who are now in the Transvaal. It is not easy to speak on the matter with plainness, and yet to speak with plainness is the only course. Innuendo and insinuation are only the more suggestive. I am asked to conjecture, because the coolies are unaccompanied by their wives, and though they are working ten hours a day on a vegetable diet, that they must be guilty of practices of the vilest kind. Not one single word even of gossip has been produced in this debate in support of this suggestion, although the compounds are open to everybody who likes to inspect them. The compounds are open to all ministers of religion in Johannesburg, and nobody can deny the inquisitional zeal of hon. Gentlemen opposite in this matter, and yet with all the resources at their disposition they have not been able to produce a statement or the suggestion of a statement of that kind. I feel that I am entitled to say that the case is not only not made out, but not attempted to be made out. I would refer hon. Members to the Report of an inquiry made by a Royal Commission on Chinese Labour in British Columbia, a Report made by Commissioners who were intensely hostile to Chinese immigration there. The Report dealt with a society of something like 3,000 adult Chinamen, among whom were only twenty-eight women—practically a celibate community of the same kind. This is what they say, and it is better than conjecture. They say that Chinamen have many noble virtues and characteristics, and though there are customs which, from a moral point of view, are to be condemned, generally speaking Chinamen compare favourably with others in their observance of law and order, and that there is very little doubt that to the

frugality of their habits can be attributed the absence of sensuality among them. Only three cases of indecency were established against these men in fourteen years. If I may refer to the gentleman who has been quoted, the Rev. Arnold Foster, he stated in that particular article that every missionary of experience would agree as to the Chinaman's industry and carefulness, and as to the utter injustice of many of the charges brought against his moral character. In 1885 a Report was made by a Commission on the Settlement of Chinese in California, and it was there stated that the bad moral effects were grossly exaggerated. Hon. Gentlemen have had the whole world to gather evidence from as to the nameless vices which they have insinuated against the Chinese. I do not pretend to range over the whole world, but I think I have quoted enough to show there is no ground for these conjectures. The British Government cannot be asked to do more than they have done. They have done more, I believe, than any other Government have ever done — namely, to provide that this experiment should be made under conditions which enable a Chinaman, not only to take his wife at the expense of his employer, but actually, if he wishes to do so, to go out first himself and ascertain the nature of the place and the nature of the employment he is to have; and after that the employers will provide at their own expense for sending out the wives. I contend that it is premature to judge whether or not the Chinamen will send for their wives. I have argued the case on the footing that they might not, and I say that there is no evidence in the past or in the present on which it can be said that this experiment has been made on conditions any different, from the moral aspect, than those of any other.

The hon. Gentleman was solicitous on behalf of the Kaffir, and said that Kaffirs were the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

Dr. MACNAMARA: British subjects.

*****Mr. LYTTELTON**: And British subjects have a right not to be unfairly competed with by aliens. What are the facts? The facts are that since the Chinese came last June the native Kaffir workers in the mines have increased by almost 10,000, and are obtaining a higher wage now than they obtained in 1899, before the war. I appeal to the candour of the hon. Gentleman: is it not sheer nonsense to say that the Kaffirs have been undercut in their labour and unfairly competed with by Chinamen when the effect of that unfair competition is to increase their numbers in the mines and not to diminish their wages? No one would wish that even a mine-owner should pay unnecessary wages to a man who is malingering. There are a certain number of malingerers even among the Chinese, and if there is a high minimum wage it may encourage the malingerer; but if the minimum wage is put at 1s., and piecework is allowed at which some of the men may be able to earn, and have earned, as much as 2s. 9d., hard work would be encouraged and malingering discouraged. No one is hardy enough to say that the wages the Chinamen are obtaining at present are not six or seven times as much as the wages they can obtain in their own country. No one can pretend for a moment to say that in this House, whatever they may say out of it. Neither will any one contend for a moment that their situation, compared with that in their own country, is not one of affluence and comfort. I am supposed to have misled the House by saying that the Chinaman is not to be a skilled labourer. Hon. Members who are so jealous for the Chinaman's freedom and liberty are not content with the scheduling of fifty-four employments as employments in which he may not be engaged. He was to do unskilled work only. The hon. Gentleman who seconded the Amendment was not content with the restriction. He wished to knock off the ability of the Chinaman to become a boss boy. Boss boys among the Kaffirs are those who are employed to convey communications to those with whom they are working, and it is provided that the Chinaman should be able to take the place of these boss boys. The hon. Gentleman said that was purely overseer's work.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I said nothing on that point at all.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I beg the hon. Member's pardon. Look at the nature of the case. If it were not for the imperative demands of the white population of the Transvaal the mineowners need not have had this Ordinance. The only purpose of it is to impose certain limitations upon the introduction of Chinese. How does it work out? There is, if I remember right, a penalty of £500 on any evasion of the Ordinance prohibiting unskilled work. Should any Chinaman do skilled work, his employers are liable to a fine of £500. Who enforces that provision? The white men, the skilled men who work in the mines. The white men are there on the spot, and they have the greatest interest in the enforcement of the law. In them there is the most efficient police for carrying out this Ordinance that could possibly be found.

Then the Government are stated to have misled the House because they asserted that the importation of Chinese would bring a large accession of white skilled labour on to the Rand. I need not say a single word more on that subject than has been stated by my hon. and learned friend behind me. I would only point out that the increase of white labour in and about the mines has been 1,600 or more. It is perfectly true that a certain proportion of that increase is due to those who built and repaired the compounds, which is not an occupation for miners. It is perfectly true also that the ratio of the white men employed to the black men employed will somewhat diminish. That must obviously be the case. There must be a certain number of foremen in a mine who must be there whether 1,000 or 2,000 men are working in the mine. When a mine is opened up there will be a full establishment of white foremen, and the ratio of white men to black will be larger at first than it will be at a later stage when more black men are employed. But taking the broad fact, in 1899, before the war, the proportion of white men to black men in the mines was 119 to 1,000. It is to-day 143. Therefore, under the condition of things which now exists, in which Chinese labour has supplemented but not supplanted Kaffir labour, we have a higher amount of service and a higher proportion of wages for whites than before the war.

I think that exhausts all the arguments of the hon. Gentleman. I am glad to give credit to hon. Members opposite for having taken their part in reducing the mortality among the blacks, which reduction every one must rejoice at. I am glad also to give credit to those on the Rand who have worked hard and spent money generously to this end. They have succeeded in reducing the mortality from seventy to under forty—nearly half. In my own opinion the introduction of Chinese has also been one of the means contributing to this admirable result. In the mines there was in a time of great shortage of labour a temptation to recruit from the blacks of tropical climates men who were unfitted to stand the rigorous conditions of the mines. Looking to the humanity of the thing, it was far better that the Chinaman should be doing the work at a far less cost of life than that the mineowners should be put to the temptation of enlisting men who, by reason of their health, physique, and the climate they had been brought up in, were not fit for the hard tasks of the mine. The Chinese mortality is very much lower even than the improved result obtained among the Kaffirs. The hon. and gallant Member asserted that the British Government had broken their pledges to the inhabitants of the Transvaal by not withholding their assent to the Ordinance. I do not deny that at other times and under other conditions and in a different state of opinion my predecessor might have said what my hon. and gallant friend has quoted, but I have a precise statement subsequent to that read by the hon. and gallant Member which I have always regarded as my predecessor's undertaking. It was dated July 27th, 1903.

MAJOR SEELY: What I read out was written by the late Colonial Secretary in April, 1904.

*MR. LYTTELTON: My right hon. friend was not Colonial Secretary in 1904, and could not give a pledge on behalf of the Government. Moreover, unless I am mistaken, the Ordinance was sanctioned before that date. What my predecessor did say, in 1903, was that he believed that at that time the opinion of the Transvaal was hostile to the introduction of Asiatic labour, and that was why he would not assent to it if it were proposed; but he added that he thought it very likely that the opinion then hostile might not always be hostile, and he had received information that among the Boer farmers the pressure for labour was becoming very acute and a great change of opinion had taken place. The present Government believes that the opinion of the Transvaal is enormously in favour of this change, and the conditions, therefore, are changed from those under which that pledge was given. It seems to me an astonishing thing that any Member of the House should bring an accusation of this kind against the Government on these grounds.

MAJOR SEELY: Surely the right hon. Gentleman must have forgotten that subsequent to the passing of the Ordinance, a census showed that the Dutch were opposed to it.

*MR. LYTTELTON: There is no evidence or pretence of evidence to that effect. Six or seven leaders signed a document in which they stated they were against it; but with reference to the representation from 200 Dutchmen, what weight did they themselves attach to it? They had passed, on the occasion referred to, some twelve or fourteen resolutions. They were invited by Sir Arthur Lawley to come and discuss them at Pretoria. They had there a full and long discussion, and this resolution on Chinese labour was thought so unimportant by the Boers themselves that they never even mentioned it. If the hon. Member thinks this important, the Boers did not.

I am now in a position to sum up the results. It has been alleged that a disastrous blow has been struck at white labour. The answer is that the figures show conclusively an increase in white labour. Whether the absolute facts or the relative facts are taken, both are in favour of the introduction of Chinese. It has been suggested that we have misled the House by not preserving the Kaffirs from undue and unfair competition. Chinese labour has not starved or undercut Kaffir labour, for there are between 9,000 and 10,000 more Kaffirs employed at this moment than were employed before the introduction of the Chinese, and their wages have not been diminished, they have been increased as between now and 1899, and they have not diminished since the introduction of the Chinese. As regards the supposed moral danger, previous official records from which I have quoted have shown that the conjectures which have been made have no foundation so far as the evidence as to the past went, and it is not pretended that there is a single rag of evidence so far as the present is concerned. It has been alleged that recruiting had been unfairly conducted, and this on the evidence of the Rev. Arnold Forster, who was proved to have been mistaken in supposing that a document was used which had not been used. Again, it has been said that this was done against the will of the people. With regard to that, I ask the House to note the position of Mr. Quinn. Mr. Quinn, a worthy and zealous opponent, who was the protagonist in the fight against Chinese labour in the Legislative Council, and who is now living in the Transvaal, and is not a candidate for Parliament, states that people are content with the Chinese Ordinance, and that, so far as he is concerned, it is finished. Within a few months a representative Constitution will be granted to the Transvaal. If the Government are wrong—I do not think hon. Gentlemen opposite really believe they are—there will be an opportunity of correcting their mistakes; but hon. Gentlemen opposite know that there will not be a voice raised in any representative assembly against an introduction of Chinese, regulated as it is with scrupulous care, and which would never reach anything like the proportions which has been represented. The Government has a right to complain that, though the arguments in this House have been temperate and in good faith, it is not so and has not been so in the country. When my hon. friends on the Ministerial side described, from what they had seen, the health and comfort and sanitary conditions under which the Chinese were living in the Transvaal, there were loud cries of "Agreed, agreed" from the Opposition Benches. Did they cry "Agreed, agreed" to that in the country? Why, they talked of "slavery," and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition talked of "*quasi*-slavery." I hope none of them were responsible for one of the most infamous documents that exists in the world—a document that has been extensively circulated in the constituencies and has probably misled thousands of voters—a picture representing Chinamen in chains with ghosts of dead British soldiers protesting. If a tithe of what has been said about the Chinese in the Transvaal were true, then, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton stated at the beginning of this controversy, the only right and just and sincere attitude to take up is to say, if this is slavery, it ought to be swept away from the Statute-book, even if it had been passed by a self-governing colony. The Leader of the Opposition, when asked the question what he would do, replied across the floor of the House, "Put us in and we will tell you." Later he gave a considered answer and said—

> "With regard to this topic, if and when the time comes for them to take over the responsibility of Government, he would only say in this confused matter that they would approach the question from the point of view of the permanent interests of the country and not merely from the point of view of the temporary exigencies of those who finance the gold mines."

That is a model statement for the apostle of the unambiguous.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: (Stirling Burghs): What is there ambiguous about that?

*MR. LYTTELTON: The House will judge of that. If, however, a tithe of the language used throughout the country were true, then it would be obvious that hon. Gentlemen opposite must sweep away the unclean thing. But there was no truth or sincerity in the language, and the declaration of their intentions showed that the leaders of the Opposition fully recognised the hollowness of the agitation.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 214; Noes, 275. (Division List No. 4.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beamont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, J. A. (Inverness-shire)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,CaptEC(S.Andrw's B'ghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hardie, J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Chas. Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Mooney, John J.

Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, J. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
Richards, T. (W. Monmouth)
Rickett, J. Compton
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, A. (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas, JA (Glamorgan, Gower
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
WarnerThomeas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene, (Clackmannan)
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills, Arthur W. (N. Dorset)
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse, Sir JT (Huddersf'ld
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. H. O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, RtHnGerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir A. H. (Shropshire)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A (Glasgow)
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. JA (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Mancr.
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir R. B. (Invern'ss B'ghs
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'r H'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, Sir EW (B'ry S. Edm'nds
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald

Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,Marq of(L'nd'nderry
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath,SirJames (Staffords.NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson,SirA. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse,RtHnH. (Somers'tE
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard,J.(Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col.W
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow
Lawrence,SirJoseph(Monmouth
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W. (Mile End)
Lawson, John G. (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long,Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsm'th)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver,SirLewis(Edinburgh, W
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W.F.
Maxwell,Rt HnSirH.E (Wigt'n
Maxwell,W. J.H. (Dumfriessh.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants).
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robt. Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hn. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, SirH (Renfrew)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, A. H. (Hertford, East)
Smith,RtHnJ.Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur(Ormskirk)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir CEH (Sheffield)
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond,Rt.Hn.SirWilliam H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E. (Taunt'n
Welby,SirCharles G.E. (Notts.)
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wilson, A.Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd,Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn.E.R. (Bath)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley,Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Main Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question, "That the debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. John Redmond*)—put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

PREFERENTIAL AND RETALIATORY DUTIES.

Order [2nd February, 1904] that the Return relative to Preferential and Retaliatory Duties do lie upon the Table, read, and discharged. Paper withdrawn. —(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

Adjourned at twenty minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 20th February, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Central Electric Supply Bill [H.L.]; County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [H.L.]; Dearne Valley Railway Bill [H.L.]; London and India Docks Company Bill [H.L.]; Medway and Thames Canal Bill [H.L.]; Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [H.L.]; Buenos Ayres Grand National Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Wellingborough and District Tramroads and Electricity Supply Bill [H.L.]. Presented; read 1ª; and referred to the Examiners.

Marylebone Chapels Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Naval Works (Portsmouth Barracks Site) Bill [H.L.]; West Riding of Yorkshire Rivers Bill [H.L.]. Presented, and read 1ª.

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill. Brought from the Commons, and (pursuant to the Resolutions of the 8th of August last), read 1ª, 2ª, and committed.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TREATY SERIES, No. 3 1905.

Agreements between the United Kingdom and France referring to arbitration the question of the grant of the French flag to Muscat dhows; signed at London, 13th October, 1904, and 13th January, 1905. (Ratifications of agreement of 13th October, 1904, exchanged at London, 18th January, 1905.)

STATISTICS.

Statistical abstract for the British Empire in each year from 1889 to 1903. First Number.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

PRISONS, ENGLAND AND WALES (VISITING COMMITTEES).

Draft rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prison Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Stafford Prison.

NATIONAL DEBT (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).

Account of the gross amount of all moneys received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, on account of the Fund for Military Savings Banks, from 19th September, 1845, to 5th January, 1905.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for advances to Government authorised by Parliament from 5th January, 1904, to 5th January, 1905.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minute, dated 16th February, 1905, declaring that Edward George Gausden, labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department.

BANKRUPTCY.

General rules, dated 5th January, 1905, made pursuant to Section 127 of the Bankruptcy Act, 1883.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

NEW BILL.

SUNDAY CLOSING (SHOPS) BILL [H.L.].

An Act to provide for the closing of shops and the prohibition of street trading on Sunday. Was presented by the Lord Avebury; read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 10.)

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

The Earl of MEATH: My Lords, I rise, in accordance with notice, to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the following paragraph from the pen of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, K.G., which appeared in an article in the January number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*—

> "I maintain that it is the bounden duty of the State to see that every able-bodied man in this country, no matter to what grade of society he may belong, undergoes some kind of military training in his youth, sufficient to enable him to shoot straight and carry out simple orders if ever his services are required for national defence."

and to ask whether, in view of the above expression of opinion in favour of the military training of youths from so eminent an authority as Earl Roberts, His Majesty's Government will take steps to appoint a War Office and Board of Education Inter-Departmental, or other Committee, to consider and report on the best means of carrying such training into effect?

To justify universal military training for lads two questions must be answered in the affirmative. They are (1) is some form of universal military training necessary for the safety of the Empire? (2) would such training given in youth be sufficient to meet the military requirements? Now, with regard to the first question, it seems to me that no individual who has given attention to the subject of the defence of the Empire can come to any other conclusion than that it would be impossible, if we were at war with a first-class Power, to come out successfully with the form of military service which we have at present. We have an ever-increasing Empire with extensive land frontiers, and I am afraid there are many who do not appreciate the extent of those frontiers. For so long in our history were we an island kingdom that we have got accustomed to think that we still are more or less an island Empire. But is that the fact? It is anything but the fact.

If we look into the matter, we find that our Empire has extensive frontiers conterminous with the United States, France, Germany, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium—if the Congo Free State be considered as practically administered by Belgium—Italy, Turkey, China, Persia, Siam, Mexico, Venezuela, and Guatemala, and with numberless semi-civilised or barbarous States and tribes with whom, do what we will, we must often come into hostile contact. The dominions of the King are to be found in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, and the land frontiers of our Empire are probably more extensive than those of any other Power in the world.

What the actual length of our land frontiers is I have not been able accurately to discover, but I can give your Lordships an idea of them by saying that the frontier of Canada alone, including Alaska, is over 6,000 miles in length. It is about the same length as the new line of railway from St. Petersburg to Port Arthur.

It is most earnestly to be hoped that we shall never be at war with our friends the United States. We hope that such a calamity may never overtake the world. But still it is only right for a nation to consider all eventualities, and because we hope never to go to war we ought not to neglect to be prepared for war even against those with whom we think there is little chance of ever having to contend. Here we have a frontier of 6,000 miles to defend. Now, it may be said that we have the pre-eminence on the sea. So we have. May we long maintain it. It is absolutely necessary for our Empire that we should have predominance at sea; we should be starved out if we failed to maintain that predominance. Moreover, we should be unable to defend our Empire by conveying our troops across the ocean. On the other hand, we must remember that, although we may possess that predominant power at sea, still it will not in any way prevent certain nations from being able to make land wars upon us. The United States would be one.

Coming over to Europe and Asia, we find that there are other powerful nations that could attack us by land. I allude in the first place to Russia, and if Russia were combined, which is not impossible, with Germany and France, we should have to fight Russia, Germany, and France by land. At this moment there are two lines of railway that come direct from St. Petersburg to the Afghan and close to the British frontiers—the one line approaching from the Caspian, the other from the Trans-Siberian line, emerging, the former at Kushk, and the latter very shortly at Farmys. Both these lines are united, and, therefore, the power of Russia could be brought from east and west to converge in two lines on our Afghan frontier. Let us consider what this portends. It means that the Anglo-Indian Army, a voluntarily recruited Army, would have to contend with the conscripted millions who could be brought into the field by Russia, or, if allied with Germany and France, by all three Powers, which have at their disposal the entire manhood of their respective nations—in figures 11,000,000 of men.

What number could we bring to oppose these masses? Lord Kitchener has recently been organising the Anglo-Indian Army with a view to its being able to take the field at a moment's notice, and he states that at the first alarm of war he hopes to have at his command some 135,000 British and Indian troops. Well, what are those compared to the enormous masses which could be brought against us from Russia alone? It may be said that we could increase that number under the present system. So we could; but we had an object-lesson in regard to that in South Africa. We know that, with the utmost exertions, and by paying 5s. a day, 230,000 was the highest number of men which the Empire was able to place at one time in the field during that campaign. At this moment we are informed—I take it from Russian sources, and it may be exaggerated—that Russia has some 400,000 men in Manchuria alone, and is reinforcing them at the rate of 25,000 per month. If she is able, with one line of railway, to place such a huge army in the field at a distance of over 6,000 miles, how much easier would it be for her to place her overwhelming forces on the Indian frontier at half that distance and along two lines of railway?

Having shown that the possession of an all-powerful Navy, although imperative on Great Britain if she intends to maintain her Empire, would not prevent certain great Powers from assailing her in vulnerable parts in Asia or America, with all the advantages to be obtained from the enormous numbers raised by conscription, it surely follows that some form of universal military training is necessary for the safety of the Empire. If this be acknowledged, it may be said, "Very well, let us then meet conscription by conscription." Although personally not in favour of what is known on the Continent as conscription, I answer, "By all means, if the country be prepared to accept the burden of universal military service." But is there the least chance of the country doing anything of the sort in time of peace? and when war has once commenced it would then be too late to take effective action. Only after a crushing defeat, and when the shores of Britain were actually either invaded or most seriously threatened, is it likely that the British nation would ever consent to submit to compulsory adult military service. It may be said there is another alternative—that advocated with such force and admirable persistency by the noble Earl who usually sits on the Cross Benches, Lord Wemyss, namely, the enforcement of the ballot. There appears to me even less chance of this ancient enactment being put into force, inasmuch as it is less in touch with modern democratic feeling, which might tolerate universal service but would fight shy of the selective principle.

Very well, my Lords, if there is no chance of obtaining conscription, which I do not want, nor of obtaining the adoption of the Militia ballot, what is to be done? Something must be done, or it is absolutely certain that if we are at war with any great Power we shall find ourselves in a very awkward position. I do not think at this moment we can say that the present Secretary of State for War has been very successful in solving the problem. The objections to adult compulsory military service may, I take it, be summed up as follows:—(1) the infringement of the liberty of the adult citizen; (2) the interference with his industrial pursuits; (3) the disorganisation caused to trade, commerce, and agriculture by the withdrawal of men from their prosecution; (4) the moral objection to the housing of large numbers of men in barracks. None of these objections would be applicable to the training of lads during the educative period of their lives. The liberty of boys is always restrained with universal consent. They are not asked whether they will learn to read or write, but are compelled by law to submit to tuition. Now, I ask, what would be the hardship of requiring the lads to perfect themselves in another branch of knowledge, that of being able to use the rifle? To my mind it would be exceedingly popular. The lads would like it; they would not attempt to run away from it; they would look upon it as a sport. Such training could be given so as not in the least to interfere with their preparation for the business of life. On the contrary the discipline and healthy exercise would improve their health, strengthen their moral and physical fibre, and add to their professional, industrial, or labour value when they attained to manhood and entered on the serious business of their lives.

Now, let us consider the second question which I commenced my remarks by saying required an affirmative answer in order to justify the adoption of universal military training of lads. Would such training given in youth be sufficient to meet the military requirements? The extract quoted in my Question gives the latest opinion of Lord Roberts on this point, and I may add that a few years ago he stated that—

> "Lads who have been efficiently trained would probably become quite as efficient soldiers as would Reserve men after they had been away from the colours for three or four years."

The truth of this statement was amply proved by the Natal Cadets in the South African War, to whom Lord Roberts was referring when at Pietermaritzburg he said—

> "I hope the old country will follow the example of one of her children and insist upon all boys joining cadet corps."

Lord Roberts is not alone amongst distinguished soldiers in thus highly rating the value of youthful training, and I shall take the liberty of quoting other opinions to your Lordships in a moment. The South African War showed plainly that under modern conditions our Army is inadequate to compete with first-class nations, and that, therefore, some plan must be devised by which we shall be able, in time of need, largely to increase our Army.

If training in youth were made universal, not only would the adult male be capable of taking his place in the ranks, but, what is of still greater importance almost, the spirit of patriotism and the sense of duty would be quickened in the nation, and in time of difficulty young men would rush to the ranks and compulsion would be unnecessary. Moreover, by the training of young men no military caste or profession would be created which would desire war. There are a number of people who are terribly afraid of militarism. Since it became known that I intended to speak to-night on this subject, I have received remonstrances with regard to my wicked desire to create wars and increase militarism. Now, if I felt in the smallest degree that I was doing that I should have absolutely nothing further to say; but I feel perfectly certain that the very reverse would be the case. I notice in foreign newspapers that there is a very strong feeling abroad that we are much more likely to go to war than any other nation, from the very fact that so large a proportion of our population know that under no circumstances could they suffer in their bodies by war. Whether that is true or not it is difficult to say, but I certainly think there is a good deal in it, and that if every lad were trained to arms and taught that it was his duty, if necessary, to come forward and volunteer for the service of the country he would think twice before he went to a music-hall and waved a British flag with a view to creating a war simply and solely for the sake of glory. He would have to take part in that war, and he would think twice before he rushed into it. That is my firm opinion. In other words, there would be much less chance of militarism if our youths were trained to arms and knew in some degree what war meant, with all its horrors. There would, indeed, be much less music-hall vicarious pseudo-patriotism which calls for war, and which, when blows are struck, is willing to shelter itself behind a professional army. The sense of duty and moral responsibility would be quickened.

What do we see taking place in Japan? The spirit of Japan has been an object-lesson to the world, and I hope we are learning from it. It may not be known to all your Lordships that it is not altogether to the military efficiency of the Japanese army, in the sense of great preparations, that their success has been due. The success has been attained in the schools of Japan. Ever since the revolution in 1867, day by day Bushido, or the spirit of chivalry, has been taught in the schools—patriotism, obedience to authority, self-sacrifice. The children are taught that the individual is nothing and that the State is everything. In every school in Japan there is a picture of the Emperor, veiled. It is not shown except on three or four days in the year, when it is unveiled with great ceremony. All these things tend to create a patriotic spirit, and we see what has been the effect of it in this war. It is not only in war that this spirit can be seen. In a few years time I venture to prophesy that we shall see the same spirit thrown into the avocations of peace.

The spirit which makes a man do the best for his country under all circumstances will come to the front in Japan. A man will not consider whether he is receiving perhaps a few pence or a few pounds more than he ought; he will do the best work he can for his country's sake and for the honour of his country; and by that means I believe the training the youth are receiving in Japan is not only one for war but one calculated for peace. I wish to see some kind of imitation of Bushido in our schools. I want to see the children trained, not in militarism, but to understand the horrors of war and to be able to take their part in avoiding, if possible, those horrors coming upon the shores of our Empire. It is a curious fact, but it was told to me yesterday by a distinguished ex Cabinet Minister of Japan, that the idea of training the youth of that country to arms in the schools came from this country—this country that has not adopted this country that is so afraid of putting arms into the hands of its lads.

My opinion on this subject is of absolutely no weight whatever, but I should like to call witnesses whose opinions are worth considering. In the first place I should like to call as a witness Dr. Macnamara, a Liberal Member of Parliament. Dr. Macnamara says that—

> "He would make gymnastic training a compulsory feature of every evening continuation school. He would go still further. He thought that every young man between sixteen and twenty ought by law to be compelled to give two hours a night for two nights a week, for two years, to compulsory physical evening training, which would include first-class gymnastic training, such formations as might be necessary for the moving together of large bodies of men, and practice in the use of the rifle. That was not conscription. Conscription, of course, was a very ugly word which we must never mention. But what he suggested was, in his opinion, one way of obviating conscription. Every young fellow who was physically fit should be compelled to undergo that course."

I have read the views of Lord Roberts. I will now quote a former Liberal Prime Minister, who telegraphed to me that he was unable to be in his place to-day—I refer to Lord Rosebery. Lord Rosebery, in a letter to Mr. G. S. Hazlehurst, late Mayor of Birkenhead, dated October 31st, 1903, said that—

> "I quite agree with the view expressed by Lord Kitchener that it is very desirable that some elementary military training should be added to the curriculum of instruction in public schools."

That distinguished General Sir Ian Hamilton, whose deeds in South Africa still ring in our ears, stated in his evidence before the Scottish Commission on Physical Training that—

> "He would feel very confident of obtaining creditable results if he were placed in command of a mounted infantry brigade composed of boys who had previously been well grounded in handling arms, in skirmishing, and the attack."

About an hour ago I received a letter from Lord Methuen expressing his firm belief that there is a great future before this movement, and appealing for the support of the governing body of schools and the powerful influence of county councils through their education committees in bringing it about. In an article in this month's *Nineteenth Century and After* Lord Methuen urges the military training of boys, and recalls the old English law that every lad should be an expert with the bow and arrow. I will now quote a witness from Canada. General Lord Dundonald, referring to the cadet system in Canada, says—

> "Youth is the time for improvement—the season for preparation. A well-trained and disciplined cadet, with all the self-sacrifice that this involves, will not only be of great value to his country when it needs him, but he will be a better citizen and a better man."

Admiral Lord Charles Beresford has said that—

> "Lads should be taught to load and fire rifles at 100 yards and have to undergo company drill and discipline. Such lessons, once learned, are never forgotten."

Major-General Sir Edmund Barrow says that—

> "When every healthy boy in the United Kingdom has been compelled by law to learn the rudiments of discipline and the use of arms; when he is fitted by early training to take his place in the defence of his country or its interests; when he is taught that the profession of arms is an honourable one, and that his first duty is to his country, then we may be sure that the Army will be popular and will attract to its ranks the flower of the nation's youth. That, to my mind, is the bedrock of military organisation."

I would desire, through the noble Earl Lord Donoughmore, to draw the special attention of the Secretary of State for War, who professes to be so anxious to popularise the Army, to these remarks. My witnesses are not all military men. I have already quoted the remarks of Lord Rosebery and of Dr. Macnamara, M.P. I will now call upon headmasters as represented by the Rev. C. G. Gull, who, on November 25th, 1902, said—

> "The aim which both the Headmasters' Conference and the Headmasters' Association, the two bodies which together represent the whole of the public secondary schools, have set before the War Office and before themselves is that every boy, if in sufficient bodily health, in their schools should be trained to the use of arms."

The Earl of Meath.

Next I will call as a witness one of our most distinguished Empire-makers, Sir George Taubman-Goldie, who in his note attached to the Report of the Royal Commission on the South African War advocates national juvenile military education—

> "As vital to the security of the British Empire,"

and he states that he—

> "Is firmly of opinion that it would result in great diminution of expenditure by permitting a large reduction of the number of men serving with the colours."

Our Colonies are far ahead of us in this respect. All our Colonies, more or less, have got trained cadets, and in Canada they have lately reorganised their cadet system and placed it on a satisfactory footing. In Australia the cadets are under the Commonwealth Defence Act. In his report on the military forces of the Commonwealth, General Hutton says—

> "It is impossible to overestimate the value of military discipline on the rising generation."

In Natal a staff officer for cadets has been appointed, and in his report the Commandant of the Natal Volunteers refers to the appointment as an "important one," and adds—

> "When it is remembered that the future defence of the colony is in the hands of our youth the importance of early training in the use of arms is one that no State, looking to the future, can afford to neglect."

In New Zealand, owing largely to the influence of Mr. Seddon who is a great enthusiast for the training of lads to arms, the number of cadets has increased from 4,126 in July, 1902, to 12,000 in 1904. When we consider what the population of that little island is, I think it will be seen that New Zealand has produced a very large number of trained lads. With regard to these cadets, the Prime Minister of New Zealand writes—

> "It would be difficult to lay sufficient stress on the importance to be attached to the cadet movement in this colony."

Now, what is the position at home? The War Office recognises such training. It is not compulsory as in many of our Colonies, but as long as boys wear uniform—and this is a *sine qua non*—the War Office will supply free arms and ammunition to the boys—*i.e.*, 50 per cent. serviceable arms, 50 per cent. defective, or D. P. arms, and eighty rounds miniature or sixty rounds ball per boy. The restriction of the Government grant to the corps which can provide themselves with uniforms practically gives the grant to the sons of rich men and withholds it from the sons of poor men. This is an invidious anomaly which should be rectified.

The Lad's Drill Association, of which I am chairman, has approached the Government and asked that the sons of men who cannot afford uniform should be placed on the same footing as the sons of richer men as regards ammunition, and that one serviceable rifle be given for every fifteen boys. This is a very modest proposal. It is less than what strict justice would demand, but even this proposal has not yet been accepted. I trust that it may not be long before the Government will recognise that the best and most economical guarantee of national security and of peace would be the universal training of British youths to arms, following the wise and patriotic example set to the Motherland by her self-governing Colonies. If this were done, I am confident that the Empire would never need to resort to any system of compulsion in order to fill the ranks of her Army. In time of need the trained manhood of the country would rush to arms, and those who offered themselves would not be, as was so often the case in the Boer War, men who were absolutely useless in the field, but those who from their youth had been made familiar with the use of weapons, and with bodies and minds strengthened and quickened by healthy exercise and by wholesome discipline. We who advocate this training entertain the ideal so well expressed by Dr. Morrison, Principal of the Presbyterian College at Melbourne, when, in an address presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Patron of the Lads' Drill Association, he said—

> "We have striven to send forth from our schools good and true men, loyal and patriotic citizens, who will not only do their work well in every social, civil, and religious capacity, but will fight, if need be, for their King and country, as so many of our old boys recently have fought."

*EARL STANHOPE: My Lords, I rise to say a few words in support of the proposal brought forward by the noble Earl. I feel as strongly as he does the necessity of military education being afforded in the schools, not only of the rich, but of the poor, and of instruction being given in the use of the rifle. It is not only good for the health of lads that they should be trained to bear arms and obey orders, but it is absolutely necessary that some attention should be given in this country to rifle-shooting. Noble Lords are aware that at our public schools very efficient Volunteer corps have been created and are supported by the masters of those schools. Harrow, Eton, and Winchester have their Volunteer corps, but the restriction, which has been referred to by the noble Earl, of the Government grant to the corps which can provide themselves with uniform, certainly ought to be done away with if possible. I hold very strongly that it is not only the sons of rich men who ought to be taught military training, but also those of the poor.

If I may be allowed to state a case within my own knowledge, I would inform your Lordships that in an industrial school of which I have been for thirty years chairman, in the county of Kent, we there train the boys on military lines. Two hundred boys are drilled in a military way by a drill-master, and we have also lately established a rifle-gallery where they are taught the use of the rifle. I was able some time ago, by the aid of the War Office, to purchase about 200 disused rifles. The price was certainly within our means, for we were only charged 1s. 6d. each. They were useless, the barrels being condemned, but we bought them in order that the lads might be exercised in rifle drill. We now have amongst the lads many excellent shots. That is only one instance. I hope this movement will receive support from His Majesty's Government and in the schools of the country, and that every lad will undergo sufficient military training in his youth to enable him to shoot straight and carry out simple orders if ever his services are required for national defence. I trust my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State for War will find it possible to give a favourable answer to my noble friend.

*EARL EGERTON: My Lords, I desire to say a few words in support of this proposal. No one who lives in the neighbourhood of the large and populous districts in Lancashire and Cheshire, as I do, can have failed to observe the great physical deterioration in the rising generation. That can be to a very large extent counteracted by giving them healthy exercise, and I believe it is admitted by everyone that no exercise is more beneficial than the ordinary military drill. It gives lads respect for discipline and order, and leads to their becoming, when they leave school, not hooligans, but respectable members of society. I have supported these cadet corps in my neighbourhood, but owing to their not being sufficiently encouraged by the Government, they are unable to get the necessary rifles or to go into camp, and it is essential, in the case of corps in large towns, that they should be able to go into camp. In Macclesfield a Patriotic Association, I believe with the approval of the Education Department, has 2,000 boys and girls under training, the boys in addition to the usual exercises being instructed in the use of the rifle. This example should be followed universally.

Some sort of drill of this kind is necessary for the physical improvement of our rising generation, and is also a great insurance for the defence of the country. That has been clearly shown by my noble friend. It is important that our rising generation should be trained in such a way that the training will be useful to them in after life. Our educational system in the past has not taken sufficiently into consideration the training of character in the case of boys, and instruction in domestic cookery in the case of girls. That is beginning to be improved, but we are still hesitating before adopting a system of compulsory drill in our schools. I know it is very difficult to suggest to the War Office anything which would add to the expense of military defence at this time, but I trust the noble Marquess the Lord President of the Council will see his way to do something in the direction desired. I can assure him that no expense of this kind would be begrudged by the country. We ought not to be behind our Colonies and other countries in this direction. Whether or not we shall come to compulsory military service in this country I do not know. I think we shall, but we are not ready for it yet. If boys were well trained at school they would have very little difficulty in complying with some sort of universal service for, say, a year or two. I trust that something of the kind advocated by the noble Earl may be brought about.

THE EARL OF RANFURLY: My Lords, it has been stated by many that drill in school is a stepping stone to conscription. Personally, I do not think it has anything whatever to do with conscription. I am a firm believer in drill. I had the honour to represent His Majesty in New Zealand during the time that drill in schools was initiated and the cadet corps established. The question arose, would they be popular? I can assure your Lordships that these corps are most popular both with the boys and with their parents. The great difficulty in that country was that there were no proper shooting ranges in the interior, and therefore rifle practice could not be so efficiently carried out as one would wish. The Government, desirous to encourage rifle practice in every way, gave shields as well as monetary prizes, and there were held great competitions amongst the various schools for these prizes.

I hope that compulsory drill, with rifle practice, will be instituted in the State schools of this country. I feel that the boys would be further developed bodily thereby, and that no harm under any circumstances could arise from it. In New Zealand there is, however, one mistake, in my opinion, with regard to these corps, and that is that the State school cadet corps are all under the Education Department. I confess I think they would be better looked after if they were under the Defence Department. However, the Defence Department finds it very difficult to get its Estimates passed. There is no doubt more criticism over them than over the Estimates of the Education Department, and I am pretty certain that this was the reason why the corps were placed under the Education Department.

I do not myself consider that this drill will, as the noble Lord who proposed this said, add to the patriotism of the people. He mentioned that in the schools of Japan a picture of the Emperor was in every school, and was only unveiled on certain occasions. I confess I should like to see throughout the Colonies His Majesty's portrait in schools and public buildings. I do not believe that when I left New Zealand there was anything beyond small photographs of him in the country. I believe it is the same in the other Colonies, and when one remembers that these youths who are now being drilled in the Colonies have never seen the Motherland, one can well understand how desirable it is that they should be brought up to be as patriotic as possible. Though not wishing to inculcate too great a martial spirit in them, I do think something should be done to show them what the Empire is, and who the men are who have made it. I think that this could best be done by some series of lectures under the Education Departments throughout the Colonies of the Empire. I am afraid, however, I am travelling from the subject before your Lordships. In concluding, I can only repeat the hope that the noble Lord will do all in his power to get drill and rifle practice introduced in the schools in this country.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: My Lords, I did not intend to take part in this discussion when I entered the House a few moments ago, but I rise very respectfully to put in a word of caution, and even of protest, in regard to some of the remarks made by the noble Earl who has just sat down. It seems to me that we are in danger to-night of mixing up two things. There is the military side of this question, and there is the side which is concerned with the perfecting of education, and, incidentally, of physical development. Now, my Lords, I hope that I shall not be taking too great a liberty with your Lordships if I express a very earnest hope that these two aspects of the question will be kept entirely distinct. So far as cadet corps and all agencies for that class of training go, they have, in their own proper place, my warmest and most hearty support, and so, I gather, have they the support of all the noble Lords who have spoken. But I think you will prejudice this movement if you let it go forth to the public that it is only and entirely a part of a defence movement, or that you are in any way whatever, even in the most indirect way, leading up to a system of conscription or of compulsory military service.

I had the honour of doing something, when I was Vice-President of the Council, to give greater encouragement to drill as a part of the regular school curriculum in what we call in Scotland our public schools. I agree with the noble Earl on the Back Benches who praises drill as a means of giving healthy exercise to our rising generation. I believe that in that aspect it is one of the most valuable things you can do. It teaches a boy to obey the word of command; it makes him more capable of organisation in labour; and it gives him a healthy exercise for some of the hours when he may be in the school or its immediate vicinity without unduly wearying his brains, and to that extent I believe you will have absolutely the unanimous support of the whole population for this movement. But it is watched in some quarters, and, in my opinion, rightly watched, with a jealous eye, for fear it unduly encourages what I may call the military spirit.

The noble Earl who introduced this question spoke most temperately and reasonably about it, but the text of his speech was a quotation from an article by the noble and gallant Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, whose words are upon the Paper. These words, and most of the speech of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches, seemed to me reasonably and properly directed towards the encouragement of cadet corps rather than drill in ordinary schools. If I rightly understood the noble Earl who spoke last, he would like to see the cadet-corps principle extended down into all the schools. Now, my Lords, I think that would be a fatal mistake. I am prepared to advocate ordinary physical drill as a compulsory subject in part of the general curriculum of education: I am not prepared to advocate to the same extent anything which seems to train the military side of human nature. It is because I am in favour of the movement in its general principle, because I am anxious that it should not be prejudiced by undue association with the idea of conscription, that I rise to enter my protest. I would prefer to see it under the control of the education authorities rather than under the control of the military authorities, although I need hardly say that the education authorities would not be as wise as I believe they are, both in England and Scotland, if they did not take counsel with the military authorities as to the best means of carrying out the drill. At the same time I do think, differing from the noble Earl who spoke last, that this matter is safer in the hands of the education authorities to be developed on its educational side, rather than upon the other side to which reference has been made to-night.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, I can assure the noble Earl on the Cross Benches that I have no quarrel with him whatever for having introduced this subject, to which I know he has given such great attention, and in connection with which he is, and always has been, such an enthusiast. The noble Earl supported his case with arguments that were both theoretical and practical. My objections to what he advocates are mainly practical, and practical largely, I think, for a financial reason. I entirely agree with all that has been said as to the necessity of engendering discipline among our young people, and of encouraging a spirit of patriotism; but I am not convinced that compulsory military training in our schools is the only way by which these desirable ends can be attained. I have a very small experience as a manager of a board school. My tenure of that post was short, but it was sufficient to convince me of the excellence of the discipline which is maintained in our board schools—discipline which I am perfectly certain cannot have other than a most beneficial effect. As regards encouraging a spirit of patriotism, I am not prepared to admit that we, as a nation, are unpatriotic.

THE EARL OF MEATH: I did not say that. What I said was that I did not think sufficient stress was laid on the teaching of patriotism.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Well, my Lords, I am not prepared to admit that there is any very great necessity for teaching it more than we do teach it. I entirely accept the noble Earl's correction; but it is sometimes argued in certain quarters that we are not as patriotic a nation as we used to be. I am not prepared to admit that argument, which is generally put forward without proof. Again, I cannot admit that we should be justified for this reason in coming forward and advocating compulsory drill in our schools. We already do something on a voluntary basis. This fact was referred to by the noble Earl in his speech. A drill book has been issued, through the Board of Education, for the use of schools, if they choose to adopt it. We are prepared to inspect the drill classes of any schools which ask us to so inspect them. Indeed we offer our services to them. We supply them with Morris tube carbines at a cheap rate, though not always at quite so cheap a rate as that mentioned by my noble friend behind me. We give them Morris tube ammunition, also at a cheap rate. This experiment has been going on for some three years, and, honestly, I cannot say that the results have been very satisfactory.

The noble Earl stated that the headmasters of our schools were keen upon this subject. Our experience, my Lords, will not enable me to agree with him. Some of them are keen, but the majority are indifferent to our offers. We were supplied by the Headmasters' Association with a list of 675 schools. We offered these small services to them. The figures for 1904 are not yet available, but in 1902 only eighty-four—that is, one-eighth of the total number—accepted our offers, and in 1903 only 167, a quarter, accepted them. We naturally made inquiries. We asked our officers in the different parts of the country, who had been entrusted with offering their services to the schools, what in their opinion was the reason the offers had not been more frequently accepted, and the general consensus of their replies amounts to this, that they think headmasters are suspicious of us; they think that the War Office is merely using this as the thin end of the wedge, to introduce compulsory military drill in the schools, the one thing that the noble Earl wants to see introduced there. We have actually had protests from schools, telling us that our offers were not wanted. In view of this evidence, that our offers of aid on a voluntary basis are not very keenly received, the noble Earl will, I am sure, admit that we are right in not believing very strongly that a compulsory attempt would be successful.

THE EARL OF MEATH: Are you speaking of secondary schools?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Yes, I am speaking entirely of secondary schools. Therefore, my Lords, with this experience behind us I say we are not encouraged to attempt any starting of compulsory drill in these schools. We object to compulsion for reasons that have been very often discussed in your Lordships' House, and there is no evidence that that strong public opinion is present which would justify us in doing what we could only do by submitting legislation to Parliament. This could not be done by a scheme drawn up by a Committee such as that suggested by the noble Earl. We also object, as I have already hinted, to what we believe would be the cost of this scheme. The noble Earl's demands, I admit at once, are very modest, but Lord Roberts would obviously, from the extract which is quoted, go a great deal further. Indeed, very much more extensive demands have been put forward in times past by the noble Earl himself and by those who think with him. It would naturally be argued that if you made military drill compulsory in schools you would have to pay for it. The same argument was used at the time compulsory education was introduced. We were told that if we forced children to be educated we must give them that education for nothing. We would, therefore, have to provide instructors; we would have to provide accommodation in the schools for instructing the masters; and we would have to provide rifle ranges, rifles, and ammunition.

From the report of a deputation which waited on Mr. Brodrick when my right hon. friend was Secretary of State for War in 1901, I find that the noble Earl himself asked for a grant of 10s. As there are some 60,000 to 70,000 scholars in the secondary schools of this country your Lordships will understand that we should be starting upon a line that might lead us to very considerable expense in the future if we now acceded to the noble Earl's wishes. I notice that one member of the deputation advocated the measure as a means of assistance to clergymen in their parish work. Though I do not wish to say anything disrespectful of parish work, I hardly think this is an ideal to secure which the War Office need necessarily take steps in advance. It is quite true the Colonies do a great deal more than we do in this direction but the Colonies have no big Army to maintain. They are to be congratulated upon the fact that they are able to find money for this purpose, but I am afraid we cannot see our way in this country to do so at any early date. In view of this financial difficulty—a difficulty which I notice was pointed out to the noble Earl by Lord Roberts himself at this deputation in 1901—I am afraid I cannot see that any practical good would be obtained by the appointment of a Committee such as the noble Earl suggests.

It is quite true, as my noble friend Earl Egerton and the noble Lord behind me, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, said, that there is another side to this question, and one which is almost, if not quite, as important as the question of drill, and that is the physical improvement of our people, and no one has shown himself more enthusiastic in that direction than the noble Earl himself. I have always taken, I hope not without success, some interest in the proper development of the human frame, and my experience has led me to believe in the same system of development as that in connection with which the noble Earl is such an enthusiast—the Swedish system, and London owes a great debt of gratitude to the noble Earl for presenting not very long ago a complete system of Swedish apparatus to one of our schools in the South of London. A Committee was assembled by my noble friend the Lord President of the Council, last year, I think.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (The Marquess of LONDONDERRY): Together with the Scottish Office.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Together with the Scottish Office. The noble Marquess assembled a Committee, and this Committee drew up a new syllabus in connection with physical education which, I believe, has given universal satisfaction. I cannot help fearing that whilst the time at the disposal of physical exercises is not very great in our schools, if we were to impose compulsory drill upon them there might be a danger of that drill being carried out to the sacrifice of some of the time now devoted to physical development, and I myself believe that that would be every bit as disadvantageous to the Army as it would be to the nation at large. I always regret giving an unfavourable answer to one whom I know is enthusiastic in the cause which he advocates, but I hope I have said enough to show that we are not unreasonable in taking up the position that we do, and stating that it is impossible for us to meet the noble Earl's wishes at the present moment.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock, till tomorrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 20th February, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

ABERDARE TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To enable the Aberdare Urban District Council to make and maintain tramways and street improvements; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

ACCRINGTON CORPORATION BILL.

"To authorise the Corporation of Accrington to construct and work tramways; to execute street works and improvements; and to make further provision for the improvement, local government, and health of the borough of Accrington; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

ACCRINGTON DISTRICT GAS AND WATER BOARD BILL.

"To authorise the Accrington District Gas and Water Board to make new waterworks; to extend their limits of supply for gas and water; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

ACTON SEWAGE BILL.

"To authorise the Urban District Council of Acton to construct and maintain sewerage and sewage outfall works; and to make further provision for the admission of sewage into the Metropolitan Main Drainage System from a portion of the Urban District of Acton; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

ANDOVER LIGHTING AND POWER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Andover Lighting and Power Company; and for other purposes, presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

AYLESBURY GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Aylesbury Gas Company," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BAKER STREET AND WATERLOO RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Company," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BIRMINGHAM CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Birmingham to construct additional tramways; to make certain street works; to amend certain provisions of the Acts relating to their waterworks undertaking; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

BOLTON CORPORATION BILL.

"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Bolton to construct additional waterworks; to make street improvements; to confer upon them further powers with respect to the supply of electricity, streets, buildings, sewers, and drains, and with respect to the local government and health of the borough; to raise additional money; to make further provisions as to rates and rating in the borough; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

BOOTLE CORPORATION BILL.

"To extend the borough of Bootle; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

BRENTWOOD GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Brentwood Gas Company," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BRISTOL CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Bristol to execute works; to make further provision for the improvement, health, local government, and finance of the city of Bristol; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

BROMPTON, CHATHAM, GILLINGHAM, AND ROCHESTER WATER BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Brompton, Chatham, Gillingham, and Rochester Waterworks Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CENTRAL LONDON RAILWAY BILL.

"To empower the Central London Railway Company to construct new railways; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CHANNEL FERRY RAILWAY AND QUAY BILL.

"To incorporate the Channel Ferry Railway and Quay Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

CHARING CROSS, EUSTON, AND HAMPSTEAD RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CHELSEA ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BILL.

"For providing for the extinction of the Founders' Shares of the Chelsea Electricity Supply Company (Limited), and the substitution therefor of Ordinary Shares in the capital of that Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CITY OF LONDON (ESCAPE FROM FIRE) BILL.

"For the provision of means of escape from fire in and upon buildings within the City of London," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

CLAY CROSS RAILWAY (ABANDONMENT) BILL.

"For the abandonment of the Clay Cross Railway; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

COLNE CORPORATION BILL.

"For making further and better provision in regard to the markets and the supply of gas, water, and electricity by the Corporation of Colne, and the improvement, health, and good government of the borough; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

CORK JUNCTION RAILWAYS BILL.

"To incorporate the Cork Junction Railways Company, and for making railways in the county borough of Cork and in the East Riding of the county of Cork, and to confer working agreement, subscription, and other powers on certain existing railway companies and others;

and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CROYDON CORPORATION BILL.

"To divide the West Ward of the county borough of Croydon, and to increase the number of aldermen and councillors; to authorise the Corporation of the borough to construct and work additional tramways, and to execute certain street improvements; to make further provision for the government and for the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of the borough; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time,

CROYDON GAS BILL.

"To provide for the transfer to the Croydon Gas Company of the undertaking of the Caterham and District Gas Company; to extend the limits of supply of the Croydon Gas Company; to authorise that Company to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

DUBLIN CORPORATION (SUPERANNUATION) BILL.

"To enable the Corporation of the City of Dublin to grant pensions or other superannuation allowances to artisans, workmen, labourers, and servants in their service, in certain cases; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

DUBLIN UNITED TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To transfer the undertakings of the Dublin United Tramways Company and the Dublin Southern District Tramways Company to the Dublin United Tramways Company (1896), Limited, and to amend the Acts relating to those companies; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

DUBLIN, WICKLOW, AND WEXFORD RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company in relation to their general undertaking, and their separate undertaking of the New Ross and Waterford Extension Railways; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

EALING CORPORATION BILL.

"To confer upon the Corporation of the borough of Ealing further powers with respect to their electric lighting undertaking, and with respect to the regulation of streets and buildings, sanitary matters, recreation grounds, and milk supply; and to vest in the Corporation the appointment of collectors of poor rates; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

EDGWARE AND HAMPSTEAD RAILWAY BILL.

"To authorise a deviation of part of the Edgware and Hampstead Railway; and to confer further powers on the Edgware and Hampstead Railway Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

EPPING GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Epping Gas Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GAS LIGHT AND COKE, SOUTH METROPOLITAN, AND COMMERCIAL GAS COMPANIES BILL.

"To amend the Acts relating to the Gas Light and Coke, South Metropolitan, and Commercial Gas Companies with regard to the testing of gas, procedure for forfeitures, and otherwise," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT BERKHAMPSTEAD GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Great Berkhampstead Gas Light and Coke Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"For conferring further powers on the Great Eastern Railway Company; for enabling the Great Northern and Great Eastern Joint Committee to acquire additional lands; for extending the periods limited for the completion of works by the Company, the Hertfordshire County Council, and the Epping Rural District Council, and for the purchase of lands by the Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT NORTHERN (IRELAND) AND MIDLAND RAILWAYS BILL.

"To provide for the vesting of the undertaking of the Donegal Railway Company in the Midland Railway Company and in a Joint Committee of that Company and the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland); to incorporate such Joint Committee and to transfer to that Committee certain of the powers of the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland) in connection with the undertaking of the Strabane and Letterkenny Railway Company; to confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland); and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT NORTHERN, PICCADILLY, AND BROMPTON RAILWAY (No. 1) BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Great Northern. Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway Company," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT NORTHERN, PICCADILLY, AND BROMPTON RAILWAY (No. 2) BILL.

"To empower the Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway Company to construct new railways in extension of their authorised railways; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY BILL.

"To authorise the construction of a bridge over the River Witham at Langrick Ferry, and to confer powers on the Great Northern Railway Company and the county councils of the administrative counties of the parts of Lindsey and the parts of Holland, in the county of Lincoln, with reference thereto; to confer powers on the company with reference to certain footpaths and the purchase of lands; to confirm the purchase of certain lands by the Great Northern and Great Eastern Joint Committee; to extend the time limited for the completion of certain works and the purchase of certain lands by the company; to authorise the abandonment of certain authorised railways at Grantham; to empower the Horncastle Railway Company to raise further moneys by borrowing; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY (ADDITIONAL POWERS) BILL.

"For conferring further powers upon the Great Western Railway Company in respect of their own undertaking, and upon that Company and the London and North Western Railway Company in respect of an undertaking in which they are jointly interested, and upon the Great Western and Metropolitan Railway Companies in respect of an undertaking in which they are jointly interested, for amalgamating the Wye Valley Railway Company and the Lambourn Valley Railway Company with the Great Western Railway Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY (NEW RAILWAYS) BILL.

"For empowering the Great Western Railway Company to construct new railways; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

HALIFAX CORPORATION BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of Halifax with respect to the disposal of liquid trade refuse; and for the construction of additional tramways and street widenings; and in regard to streets and buildings; and for the health, local government, and improvement of the borough; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

HIGHAM AND HUNDRED OF HOO WATER BILL.

"To empower the Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water Company to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

HITCHIN AND DISTRICT GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Hitchin Gas Company, Limited; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK BILL.

"To extend the time for the purchase of lands and completion of works authorised by the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (South Yorkshire Extension Lines) Act, 1902; to amend the Acts relating to the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills

ILFRACOMBE HARBOUR AND IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To confirm an agreement for the acquisition by the Ilfracombe Urban District Council of part and the lease (with an option of purchase) of the remainder of the Ilfracombe Pier and Harbour undertaking, including Lantern Hill and other lands held therewith; and to enable the Council to carry out street improvements; and to make further and better provision for the improvement, health, local government, and finance of the district; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

LIVERPOOL CORPORATION BILL.

"For conferring on the Corporation of the City of Liverpool further powers for the protection of the public health; for the better prevention of smoke nuisance, for the regulation of public meetings, and for licensing cattle drovers; for making provisions as to the acquisition of lands by the Corporation and as to the repayment of moneys borrowed by the Corporation for certain objects; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"For conferring further powers upon the London and North Western Railway Company in relation to their own undertaking and upon that Company, in conjunction with the Great Western Railway Company and the Furness Railway Company, in relation to their respective joint undertakings; and upon the North and South Western Junction Railway Company in respect of their undertaking and upon the London and North Western Railway Company in relation to the undertaking of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON BUILDING ACTS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

"To amend the Acts relating to buildings in London; to confer various powers on the London County Council; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS) BILL.

"To empower the London County Council to execute works and to acquire lands and utilise other lands; to make provisions with respect to milk supply and sale of food and drugs; to authorise the extension of Hampstead Heath and the exchange of lands in connection with parks, commons, and open spaces; to extend the time for the completion of certain authorised works; to provide for the licensing of employment agencies; to empower councils of metropolitan boroughs to supply electric fittings; to confer further powers upon the Council of the Metropolitan Borough of Battersea with respect to Latchmere Allotments;

to provide for contributions by the councils of metropolitan boroughs to expenditure by the London County Council; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (TRAMWAYS) BILL.

"To enable the London County Council to construct and work tramways in the County of London, and to deviate the authorised subway from Southampton Row to the Victoria Embankment; to extend the time limited for the completion of certain authorised tramways; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

LONDON GAS BILL.

"To amend the Acts relating to the supply of gas in London, and to make further provisions with reference thereto," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

LONDON PORT AND DOCKS COMMISSION BILL.

"To constitute and incorporate a Commission for the administration of the Port of London and for transferring to the Commission the undertakings of certain dock companies and certain powers and duties of the Conservators of the River Thames and the Watermen's Company; and for other purposes connected therewith," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

LONDON SOUTHERN TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To authorise the use on the tramways of the London Southern Tramways Company of mechanical power and to empower that Company to purchase lands and construct works; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON UNITED TRAMWAYS (EXTENSION OF TIME) BILL.

"To extend the time limited by the London United Tramways Act, 1901, and the London United Tramways Act, 1902, for the construction of tramways and the acquisition of lands," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LOUGHBOROUGH CORPORATION BILL.

"To extend the time limited for the construction of waterworks by the Loughborough Corporation Act, 1897, and to enable the Corporation to purchase further lands, and to borrow further moneys for their waterworks; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

METROPOLITAN ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To confer powers on the Metropolitan Electric Tramways, Limited, for widening and altering roads and acquiring lands in the county of Middlesex; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

METROPOLITAN PNEUMATIC DESPATCH BILL.

"For incorporating the Metropolitan Pneumatic Despatch Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

MIDLAND RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer additional powers upon the Midland Railway Company for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

MORLEY CORPORATION BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Morley in relation to their water and electric lighting undertakings; and to make further provision in regard to the health, improvement, and good government of the said borough; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer additional powers upon the North Eastern Railway Company for the construction of new railways, dock works, and other works, and the acquisition of lands; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY (STEAM VESSELS) BILL.

"To authorise the North Eastern Railway Company to own and use vessels for the conveyance of traffic between the ports of Hull and Goole and certain Continental ports, and to subscribe to the funds of steamship companies; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

NORTH EAST LONDON RAILWAY BILL.

"For incorporating the North East London Railway Company, and for empowering them to construct railways from the City of London to Walthamstow, Epping Forest, Waltham Abbey, and Cheshunt; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

NORTH SUSSEX GAS BILL.

"To incorporate the North Sussex Gas Company, and to enable that company to supply with gas certain parishes in the county of Sussex," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

NORWICH UNION LIFE INSURANCE SOCIETY BILL.

"To alter the constitution of the Norwich Union Life Insurance Society by substituting a Memorandum and Articles of Association for its existing Laws and Regulations, and to repeal the Acts relating to such Society; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

NOTTINGHAM AND RETFORD RAILWAY BILL.

"To extend the time for the purchase of lands for and the completion of railways authorised by the Nottingham and Retford Railway Act, 1902; to amend that Act in various respects; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

OTLEY GAS AND IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To empower the Urban District Council of Otley to supply gas, and to provide for the transfer of the undertaking of the Otley Gas Company to the Council, and to make further and better provision with regard to the improvement, health, local government, and finance of the district; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

RATHMINES AND RATHGAR EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To extend the boundaries of the Rathmines and Rathgar Urban District; to confer further powers on the Urban District Council of Rathmines and Rathgar with respect to streets and sanitary and other matters for the improvement and good government of their district; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

RHONDDA URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL BILL.

"To extend the time for the purchase of land and construction of waterworks, tramways, street widenings, and other works by the Rhondda Urban District Council; to authorise the Council to construct new gasworks; and to confer upon the Council further powers with regard to the health, improvement, and local government of the district; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

ROTHERHAM, MALTBY, AND LAUGHTON RAILWAY BILL.

"For incorporating the Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Company, and authorising them to construct railways in the west riding of the county of York; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

SALE OF BREAD (LONDON) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Sale of Bread in the county of London; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

SEAHAM GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Seaham Gas and Lighting Company," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SHROPSHIRE AND WORCESTERSHIRE ELECTRIC POWER BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Shropshire and Worcestershire Electric Power Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

SKEGNESS WATER BILL.

"To incorporate and confer powers upon the Skegness Water Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

SOUTHAMPTON AND WINCHESTER GREAT WESTERN JUNCTION RAILWAY (ABANDONMENT) BILL.

"For the abandonment of the Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS BILL.

"To provide for the retirement of the gas referees appointed in relation to the testing of gas supplied in the Metropolis; to empower the South Metropolitan Gas Company to purchase lands; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SOUTH OXFORDSHIRE WATER AND GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the South Oxfordshire Water and Gas Company," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SOUTH SUBURBAN GAS BILL.

"To alter the provisions of the Acts relating to the South Suburban Gas Company with respect to the illuminating power of gas supplied by them and the testing of gas; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SOUTH WALES ELECTRICAL POWER DISTRIBUTION COMPANY BILL.

"To transfer to and vest in the South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company the undertaking of the Carmarthenshire Electric Power Company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

STOCKPORT CORPORATION BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of Stockport with reference to the construction of waterworks and otherwise for the better local government and improvement of the borough; and to make provision with reference to the borrowing powers of the Corporation; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

SUNDERLAND AND SOUTH SHIELDS WATER BILL.

"To authorise the Sunderland and South Shields Water Company to construct additional waterworks; to raise additional capital; to extend the limits of supply of the company; to confer further powers upon the company; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SWANSEA CORPORATION BILL.

"To make provision for the acquisition by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Swansea of the undertaking of the Swansea Improvements and Tramways Company; and to confer further powers upon the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses in regard to their water undertaking; and the acquisition of lands for street improvements; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

THAMES CONSERVANCY BILL.

"To confer further money and other powers on the Conservators of the River Thames for the deepening, widening, and improvement of its bed and channel; to provide for the licensing of persons in charge of launches propelled by mechanical power on the River Thames; to amend the Thames Conservancy Act, 1894; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

ULSTER AND CONNAUGHT LIGHT RAILWAYS BILL.

"To authorise the Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Company to acquire additional lands; to extend the time limited by the Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway Act, 1900, and the Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Act, 1903, for the compulsory purchase of lands for the purposes thereof, and for the completion of the Railways thereby authorised; to sanction the purchase of the Bessbrook and Newry Railway; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WALKER AND WALLSEND UNION GAS BILL.

"To empower the Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Company to acquire additional lands and construct additional works; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WEYBRIDGE AND WALTON-UPON-THAMES ELECTRIC SUPPLY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Urban Electric Supply Company, Limited, with respect to their electric lighting undertakings in the urban districts of Weybridge and Walton-on-Thames respectively; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WHITECHAPEL AND BOW RAILWAY BILL.

"To authorise the Whitechapel and Bow Railway Company to raise additional capital; and the London, Tilbury, and Southend and Metropolitan District Railway Companies to subscribe thereto; and to raise additional capital for that purpose; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WOOLWICH BOROUGH COUNCIL BILL.

"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors of the Metropolitan Borough of Woolwich to widen Wickham Lane, Bexley, and to acquire lands for various purposes; and to confer upon the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors further powers with respect to their electrical undertaking; and to make further provisions in regard to the health and government of the borough; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and ordered to be read a second time.

WREXHAM GAS BILL.

"For conferring further powers on the Wrexham Gaslight Company," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LEEDS CORPORATION (CONSOLIDATION) BILL (IN PURSUANCE OF STANDING ORDER OF 10th AUGUST, 1904).

Read the first and second time, and (the Bill having been reported and considered in Session 1904 of Parliament) read the third time, and passed.

PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

The Chairman of Ways and Means reported, That, after conferring with the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords for the purpose of determining in which House of Parliament the respective Bills should be first considered, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, they had determined that the following Bills should originate in the House of Lords, viz.:—Clyde Navigation; Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution). Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.

Petition from Liddesdale, for continuance; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.

Petition from Bristol, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

DIFFERENTIAL DUTIES.

Copy presented, of Return of Differential Duties imposed, raised, reduced, or repealed in the years 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1853, and 1860, stating (1) the rate of duty levied, and (2) the revenue derived from, and the quantities imported of, the articles concerned in the three years preceding and in the three years following such change [by Command]: to lie upon the Table.

NAVY (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).

Copy presented, of the Appropriation Account of the Navy for 1903–4, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon, and upon the Store Accounts of the Navy [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 43.]

NATIONAL DEBT (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).

Account presented, of the Gross Amount of all Moneys received and paid by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of the Fund for Military Savings Banks, from 19th September, 1845, to the 5th January, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 44.]

ARMY (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).

Copy presented, of the Appropriation Account for 1903–4, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon, and upon the Store Accounts of the Army [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 45.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 16th February, 1905, declaring that Edward George Gausden, Labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Copy presented, of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Stafford Prison [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TREATY SERIES (No. 3, 1905).

Copy presented, of Agreements between the United Kingdom and France referring to arbitration the grant of the French flag to Muscat dhows. Signed at London, 13th October, 1904, and 13th January, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3324 and 3325 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (BRITISH EMPIRE).

Copy presented, of Statistical Abstract for the British Empire in each year from 1889 to 1903. First Number [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BANKRUPTCY (RULES).

Copy presented, of General Rules, dated 5th January, 1905, in pursuance of Section 127 of The Bankruptcy Act, 1883 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts).—Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901; *Mr. Griffith Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 46.]

Bank of England. — Copy of all applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for advances to Government authorised by Parliament, from 5th January, 1904, to 5th January, 1905 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 47.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Plans of New Processional Road into Charing Cross.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether he will have placed in the Tea Room plans showing how the opening of the Mall into Charing Cross will be carried out, and also drawings of any architectural features that are to form part of the general design.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) These drawings will be placed in the Tea Room at the earliest date possible.

Promotion and Retirement of Abstractor Clerks in the War Office.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, before replying to the Question put on August 15th last,† he was made aware that the calculation asked for in the cases of the three abstractor clerks superannuated from the War Office at the respective ages of 60, 62, and 60, had been made by that office, and showed that £564 was the actual minimum loss that must be sustained by one of these clerks, owing to his being compulsorily retired at 60 years of age while efficient and with less than 40 years of service; and whether, in view of the pension of £69 per annum granted to a clerk compulsorily retired in 1897 owing to acute incapacity, he will cause an open official inquiry into the treatment of the efficient clerks selected for beneficial promotion from temporary copyists, through which the State has so materially gained in money.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxl., 559.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) I regret I am unable to add to the ample information which has already been given to the hon. Baronet on this subject.

Landing of Fish Illegally Trawled in the Moray Firth.

MR. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire): To ask the Lord Advocate whether, in view of the recommendation by the Fishery Board for Scotland in favour of closing all ports in the Kingdom to fish illegally trawled in the Moray Firth, legislation to effect this purpose will be introduced this session.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) The Secretary for Scotland would be glad if the Law affecting the sale of fish caught by trawlers in the Moray Firth were identical in England with that prevailing in Scotland, but on the question of legislation he will confer in the first instance with the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

Imports of Sugar from Brazil.

MR. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Owestry): To ask the President of the Board of Trade what were the imports of sugar into this country from Brazil during the last three years; what are the total exports from this country to Brazil; and whether any communication has been received by His Majesty's Government from the Brazilian Government with respect to the proposed exclusion of Brazilian sugar from this country by the Brussels Convention.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The imports of sugar from Brazil into the United Kingdom during the last three years were:—1902, 578,030 cwts.; 1903, 78,761 cwts.; 1904, 84,301 cwts. The value of British exports from the United Kingdom to Brazil in 1904 was £5,867,701. The only communication received from the Brazilian Government with regard to the Sugar Convention is a copy of the despatch addressed to the Belgian Government, the purport of which is stated in the printed correspondence (Cd. 2349, p. 10).

Construction of H.M.S. "Orion."

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what steps are being taken towards the construction of the armoured cruiser "Orion."

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The information desired will be contained in the Explanatory Statement which will shortly be issued by the First Lord of the Admiralty with the Navy Estimates.

Postal Facilities in the North of Ireland.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether it is proposed to increase the postal facilities between the North of Ireland and England viâ Greenore; and if he will consider in connection with any such proposal the advisability of authorising letters to be carried from the stations on the Clogher Valley line by the afternoon trains, thus allowing replies to correspondence to be sent on the same day as the receipt thereof

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am considering the question of improving the mail service between England and the North of Ireland, and the desire of the residents in the Clogher Valley district to participate in any improvement shall receive attention before a decision is arrived at.

Memorial of Belfast Postal Employees.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can state on whose authority the postal superintendent at Belfast, on receipt of a memorial from individual members of the staff, questioned the memorialist as to whether or not assistance was secured by him in preparing the memorial, and demanded the name of the official who rendered such assistance; and was it with his sanction that a male learner was recently severely reprimanded in the name of the Postmaster-General for hesitating to divulge the name of the individual to whom he was indebted under such circumstances.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) As I explained to the hon. Member in my letter of the 30th of November, the superintendent saw that the memorial to which he refers related to an instruction to the postmaster which had not been circulated to the staff, and he acted rightly under the postmaster's authority in inquiring how information had been obtained in regard to instructions which were regarded, and properly regarded, as confidential. A male learner, who refused at first to answer these inquiries, was warned, under my authority, that such refusal was regarded as an act of insubordination.

Learners in Belfast Post Office.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Postmaster-General if he can state why male learners at Belfast have been informed that they can no longer be relieved from school attendance after they have earned a full proficiency certificate; and whether, in view of the fact that this alteration of the rule involves their giving a four hours per day attendance gratuitously, he will cause an inquiry to be held into this matter.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) As I explained to the hon. Member very fully in my letter of the 30th November last, the instructions which had been issued giving the postmaster authority to excuse the learners at Belfast from further school attendance as soon as they were certified to be fully qualified were subsequently modified to the extent that the postmaster was authorised to use his own discretion in the interests of the learners and of the service as regards requiring a continuance of school attendance. It was found that regular daily practice is necessary to enable qualified learners to maintain their qualifications, and it is very undesirable, therefore, to excuse the fully qualified learners from further school attendance.

Restrictions on Movement of Irish Swine.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether he will state (1) what steps were taken by the English Board of Agriculture, before issuing the recent Order imposing restrictions on the movement of Irish swine in this country, to ascertain the extent to which swine fever existed in Ireland; (2) whether the Irish Department of Agriculture was consulted; and, if so, what opinion was expressed by that Department; (3) and whether he can state the number of cases of swine fever which occurred in England and Ireland respectively during the year 1904 amongst pigs reared therein.

MR. DELANY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, (1) whether the Department of Agriculture made any representations to the English Board of Agriculture with reference to the recent Order of the latter body placing restrictions on the importations of Irish swine; (2) and whether, considering the importance of the pig-rearing industry to the poorer districts of Ireland, and in view of the fact that swine fever is practically non-existent in the country, he will take steps to have the Order revoked.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) Perhaps I may be allowed to include in my reply an Answer to the hon. Member's Question addressed to my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Board were in frequent communication with the Irish Department of Agriculture prior to the passing of the Order to which the hon. Member refers, and they gave the fullest consideration to the desire expressed by the Department that if possible the imposition of any restrictions on the movement of swine from Ireland into Great Britain should be avoided. The number of outbreaks which occurred in Great Britain and Ireland last year was 1,196 and 182 respectively, but the figures are not in any way comparable, the definition of an outbreak differing materially in the two countries. I may add that the recent action of the Board was founded upon the fact that in Ireland no precautionary measures are taken against the movement of diseased swine or of swine which may have been exposed to infection, such as those which have been adopted with so much success in

Great Britain. Experience has shown that the Board cannot, consistently with safety against the introduction of disease, accord more favourable treatment to Irish swine than is allowed in the case of pigs moved from one part of Great Britain to another.

Dir and Nowagai.

Sir BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for India what is the distance by road from the British-Indian frontier to the chief town of the Khan of Dir; whether the movable column, under orders to proceed from Malakshand to intervene between that Chief and the Khan of Nowagai, has already marched; and whether the Khan of Dir receives any subsidy from the Indian Government.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The distance from Dargai to Dir is about ninety miles. At the end of December a movable column was ordered to be in readiness to move to Chandara if required, but I have received no information that the necessity has arisen. In 1895 an agreement was made with the father of the present Nawab of Dir under which, in return for certain services, he received a subsidy of Rs. 10,000 a year. The present Nawab has been recognised by the Government of India, and presumably the arrangement with his father holds good.

The Lucan Estate.

Dr. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what extent of the Lucan Estate, in the Westport Union, has been sold to the Congested Districts Board from 1898 to the present date; what is the amount of the acreage which has been distributed amongst tenants for the relief of congestion during that time; what is the number of acres in the hands of the Congested Districts Board; what is the cause of the delay in the distribution of the portion in the hands of the Board, and whether, considering the distress prevailing in the Westport Union at present, he will urge the Board to commence the distribution of such lands at once.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) In 1899 the Congested Districts Board agreed to purchase from Lord Lucan 233 acres in the Westport Union, which were conveyed to the Board in December, 1904, and are now in the occupation of nine tenants. In 1900 the Board agreed to buy 355 acres in the same union, and in 1903 a further lot of 37,535 acres from Lord Bingham on the same estate in the union. The fee of the second lot, 355 acres, was conveyed to the Board in December, 1904, but the land is still in the occupation of Lord Lucan's tenant, who is now under notice to quit. Owing to the change of procedure caused by the Land Act of 1903 the last lot, 37,535 acres, has not yet been conveyed to the Board, but it is expected it will be conveyed a couple of months hence. There is, consequently, no part of the estate in the Westport Union in the occupation of the Board at present.

Distress in Achill Island.

Dr. AMBROSE: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will use his influence with the Congested Districts Board with a view to inducing that Board to start relief works in Achill Island, in order to enable the inhabitants of the island to tide over the distress caused by the failure of the crops.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Congested Districts Board is not authorised to undertake works for the relief of distress. This is the function of the Guardians of the Westport Union, who have prepared schemes for the purpose and will, I understand, submit them to the Local Government Board in the course of a few days.

Strength of Metropolitan Volunteer Regiments.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the strength in officers and members, excluding cadets, on 31st January, 1905, of each of the following corps of Metropolitan Volunteers, namely: Queen's Westminsters, London Scottish, Artists, Civil Service, St. George's, London Rifle Brigade, London Irish, and Inns of Court; how it compares with 31st January, 1902, 1903, and 1904; and by how many officers and Volunteers these eight corps are now short of their establishment.

(Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.) The figures available are as follows:—

	Strength on				Establishment on 1/1/05.	Short of Establishment.
	1/1/02.	1/1/03.	1/1/04.	1/1/05.		
13th Middlesex Vol. Rifle Corps (Queens)						
Officers - - - -	55	56	50	47	60	13
N.C.O.s and men - -	1,639	1,526	1,284	1,027	1,825	798
Total - -	1,694	1,582	1,334	1,074	1,885	811
7th Middlesex (London Scottish)						
Officers - - - -	36	36	33	33	33	—
N.C.O.s and men - -	863	813	667	580	1,127	547
Total - -	999	849	700	613	1,160	547
20th Middlesex (Artists)						
Officers - - - -	42	38	35	31	43	12
N.C.O.s and men - -	978	735	559	490	1,353	863
Total - -	1,020	773	594	521	1,396	875
12th Middlesex (Civil Service)						
Officers - - - -	37	33	34	35	36	1
N.C.O.s and men - -	848	740	632*	690†	1,128	438
Total - -	885	773	666	725	1,164	439
1st Middlesex (Victoria and St. George's)						
Officers - - - -	37	35	26	29	38	9
N.C.O.s and men - -	836	782	605	508	1,151	643
Total - -	873	817	631	537	1,189	652
1st London (London Rifle Brigade)						
Officers - - - -	45	39	33	28	40	12
N.C.O.s and men - -	912	741	605	516	1,352	836
Total - -	957	780	638	544	1,392	848
16th Middlesex (London Irish)						
Officers - - - -	35	29	26	26	43	17
N.C.O.s and men - -	1,035	873	678	634	1,353	719
Total - -	1,070	902	704	660	1,396	736
14th Middlesex (Inns of Court)						
Officers - - - -	31	29	28	26	33	7
N.C.O.s and men - -	677	549	451	402	924	522
Total - -	708	578	479	428	957	529

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* Including 34 Cadets who are enrolled Volunteers. † Including 107 Cadets who are enrolled Volunteers.

Embargo on Canadian Cattle Importation.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether the Home Government has received a despatch from the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada complaining of a misapprehension of Canadian opinion by the British Minister of Agriculture regarding the embargo on the importation of Canadian cattle; if so, whether an answer has been sent to that despatch, and whether copies of the despatches can be laid upon the Table of the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) I would refer the hon. Member to my reply to the hon. Member for East Perthshire on the 16th inst.,† in which I stated that we had been assured by the Canadian Government that public feeling and opinion in the Dominion were still in favour of the repeal of the existing statutory restrictions on the importation of live animals into this country, so far as Canadian cattle are concerned. A suitable acknowledgment has been sent, but we do not think that the publication of the correspondence is necessary, especially in view of the communication to the Press, recently issued by the High Commissioner, which fully sets out the views of his Government on the subject.

Revenue of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the figures of revenue and expenditure of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony respectively for the six months ending 31st December, 1904, and the estimated figures to 30th June, 1905, also the Inter-Colonial revenue and expenditure for the same periods.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The ordinary revenue of the Transvaal for the six months ending on the 31st of December was £1,865,000, and the ordinary expenditure £1,911,000, which includes a contribution of £500,000 to the Inter-Colonial Council. Figures for the Orange River Colony have not yet reached me for a later period than the five months ended on the 30th of November. For that period the ordinary revenue of the colony was £303,000, and the expenditure £287,000, including a contribution of £30,000 to the Inter-Colonial Council. The ordinary revenue and expenditure of the Inter-Colonial Council for the six months ending on the 31st of December were £1,247,000 and £1,219,000 respectively. The Estimates for the twelve months ending on 30th June, 1905, were as follows—

	Transvaal.	Orange River Colony.	Inter-Colonial Council.
	£	£	£
Revenue -	4,283,000	771,700	2,586,000
Expenditure	4,157,000	760,000	2,588,000

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Ullapool Royal Naval Reserve Station.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state what progress has been made with the establishment of a Royal Naval Reserve Station at Ullapool, Ross-shire.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham): The site for this station has been obtained; contract particulars are ready, and tenders are being invited. The work will be commenced immediately upon the acceptance of the tender.

Board of Admiralty Administration.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any changes have recently been made in the system of administration or the distribution of business and responsibilities among members of the Board of Admiralty and heads of departments; and, if so, whether he will lay upon the Table a statement showing the new system and that which it superseded or altered.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): A statement showing the present distribution of business between the various members of the Board of Admiralty, and that which it superseded, is now being printed, and will shortly be laid upon the Table of the House. There have been no important changes in respect to the business and responsibilities of heads of departments.

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†See page 320.

The New Rifle.

SIR JOHN COLOMB: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the adoption of the short rifle for general use of the Army was sanctioned and approved by the Commander-in-Chief before the abolition of that office.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): Yes, Sir. In 1901 the Commander-in-Chief decided that it was most important that the manufacture of the modified shortened Lee-Enfield Rifle should be proceeded with without delay.

Automatic Fuse Setters.

MR. SOAMES (Norfolk, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he has any information whether an automatic fuse setter is in use in any Continental armies; and whether such a fitting will be supplied with the new 18-pounder guns to the British Army.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Various forms of fuse setters are in use in some of the Continental armies. The question has received and is still receiving attention in regard to the new Horse and Field Artillery equipments, but a pattern has not yet been decided on.

15-Pounder Breech-Loading Guns.

MR. SOAMES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state when the 15-pounder breech-loading guns, Mark I., were issued; how many batteries are still armed with them; and whether the new guns will first be issued to those batteries which are armed with the oldest types of guns.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The first issue of the Mark I. guns was made in 1883, and seventy batteries are still armed with guns of that issue. It is not possible at the present moment to state definitely which batteries it will be found expedient to re-arm first with the new guns.

Shooting of Private Mahon at Pekin.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that Private Mahon, of the 1st Derby Regiment, was shot dead in Legation Street, Pekin, in June last, by a non-commissioned officer of his own regiment, and that his death under these circumstances was the subject, not of a trial by Court-martial, but of investigation by a Court of inquiry conducted with secrecy, an order having been given by the Commanding Officer that any man speaking about the shooting of Private Mahon would be brought up for trial by a district Court-martial; whether the War Office authorities can give any explanation of the method of investigation thus adopted; and whether, having regard to the suspicion entertained by his Irish comrades that this man's death was not the result of misadventure, and the method of investigation adopted, steps will be taken to obtain an explanation from the Commanding Officer of his conduct in this matter, and a public and impartial investigation of the manner in which Private Mahon lost his life.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: This man was shot at Pekin by a non-commissioned officer of his own regiment, forming part of a mixed patrol, on 26th August last. The man had armed himself with a rifle and bayonet, had wounded two Chinamen, and had threatened violence to a British officer. He refused to surrender to the patrol and threatened them. The patrol then fired in self defence. A court of inquiry was, by orders of the officer commanding the troops at Pekin, held in conformity with the rules of procedure under the Army Act. The holding of this Court was in accordance with the law and the custom of the service. The proceedings of the Court were submitted to the General Officer Commanding the troops in North China, who considered that the action of the patrol was justified. In these circumstances no Court-martial is necessary. Nothing is known of any suspicions entertained by the Irish comrades of the deceased as suggested in the Question, and I can assure the hon. Member that there are no grounds whatever for entertaining the belief that the death occurred otherwise than as stated above.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Why has the Commanding Officer given orders to Court-martial any man in the regiment who presumes to speak about this Irish soldier's death?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I have no information of that.

Cost of the South African Garrison.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state the number and annual cost of the troops at present maintained in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, and the capital cost of the barracks and hutments that have been or are being erected; and is any provision being made for the repayment of the latter amount on the grant of representative government to the Colonies.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: There are at present about 17,000 troops in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. The annual cost is about £2,300,000. The capital cost of barracks, etc., is £3,200,000. No such provision as that indicated in the Question has been made.

New Army Scheme.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is proposed, under the new Army Scheme, to reduce the expenditure on the Regular Army by £792,000 on a total expenditure of £26,890,000; and to reduce the expenditure on the Volunteer Force by £300,000 on a total expenditure of £1,220,000, equal to a reduction of one-fourth of the present Estimates.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: It is not possible within the limits of a reply to a Question to give the hon. Member the information he requires, but all proposals with regard to expenditure will appear in the Army Estimates, which will shortly be submitted to the House. It is not proposed to make any reduction on the Volunteer Vote for the coming year.

White Labour in the Witwatersrand Mines.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what proportion of the 998 white men who, according to Lord Milner's report, were employed in June last in the Witwatersrand gold mines, on unskilled labour which prior to the war was performed by Kaffirs, are still employed on such labour.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): The information asked for is not available, but I have called for it.

Chinese Labour Riots.

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies under what statute a sentence of four months hard labour, with twenty lashes each, was passed on five Chinese labourers on 22nd October in connection with a riot on the Geldud Mine.

MR. LYTTELTON: Full information was given in reply to a similar Question on 16th February † which was addressed to me by the hon. Member for the Cleveland Division.

British Missionaries in the Congo Free State.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will lay upon the Table any correspondence which has passed during recent months between His Majesty's Government and the British Consul at Boma with regard to the treatment of British missionaries residing within the concession of the Abir Company in the Congo Free State.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): There is not much correspondence of the kind described which could be laid. But I will bear the hon. Member's suggestion in mind in connection with any further collection of Papers which may be presented to Parliament.

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† See page 303.

Congo Free State—Case of Monsieur Van Calcken.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state what were the charges on which Monsieur Van Calcken, the head agent of the Abir Company at Baringa in the Congo Free State, was recently arrested; and whether His Majesty's Government will instruct by cable the British Consul at Boma to forward a copy of the minutes of the trial, and of the judgment which has been delivered.

EARL PERCY: Monsieur Van Calcken was tried on the following charges:—1. Having ordered certain "gardes-forestiers" to proceed to the neighbourhood of Baringa in order to kill natives who refused to collect rubber —which order was carried out. 2. Having armed his "gardes-forestiers" with Albini rifles. 3. Having tied up and arbitrarily detained as hostages several Ngombe women. A copy of the judgment has been received from the Acting British Consul.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: Will the Papers be published?

EARL PERCY: I will consider if it can be done with other Papers. It is hardly worth while publishing them separately.

Income-Tax.

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what amount of Income-Tax has been recovered as the result of the decision of the High Court on 9th March, 1904, in the case of Rex *v.* A. Goerz and Co., Ltd.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): I am unable to give the information for which the hon. Member asks. To do so would be contrary to the accepted principle that absolute secrecy shall be maintained in regard to the business concerns of taxpayers.

MR. WHITLEY: Has any recovery been made?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, Sir.

Income-Tax Collection.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, considering the rates of taxes now being enforced, and the depression existing in some important businesses, he can see his way to suspend the recent order of the Board of Inland Revenue under which collectors of taxes are directed to close their accounts at earlier dates than last year, and to lay these rules before the House of Commons in order that an opinion may be expressed with regard to them before they are finally put into operation.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The dates for the closing of collectors' accounts have this year been fixed on a new basis, viz., by reference to the number of taxpayers in the district instead of by reference to the total amount of tax to be collected in the district. This arrangement is much fairer to the collectors, and, although it will result in an earlier closing of accounts in many districts, it by no means follows that it will necessarily create a difficulty in the way of allowing reasonable delay to taxpayers who can plead good cause for indulgence as regards date of payment. The machinery of the Board of Inland Revenue allows of such cases being dealt with without interfering with the prescribed date for closing the collector's account. The object that the hon. Member has in view can therefore be adequately insured without suspending the recent orders, which would seriously disturb and confuse the business of the Department.

MR. LOUGH: Cannot the right hon. Gentleman lay the rules before the House in such an important matter as this so that it may consider the question?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir; they are already in operation and cannot be suspended. But I will give the hon. Member a copy of the rules.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Are the threatening notices of process against those who do not pay much sooner to be put in force than has been the case before?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That Question hardly arises out of the one on the Paper. It is a little difficult to answer it properly in reply to a supplementary Question. The notices which have been issued are in exactly the same terms as those that have been used for many years past. For many years past the date at which the second notice had to be issued was 23rd January, or three weeks after the taxpayer had received his first notice. I have not altered the date, and if there has been any change it is in consequence of the first notice having been sent by post, thus causing it to be received earlier by more taxpayers. This accounts probably for more taxpayers having received the notice this year than in former years.

MR. LOUGH: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what is the authority for the statement made by the Board of Inland Revenue in a letter to the Chairman of the East Finsbury Conservative Association that Income-Tax is by law payable by all taxpayers alike on or before the 1st of January; whether, in view of the admission in a subsequent clause in the same letter that in one district of East Finsbury the accounts hitherto were not required to be closed till the 31st of May, and in another till the 30th of June, he will say whether any such law has been, in fact, enforced in this country up to the present time; and whether it is the intention of the Government to enforce such a collection.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The authority for the statement in question is Section 82 of the Taxes Management Act, 1880. It has never been the practice to employ compulsion in order to enforce literal compliance with the law in this respect, although, in fact, a certain number of taxpayers have always complied with it voluntarily. Pressure has always begun to be exercised in the fourth week of January on those who have not paid by that time, and this practice must be continued if the tax is to be collected within the financial year. There must, however, always be a certain number of cases in which, from one cause or another (appeals, removals, errors, omissions, etc.), liability may remain unsatisfied by the end of the financial year. It is merely a matter of administrative discretion to determine how long an account between the collector and the Board of Inland Revenue should be kept open for the sake of bringing in all such loose ends.

MR. LOUGH: Will any greater severity be exercised this year than in former years?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I do not desire not to give an Answer to what appears to be a very simple Question; but it is very dangerous to answer suddenly Questions of this kind across the floor of the House. I have said exactly what has been done. Complaints about the collection of Income-Tax are chronic, but some pressure must be employed if there is to be any equality in the treatment of different taxpayers, or if the revenue is to be collected at the right time. Cases deserving exceptional treatment will receive the same consideration as in other years.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Has the collection of Income-Tax in other years been inadequate under the previous system?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, Sir.

Transvaal War Loan.

*MR. McCRAE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the sum of £3,000,000 advanced to the Transvaal, and included as an asset against capital liabilities, which has been repaid by the Transvaal, has been applied to purposes of revenue expenditure.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I must ask the hon. Member to refer to the very full Answer which I gave to a Question put by him on April 21st last.† I can add nothing to the information which I then gave him.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxiii., 836.

Transvaal War Loan Guarantee.

*Mr. McCRAE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the fact that the guarantors of the first instalment of the £30,000,000 Transvaal Loan are prepared to fulfil their obligation, and having regard to the amount of the Unfunded Debt, he will arrange for the first instalment of £10,000,000 being paid before the close of the present financial year.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I informed the House as recently as Thursday last † that I was not at present in a position to make any further statement on the subject of the War Contribution.

Mr. McCRAE: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the reason for this inaction on so serious a matter?

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the right hon. Gentleman remember that the House was led to expect that this instalment would be paid in the beginning of the year 1904?

[No Answer was returned.]

Russian Duty on Indian Tea.

*Mr. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can state what is the amount of extra duty the Russian Government have put upon Indian tea, or tea coming from British Possessions, since the passing of the Sugar Convention Act, 1903.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central): The increase is about 1d. per lb., viz., from 1s. 10¼d. to 1s. 11¼d. per lb.

Withington Postmen's Pay.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he purposes placing the postmen employed within the area of the late Withington Urban District Council (now amalgamated with Manchester) on the Manchester scale of pay, seeing that those men now perform their duty within the Manchester city boundary; and, if so, how soon the increased pay will commence.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): I will consider the question, which is under consideration, but I cannot promise an immediate decision, as other cases have to be considered at the same time.

Importation of American Store Cattle.

Mr. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether he can say if it is the intention of the Government to allow American store cattle into England and Scotland immediately; and, if so, can he say whether the Government have taken into consideration the loss that must arise to Irish farmers in consequence thereof.

Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): I would refer the hon. Gentleman to my reply to a somewhat similar Question from the hon. Member for East Cork on the 16th inst.‡ I then stated that my noble friend was of opinion that any amendment of the law in the direction indicated would be undesirable.

Heavy Motor-Car Traffic—Compensation for Damage.

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Secretary of the Local Government Board if, in view of the fact that under the Statutory Rules and Orders, 1904, No. 1809, heavy motor-cars weighing up to twelve tons are permitted to be driven at a speed of twelve miles an hour, the Government will pay compensation to the local authorities for damage that may be done to the roads, bridges, and sewers, gas and water mains by such heavy motors; and if he will lay the said Rules and Orders on the Table, and give the House an opportunity of expressing its opinion thereon before bringing them into force.

The SECRETARY to the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Grant Lawson, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): The provisions in the Order referred to by the hon. Member which permit a maximum speed of twelve miles an hour, in certain circumstances, are in accordance with the recommendations of a Departmental Committee who heard evidence on the subject. I am not aware of any sufficient reason for the proposal that the Government should pay compensation to local authorities as suggested in the Question. The Order has, in accordance with the statute, been laid on the Table of the House. I am not in a position to promise any opportunity for discussing its provisions before it comes into operation.

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† See page 315.

‡ See page 319.

The Green Park.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, can he explain the object of the extensive works of excavation drainage, extending over a width of sixty feet, and bearing the appearance of the making of a broad roadway across the Green Park from the Victoria Memorial to Half Moon Street, Piccadilly. Is it intended to make a road, and, if so, what will be its extreme width, what its cost, and what its purpose; has the advice, either of the London County Council, or of any other public body, been asked for or received on the subject? Is this the same road as to which an official statement was authorised and published in November, 1903, that there was no foundation for the report that it is proposed to make a new roadway across the Green Park, and that no such scheme has ever been contemplated. And, in view of the injurious effect on the Green Park and the disfigurement of running a public road across it, and thus cutting into two the smallest of the Parks, will the scheme now being carried out be reconsidered.

*Lord BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): A path, sixty-five feet wide, is being made from the Victoria Memorial to Piccadilly; it will have a grass border of fifteen feet on either side, and will be planted on either side with a double avenue of trees. It is not intended to make a road either now or in the future.

In answer to a further Question by Mr. Gibson Bowles, Lord Balcarres said the amount of the grass which would disappear was represented by the breadth of the pathway, sixty-five feet, multiplied by its length, some 200 yards.

Mr. C. R. SPENCER (Northamptonshire, Mid.): Are we to understand that there will never be a road across the Green Park?

*Lord BALCARRES: Not in the sense of a public road along which wheeled traffic will be allowed to go.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: What is the object of the foundation of two or three feet of broken brick?

*Lord BALCARRES: I understand it is mainly for drainage purposes.

Deer Forest Return.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he will grant the Deer Forest Return, notice of which appears on the Paper.

*The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton): The Secretary for Scotland is prepared to grant a Return, as promised by his predecessor Mr. Graham Murray, if the hon. Member will first communicate with the Secretary for Scotland as to the form in which the Return is to be made.

The Return referred to is as follows—Deer Forests (Highland Crofting Counties)—Return giving the name of each Deer Forest in the six Highland Crofting Counties, amount of its assessment, and the increase or decrease in the acreage of each Forest as compared with 1883, 1891, and 1898, in the following form—

County.	Name of Deer Forest.	Assessment.	Acreage, 1883.	Acreage, 1891.	Acreage, 1898.	Acreage, 1904	Increase.	Decrease.

Moray Firth Fisheries.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate, as representing the Secretary for Scotland, whether the Report of the Mansfield Commission of Inquiry into the cause of the decline in the fishing industry on the northern shores of the Moray Firth will be laid upon the Table of the House.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The Answer to the hon. Member's Question is in the affirmative.

Congested Districts (Scotland) Act.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether the Congested Districts Act Amendment (Scotland) Bill will be introduced at an early date and facilities granted for its speedy consideration.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The Bill referred to by the hon. Member will be introduced at an early date, and will be brought on as soon as the exigencies of public business permit.

Crofters Act—Culloden Estate Tenants.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether the Secretary for Scotland has received a copy of resolutions unanimously adopted at a recent meeting of crofter leaseholders and other tenants on the Culloden Estate, in the Ferintosh district of Ross-shire, deploring the continued exclusion of leaseholders from the benefits of the Crofters Act, and urging that all tenants whose rents do not exceed £30 per annum should receive the benefits of the Act; and will he state what action it is proposed to take in the matter.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The Secretary for Scotland has not received the copy of the resolutions referred to in this Question.

MR. WEIR: I will see that a copy of the resolutions is sent to the right hon. Gentleman.

Motor Traffic Regulations in Ayrshire.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he has been furnished with a report of the inquiries held by the Local Government Board early in December on the application of the Ayrshire County Council to regulate the motor traffic within that county; when such report was received; and if the decision of the Secretary for Scotland has yet been communicated to the Ayrshire County Council.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The Answer to the first part of the hon. Member's Question is in the affirmative; the report was made on the 29th of November. The decision has practically been arrived at, and the Secretary for Scotland is at present corresponding with the Ayrshire County Council as to the details of the final form.

Scottish Lords of Session—Table of Precedence.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.): I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether, by the Warrant issued under His Majesty's Royal Sign Manual of date 3rd instant, under which every Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland on his retirement shall be entitled to retain the title of Lord with the prefix of Honourable enjoyed by him as a Lord of Session, and the wife of every Senator of the College of Justice shall be entitled to assume and use the title of Lady and to continue to use the same during the life of her husband and after his death so long as she remains a widow, it is intended to confer any precedence on such Senator or his wife or widow, and, if so, what precedence is to be given to them respectively; and whether the practice of granting title and fixing precedence in the same Warrant has been departed from in this instance, and, if so, why.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: There is at present no Table of Precedence in Scotland of any authority, and consequently it was impossible to fix precedence in the Warrant. The question of establishing a Scottish Table of Precedence by Royal Warrant is at present under consideration.

Dublin Hackney Car Licences.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will direct the Commissioner of Police in Dublin to refuse to issue any more new licences for hackney cars during the summer months, so as not to interfere with the regular trade of men who ply their avocation the whole year round, or until such time as from inquiry he finds that the needs of the public require such licences.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The conditions upon which licences may be granted are specified in Section 2 of the 17 and 18 Vict., cap. 45. The Commissioner has no power to refuse a licence in the manner suggested in the Question.

Dublin Carriage Inspector.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain why a shareholder in the Dublin Tramways Company has been appointed the carriage inspector for Dublin, in view of the fact that the interests of the cab and car owners of the city and those of the Tramways Company are opposed to one another.

MR. WYNDHAM: The carriage inspector is not, and never has been, a shareholder of the Tramway Company.

Estates Commissioners' Report.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when it is proposed to present the Report of the Estates Commissioners for the year ending December 31st, 1904, and if care will be taken to lay it upon the Table in such time as will permit adequate consideration and discussion.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when the Report of the Estates Commissioners will be laid upon the Table.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Irish Government is in correspondence with the Treasury in respect both to the form of the Report and the period to be covered by it. A decision will, it is expected, shortly be reached.

MR. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman impress on the Treasury the great inconvenience of the period ending March 31st which deprives us of an opportunity of discussing the Report of the current year. It would be much more convenient to bring it up to December 31st.

MR. WYNDHAM: I will convey that to the Treasury.

King's County and Sligo Constabulary.

*MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has the number of constabulary considered by the Lord-Lieutenant (by Order in Council of May 19th, 1903) to be required for the King's County and the county of Sligo respectively, been reduced; and what is the present number in each of these counties.

MR. WYNDHAM: The numbers of the Free Force assigned to King's County and Sligo by the Order in Council of May, 1903, were 202 and 211 respectively. These numbers have not been varied. The actual strength of the Free Force on January 31st was 176 in King's County and 197 in Sligo.

Tinahely Dispensary Officer.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether in the case of the Inquiry held in March, 1903, by Sir Acheson M'Cullagh, Local Government Board Inspector, into charges of neglect of duty, made by Mr. Patrick Coogan against Dr. Bolster, late medical officer of Tinahely Dispensary District, the accused officer's expenses were paid; and, if so, out of what fund; and can he state the grounds of the refusal of the Local Government Board to pay the expenses of the witnesses examined in support of the complainant's allegations.

MR. WYNDHAM: The expenses of Dr. Bolster were not paid by the Board, or by the guardians with the Board's consent. The Board defrayed the expenses, amounting to £2 10s. 0d., of five witnesses summoned by its inspector to attend the inquiry. It would be contrary to the invariable rule to defray the expenses of any other witnesses produced who were not summoned by the Inspector.

Land Act Rules.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any instructions in connection with the administration of the Land Act have been issued by the Lord-Lieutenant to the Estates Commissioners; and, if so, when they will be laid upon the Table.

MR. WYNDHAM: No such instructions have been issued to the Estates Commissioners. The hon. Member may, however, have in view the instructions to be issued by the Estates Commissioners for the guidance of their inspectors. The question of laying these instructions on the Table is under consideration.

In reply to a further Question by Mr. DILLON as to whether any instructions at all had been issued—

Mr. WYNDHAM said there had been Departmental instructions sent out. He would consider if they could be laid.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Did you not give a definite promise that the instructions should be laid before Parliament?

MR. WYNDHAM: No. There is a distinction to be drawn between Departmental instruction and ordinary rules.

Future Tenants in Ireland.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that there are on estates in Ireland numbers of tenants who, under pressure of eviction and from other causes, have been forced into the position of future tenants on the landlords' terms as regards rents; and whether, as such tenants are debarred from entering the Land Courts to have fair rents fixed, their cases will be specially considered by the Estates Commissioners when sanctioning sales of all estates on which such cases may arise.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is competent to tenants of this class to purchase under the Act of 1903, and the Commissioners, before making advances for the purpose, must be satisfied as to the security of the holdings.

Sir Antony MacDonnell.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if Sir Antony MacDonnell was aware before the preparation of the Dunraven proposals that for a Civil servant to take part in a political propaganda was a breach of rule; had Sir Antony, before doing so, informed any of his superiors in the Government of Ireland of his intention to do so; if so, were the proposals so made with the previous knowledge, sanction, or approval of any of such superiors, or did Sir Antony act in the matter without any encouragement or approval and absolutely on his own initiative.

MR. WYNDHAM: (1) Yes, Sir, but the question of the extent to which Civil servants may assist their friends turns on whether the assistance given is for projects of which the Ministers, under whom they serve, approve. (2) Sir Antony MacDonnell had my full leave and approval to confer with Lord Dunraven. Owing to his misunderstanding of distinctions which are clear to me, though not to him, he assisted in the formulation of proposals to which I object. (3) He informed Lord Dudley of the nature of those proposals in the belief that I would not be hostile to their public discussion.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether he objected at the time or afterwards?

MR. WYNDHAM: I objected the day I saw them.

*MR. LONSDALE asked whether, after the receipt of the reprimand by the Cabinet, and the formal severance of his connection with the movement, Sir Antony MacDonnell had not during the present year been present with the chairman and the secretary of the movement at a private meeting at which they discussed the principles and methods of devolution; and, if so, what steps would be taken by the Government?

MR. WYNDHAM: Sir Antony informs me that the suggestion in the second part of this Question is totally without foundation.

Mr. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory) asked whether Sir Antony MacDonnell did not act with the knowledge and approval of Lord Dudley, and whether the terms of his appointment did not justify him in inquiring into the conditions of Irish Government.

*Mr. LONSDALE asked whether Sir Antony MacDonnell was present at such a meeting as he had suggested.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: May I ask whether a detective has been placed to watch the movements of Sir Antony MacDonnell?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I cannot answer all these supplementary Questions. It will be quite in order to criticise these matters on the Motion before the House, and I shall then be only too glad to deal with them.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman resign his office after the speech of Lord Lansdowne last Friday?

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, before the Second Reading of the Land Bill of 1903, Sir Antony MacDonnell had informed Lord Dunraven that he was in favour of the policy of extension of administrative powers in Ireland on lines corresponding to those produced in September, 1904, and known as the devolution proposals, and had he any authority to make such a statement from any person competent to give him such authority.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am informed by Sir Antony MacDonnell that he has no recollection of having made any such statement, and believes, as a matter of fact, that he did not make it.

Land Purchase in County Cavan—Case of Owen M'Cabe.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Owen M'Cabe, of Latnadronagh Crosserlough, county Cavan, has been served with a claim for £25 by George Stewart Smith, his landlord, for using a quarry on his own farm, as he had been doing for past forty years; that this tenant previously refused the terms of purchase offered by the landlord; and, if so, whether he will introduce legislation to protect the tenants in such cases.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have no information on the first part of the Question. The respective rights of landowners and tenants in respect of quarrying are already defined by law, and it is not proposed to introduce further legislation.

Drumheel Evicted Farm.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have received a report that the bailiff and one Goggins on the George Stewart Smith Estate, county Cavan, have recently been accepted as tenants of an evicted farm at Drumheel containing some eighty Irish acres; and, if so, whether, in view of the fact that this estate consists of seven congested holdings, will the Estates Commissioners be instructed to exercise in an especial way their powers in this case, and so finally remove this alleged grievance.

Mr. WYNDHAM: A representation to this effect has been made to the Commissioners. But the estate has not otherwise come before them, and until this has been done they cannot consider the representation.

Mitchelstown Sub-Commission—Case of Michael O'Neill.

Mr. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain why the application of Mr. Michael O'Neill, Skebeen, Mitchelstown, to have a second-term rent fixed was not included in the list of cases for hearing before the Sub-Commission sitting in Mitchelstown; and whether he can state when and where the applications of Mr. O'Neill and some thirty other tenants on the Kingston Estate to have second-term rents fixed will be heard and decided upon.

MR. WYNDHAM: The cases on the list now being heard include all cases lodged prior to 1st April, 1904. The application of Mr. O'Neill and the other tenants in question were subsequently received, and will be listed for hearing at a future sitting, the date of which cannot now be stated.

Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the urban council of Granard have recently passed a resolution calling for the repeal of such sections of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, as imposes on tenants rated at £4 and under the payment of rates; whether he is aware that this clause is largely inoperative owing to the poverty of many of these tenants, and leads to annoyance to them and to the collectors of such rates; and whether it is his intention to propose legislation reimposing such rates on the landlords who formerly paid them.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is not correct to say that the provisions of the Act in this respect are inoperative. The Act was based on the principle that the occupier should be rated, and the Agricultural Grant was fixed upon this understanding. The fundamental change suggested is neither practicable nor desirable.

Doctor Pentland of Mohill.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, although frequently requested to reside in his dispensary district, Dr. Pentland, of Mohill, persists in residing in that town; and, if so, whether, in the interests of the sick poor, Dr. Pentland will be now directed to take up his residence in the dispensary district he serves, the same as other dispensary doctors in Ireland.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Local Government Board is making inquiries in this matter.

Irish Local Government Board—Public Accounts Order.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the name or names of the officials of the Local Government Board for Ireland at whose suggestion the Public Accounts Order, 1899, has been abrogated and a new series of forms of account for county, district, and urban councils set up; whether he is aware that the proposed new machinery will entail extra labour on local clerks and officials, and has been objected to as costly and unnecessary by the county councils in Ireland; and, if so, is it intended to enforce this new Order?

MR. WYNDHAM: The hon. Member's attention does not appear to have been directed to my reply to the somewhat similar Question of the 16th instant.† The recent Order was made by the Board. The reply to the concluding inquiry is in the affirmative.

Land Purchase in County Sligo.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that certain of the largest landowners in the county of Sligo have refused to sell at any price to their tenants under the provisions of the Land Act of 1903; and, if so, what steps, if any, will be taken by the Estates Commissioners to induce such landlords to sell.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have no information on the first part of the Question. The Government has no power to take action in the direction suggested.

Belfast Constabulary Doctor.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain why the position of constabulary doctor, recently vacant in one of the divisions of Belfast, has not been filled in the usual manner; and if he will give the names of the doctors to whom the work has been allocated.

MR. WYNDHAM: It was not considered necessary to fill the vacancy, and the work hitherto done by five doctors is now done by four — Dr. O'Connell, Dr. Montgomery, Dr. Maguire and Dr. O'Brien.

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† See page 322.

Mr. SLOAN: But which doctors have to do the extra work?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I cannot say.

The Rev. M. MacDonnell.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether, in view of the fact that the case against Rev. M. MacDonnell, Roman Catholic administrator, was dismissed by a majority of magistrates at Westport on the 16th instant, on the charge of knocking down and kicking a young man named MacAskall on the 6th ultimo, while under police protection, he will order further inquiry into the whole circumstances of the case.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The case has been heard and determined by the tribunal appointed by law to entertain it. I have no power to direct any further inquiry into the matter.

Poor Rate Collections in Galway.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the new Article 91 issued by the Local Government Board requires that poor rate collectors shall lodge each half year the whole amount included in their warrant, whether collected or not, before any poundage can be paid to them, if the Grand Jury of county Galway acted for a century on the opposite system, and paid poundage on the amount actually collected, and if the Galway County Council has hitherto found its rate collections satisfactory when paying poundage on the amount collected, and if the Local Government Board has stated that it is so thoroughly acquainted with the conditions prevailing in Galway that it considers itself justified in upsetting the system adopted by the county council.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Before the issue of the recent Order, twenty-eight out of thirty-three county councils in Ireland had voluntarily adopted the system prescribed by Article 91 of the Order, on the ground that it was attended with much better results than the system prevailing in the remaining five counties. With a view to uniformity and to efficiency the Board embodied in its Order the procedure adopted by the majority of the county councils.

Galway County Council Minutes.

Colonel NOLAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that regulations have lately been issued by the Local Government Board ordering county councils to forward to the Local Government Board copies of the county council minutes, and that such copies have hitherto been forwarded by the Galway County Council as a matter of courtesy, but that this courtesy did not imply a right on the part of the Local Government Board to review the proceedings of the county council unless where specifically empowered by statute to do so; and, if so, can this Order be withdrawn and matters be allowed to stand on their hitherto satisfactory footing.

Mr. WYNDHAM: To enable the Local Government Board to fulfil its statutory obligations it is essential that county councils should furnish it with copies of their minutes of proceedings which deal with certain specified matters. Since the passing of the Act of 1898, the councils have sent complete copies of all their proceedings, rather than impose on their officers the trouble of making extracts from the minutes under the specified heads. The Board's recent Order merely continued this system. It is open to the Galway County Council to communicate separately with the Board on matters in respect of which it is necessary the Board should have information, if the council prefers that course. The council has already been so informed.

Strabane Rate Collector.

Mr. WILLIAM MOORE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Irish Local Government Board have approved of the acting Nationalist Registration Inspector for North Tyrone, named Torish, being appointed a rate collector for the urban council of Strabane in that division; and, if so, whether, seeing that it will be this man's duty as rate collector to put political opponents on the register and his interest as registration agent to keep them off, he will state on what grounds the appointment has been sactioned.

Mr. WYNDHAM: In consequence of the illness of the permanent rate collector, the district council on January 12th appointed Mr. Torish to complete the collection of the second moiety of the rate for the current year. The appointment is a temporary one and was sanctioned by the Local Government Board. It was represented that Mr. Torish had been a registration agent but that he was not at present employed in that capacity nor would he be so employed during his term of office as collector.

Irish Income-Tax Collection.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has seen a copy of a circular, dated Custom House, Dublin, January 20th, 1905, and signed "Comptroller," addressed to tenants of a certain estate in Ireland, informing them that their landlord had not paid the Income-Tax due on their holdings for the year ended April 5th, 1904, and threatening to recover the tax by distraint of their property unless they put pressure upon the landlord to pay the Crown's claim within ten days; whether any tenants have been distrained to pay their landlord's Income-Tax; and whether the Comptroller has acted with his sanction.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): I also beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Comptroller of Income-Tax has written to the tenants on a certain estate in the county of Limerick threatening to distrain on their lands for the amount of Income-Tax under Schedule A, due by their landlord in respect of same for the year ending April 5th, 1904, unless they are prepared to put pressure on the landlord to pay the claim; and, if so, will he say whether this is the usual practice of the Inland Revenue Department; and will he take steps to prevent it.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Board of Inland Revenue inform me that the letter in question was issued by the Comptroller of Stamps and Income-Tax in Dublin in certain cases in which it had been found impossible to recover taxes due in the usual manner through the agent of the owner of lands, and in which the name of the owner was not known. The process of recovery from the tenant (if necessary by distraint) is authorised by Section 17 of the Income-Tax Act of 1853, and is employed only in the last resort, the tenant, of course, having the right to recover from his landlord on the next payment of rent. The object of the Comptroller in issuing the letter referred to, was to acquaint tenants of this fact, so that they might take the steps necessary to protect themselves. It has been very successful in securing this result, and in no case has the Department had to resort to distraint. At the same time, the Board of Inland Revenue consider that the terms of the letter, which they had not previously seen, are open to objection: and they have instructed the Comptroller to discontinue its issue. It appears to them that the object aimed at, while proper in itself, can be secured without giving the opening for misapprehension which the circular in use seems to offer. I have taken it for granted that both hon. Members have the same case in mind.

Potato Seed Grants.

Colonel NOLAN: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he has found on investigation that, under the first Potato Seed Act, the whole interest on the loans then made to unions was defrayed from the Imperial Exchequer; and if he will now follow this precedent, so as to permit of the £10,000 contributed, from exclusively Irish resources, by the Agricultural Department, being devoted to cheapen the cost of the new seed to the small occupiers; also, if the total amount of interest is about £3,000.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: There is no parallel between the condition of Ireland now and at the time to which the hon. and gallant Member refers. When the Seed Supply Act of 1880 was passed the distress among the agricultural classes in all parts of Ireland was so great that a sum of nearly £2,000,000 was expended from public and private sources in relief of the distress, apart from the £500,000 advanced for seed. The remission of interest could, therefore, be regarded as a Relief Grant in 1880, but could not be so regarded this year, as seed is being supplied to parts of the country where it is not alleged that any abnormal distress exists, but where, owing to the bad seed on hand and the impossibility of procuring good seed locally, a change of seed is essential to the agricultural prosperity of the country. I cannot at present say what the total amount of interest will be.

MR. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of extending to those parts of Ireland where the distress is quite as acute as in 1880 the same conditions as then obtained?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I do not think there is sufficient reason for that at present.

Irish Civil Service—Case of Mr. Percy Ludgate.

MR. T. HARRINGTON (Dublin Harbour): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that Mr. Percy E. Ludgate, of Drumcondra, passed the Civil Service examination for assistant clerkship, abstractor class, in October, 1903, and was medically examined by the physician selected by the Civil Service Commissioners and declared fit for the service; that, without having received an appointment as assistant clerk, he competed successfully for a second division clerkship, but failed to satisfy the examining physician as to his fitness; that, in consequence of the latter medical examination, Mr. Ludgate's certificate of qualification given in the former case has been cancelled, thus penalising him for one appointment by reason of his success in securing another; and, if so, whether he will take steps to have him medically examined with the view to his securing one or other of the above appointments, and will he say whether there is any difference in the medical standard of qualification required for assistant clerkship or second-division clerkship.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The facts are substantially as stated in the hon. Member's Question, except that Mr. Ludgate's certificate as assistant clerk was never granted, and therefore was not cancelled; and that the date of the examination referred to was February, 1903, and not October, 1903. As nearly a year had elapsed since Mr. Ludgate's medical examination for an assistant clerkship, it was necessary to re-examine him before issuing him a certificate for a second-division clerkship. The result of the medical examination proving unsatisfactory the Civil Service Commissioners were unable to grant a certificate for either position. The medical requirements are practically the same in both cases.

Dublin Post Office—Officers' Holidays.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that several officers in the Dublin Post Office this year are listed for annual leave at earlier periods than in previous years; and that during the months of June to September (inclusive) there are fewer men listed for leave in each batch than in the other months of the year; and will he see that the annual leave list is so arranged that an equal number of men are sent out in each batch so that a fair distribution of the leave period is made.

LORD STANLEY: I am making inquiry, and will inform the hon. Member of the result.

Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether His Majesty's Government have received from the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia a letter, transmitted through the Governor-General, complaining of the hardships endured by Australians in consequence of the non-recognition in Great Britain of marriages made in Australia with sisters of deceased wives, and requesting that the existing conflict between British and Colonial law in this respect should be removed by legislation; and whether he intends to give effect in this matter to the wishes of the Australian people.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. The matter will, of course, be fully discussed in the House when the Bill dealing with the subject comes up for discussion.

STANDING ORDERS.

Ordered, That the Select Committee on Standing Orders do consist of thirteen members. Sir John Brunner, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. John Edward Ellis, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Halsey, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Mr. Humphreys-Owen, Sir James Rankin, Mr. William Redmond, Colonel Stopford-Sackville, Sir Mark McTaggart Stewart, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Wodehouse were accordingly nominated members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey.*)

SELECTION.

Mr. Blake, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir John Dorington, Sir William Hart Dyke, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Halsey, Mr. McKenna, Sir Mark McTaggart Stewart, and Mr. Wharton were nominated members of the Committee of Selection together with the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders. —(*Mr. Halsey.*)

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) took exception to the Standing Order by which the Committee was deprived of the power of selecting its own Chairman. It had a good reason in its origin but now that the Committee of Selection had become of such importance this had ceased to operate. He did not propose to take action now but certainly hoped to do so sometime.

NEW BILLS.

FOREIGN TRAWLERS REGULATION BILL.

"To provide for the better prevention of fishing by Foreign Trawl Vessels within areas closed to British Trawl Vessels," presented by Mr. Black; supported by Mr. Crombie, Mr. Weir, Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk), Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Cathcart Wason, and Mr. Ainsworth; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 44.]

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Rating of hereditaments containing Machinery," presented by Mr. George Whiteley; supported by Mr. Chapman, Sir Edward Strachey, Sir William Houldsworth, Sir John Dorington, Mr. Cawley, Sir William Tomlinson, and Mr. John Rutherford; to be read a second time upon Friday next, and to be printed. [Bill 45.]

TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT (1883) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883," presented by Mr. Patrick Aloysius McHugh; supported by Mr. Clancy, Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. William McKillop, and Mr. Conor O'Kelly; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 46.]

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT (1887) REPEAL BILL.

"To repeal the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887," presented by Mr. Lundon; supported by Mr. Dillon, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Patrick Aloysius McHugh, and Captain Donelan; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 47.]

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name, as follows—

"But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people."

My object in bringing forward this Amendment is to raise a discussion on the question of the government of Ireland, and to express the perfectly frank and unmistakable feeling of detestation of the present system which is well-nigh universal among all classes of the population of Ireland. My object is also once more to define the position and policy of the Irish Party upon this matter, and to make it plain to everyone—not only to the Government, but to the Opposition—that we stand where we have always stood, irrevocably committed to Home Rule and necessarily independent of any Government that does not make Home Rule a cardinal point in its programme. I think everybody will admit that we are entitled to press this point, and to make our position in this matter clear. We are being driven—some people think we are being rapidly driven—towards a general election, and many people also think that a general election will result in the return to power of those who have been identified in the past with the policy of self-government in Ireland, and who have for that reason received the support of the Irish Party. No one can deny that there is an unmistakable attempt to limit the decision at the next general election to one particular issue to the exclusion of all others, and I, therefore, consider it a duty we owe to Ireland and to ourselves, and, indeed, to our English friends also, to dispel any doubt that may exist anywhere as to the views, the policy, and the duty of the Irish Party upon this question. For us there is only one issue. We have been sent to this House to demand the freedom of our country. We are elected here an independent Party, and our mandate from our constituents is that we shall not enter into an alliance with any British Party which does not approve of and adopt the policy of the restoration to the people of Ireland of the management of their own affairs. From that attitude nothing can change us, and so it is not a matter of convenience or expedience, but it is a matter of principle and of necessity. It is not, of course, my business to attempt to pry into the future, or to foretell what the future procedure or policy of British Parties may be, but I deem it common honesty—and I believe that British Parties will find that on this matter honesty is their best policy as well as ours—to tell them plainly that this is our unchangeable attitude, and it is that attitude they will have to reckon with.

We base our condemnation of the present system of rule in Ireland upon four grounds. We condemn the present system because it is not government in accordance with the will of the governed. On the contrary, it is government in direct opposition to the declared will of the overwhelming majority of the people. We condemn it because it is ruinously extravagant, and weighs down the nation with a burden of unjust taxation, and because, in addition to that, it is an inefficient government which neglects every industry and interest of the nation, and necessarily leads to depopulation, ignorance, poverty, and discontent. Further, we object to this Government because it is distrusted and condemned by those who call themselves Unionists as well as by those who call themselves Home Rulers.

As to the first of these points, it is unnecessary for me to labour it. Amidst all the uncertainties and doubts surrounding all Irish questions, amidst all our contradictions and controversies, one fact has stood out perfectly plainly and beyond dispute for the past thirty years or more, and that is that the majority of the representatives of the Irish people returned to this House have been pledged to overturn the present system of government. Since the extension of the franchise in 1885 that majority of the Irish Members has never fallen below eighty-one out of 103. In the present Government of Ireland public opinion in Ireland is a negligible quantity. The overwhelming majority of her representatives have absolutely no control whatever over her domestic affairs, and no Irishman and no man, whatever his nationality, but especially no Irishman, is allowed to serve in any really responsible position in the Government of our country unless he is a known opponent of the wishes and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people. Of course there are exceptions to this. Seventy years ago a very able Scotchman was sent to Ireland in the person of Sir Thomas Drummond to act as Under-Secretary. He was not an Irishman, but as soon as ever it became known that he had popular leanings a campaign was set on foot against him by the ruling powers in Ireland, and when he ventured to rebuke Irish landlordism, and especially when he committed himself to that phrase which in these days seems to be flat blasphemy, *i.e.*, that property has its duties as well as its rights, from that moment he was thwarted, maligned, and pursued with a malice which no doubt helped in the end to drive him into an early grave. For four or five years he served in Ireland, but he was only able to do so because, in his case, he was loyally defended by those who availed themselves of his services, and because he was not at the first breath of opposition from the Orange set in the North of Ireland repudiated and thrown overboard by those who had availed themselves of his great ability and unrivalled experience in the Government of Ireland. To-day—seventy years later—we have a somewhat similar case, and the mere fact that Sir Antony MacDonnell has popular leanings is sufficient, apparently, to cause his appointment to be denounced as a betrayal by the English Government of that handful of men who endeavour to impose their will on the majority of the people of Ireland. This exception only proves the rule which I have attempted to lay down, namely, that no man in any degree in sympathy with the majority of the Irish people is allowed to have any part in the Government of the country.

Ireland to-day is governed by a minority, and for a minority of the people she is governed by a democracy more divorced from sympathy with the people and from responsibility to the people than obtains in the system which you in this country are so fond of denouncing in the case of Russia. Ireland, no doubt, is articulate in the House of Commons, and I am glad to think that she is able to make herself troublesome, or otherwise I fear that Irish discontent would find no voice at all. But here we are in a permanent minority of 80 out of 670; and we are voted down by representatives elected by another people. We are governed by a network of public boards—the Education Board, the Board of Public Works, the Local Government Board, the Congested Districts Board, the Board of Trade, the Prisons Board, and I know not how many other boards, all of which are nominated by Dublin Castle. These boards are not responsible in any shape or form to the people whom they govern. Public opinion in Ireland has for them no existence, and the names of the men who rule the boards are scarcely known to-day to the people of Ireland. They can never be called to account. They are represented in this House by the Chief Secretary of the day, who is President, I think, of each one, though, of course, he is not cognisant of their proceedings, and can only be in the most nominal way responsible for their action. Chief Secretaries come and go. There have been fifty-three changes in the office of Chief Secretary since the Union. There have been twenty-seven changes in the office of Chief Secretary within the last fifty years. That gives an average since the Union of about two years for each Chief Secretary, and further, these Chief Secretaries have been strangers to Ireland, they have had no interest whatever in the country, and they have had no stake in the country. Only seven or eight of the whole number have been Irish by birth, or even by the most remote connection, and since 1871 no Irishman at all has been Chief Secretary for Ireland. What earthly possibility had such men, I would ask the House, of making themselves acquainted with the affairs of these boards? The thing is impossible. The permanent, centralised, nominated, semi-independent boards, stuffed full of the members of the ascendancy Party, have been omnipotent in the Government of Ireland, and the Chief Secretary of the day, if he is challenged on the ground of his nominal responsibility, is accountable only to this House, where the representatives of Ireland are always in a permanent minority. Is it any wonder that, under these circumstances, the very soul of Ireland is in revolt at this system, and the sentiment of the people is that an armed rebellion itself would be a duty did a reasonable chance of success exist?

Such a system of government as this must of necessity be extravagant, because every system of government run in the interests of a minority against the interests of the majority of the people must be extravagant. The Irish government to-day is admittedly the most costly government of the kind in the world. It costs double the amount of the government of Belgium, which has a larger population and four times the trade. It costs more than double as much as the government of Switzerland, and by comparison with any small country of similar resources in the world it is shocking in its extravagance. Compared with the cost of the government of Great Britain it is not so much shocking as ludicrous. The cost of civil government per head of the population in Ireland is just twice the cost of the government per head of the population in England. The policing and the prison system in Ireland cost three times as much as the policing and prison system of Scotland, though the population is about the same and the criminal statistics show that there is far less crime in Ireland than there is in Scotland. The ludicrous part of all this is that England does not gain anything by it. In the last ten years the population of Ireland has gone down by about 200,000, and the taxation of Ireland has increased by £3,000,000 a year. The cost of Irish government has gone up from something like £5,500,000 in 1894 to £7,214,000 in 1902, so that England cannot be said, therefore, to have been benefited by this misgovernment of Ireland to any great extent. Ireland's Imperial contribution has unjustly increased, but it has not increased materially in proportion to the total increase of the cost of running the country. The great increase in Irish taxation has gone almost entirely in the increased cost of running the rotten and inefficient system of government in Ireland itself.

This brings me to another part of the question. I base my indictment of the government of Ireland on its merits. I maintain that it is the worst and most inefficient government in the whole world. The right hon. Gentleman who will speak on behalf of the Government will have to defend a system which has no parallel in the whole history of the world. In speaking of this question I feel that I must confine myself within comparatively narrow limits. I will take as an example of what I mean by bad and inefficient government the question of the land. If the Land Act of last year is a failure, and undoubtedly in some respects it is, that is due entirely to the fact that where Irish Members pressed their views those views were rejected. I had intended to give some quotations as to what recently occurred with reference to the position of Sir Antony MacDonnell. What occurred? Sir Antony MacDonnell went to Ireland, with the full approval of the Chief Secretary and the Lord-Lieutenant, to carry out a policy of concession and reform. He has been thwarted in that, and things did not succeed with him. What has been happening? He has found his official chief rounding on him, and, for my part, I would not be astonished if in the end it is not found that the English people themselves have lost all respect for a Minister who is guilty of what I may call the tergiversation, the disloyalty of the Chief Secretary to a man whom he put in that position, and whom he ought to have backed. Under all the circumstances, the Irish Party are entitled to come to the House of Commons and make their claim that the government of Ireland should be once more placed the hands of the Irish people. Nothing else will remedy the present condition of affairs. Every class of the community in Ireland is opposed to the present rule. It is unnecessary for me to speak of the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people. Generation after generation they have sent to the House of Commons an overwhelming majority of their Members pledged to a radical change in the Government, but the feeling entertained by them has spread, and to-day it is to be found in practically every class of the community.

Recently a development of the most important kind has taken place in Ireland under the name of the Reform Association, identified with the name of Lord Dunraven. It is not my business to defend that association, which is, I understand, not making a demand for Home Rule. The men who are at the bottom of it avow themselves as Unionists, yet the fact remains that they have come forward to make a confession that their former position is untenable, that the government of Ireland has broken down under the present system, and they propose a change. It is not only Lord Dunraven and his friends. I may go further and take the case of Sir West Ridgeway. He was not an Irishman like Sir Antony MacDonnell. He was an English Conservative gentleman who was Under Secretary for Ireland during the Chief Secretaryship of the present Prime Minister. Sir West Ridgeway tells us that in the very middle of the coercion *régime* of the present Prime Minister, he, as Under Secretary, prepared for the Government a memorandum outlining a scheme of self-government for the country consisting of provincial councils, along with a partly elective body which was to have power over all Irish finance. What an extraordinary light that throws on the system of government in Ireland! Here is Sir West Ridgeway carrying out a policy of coercion in Ireland at the behests of a Government which declares that Ireland has no grievances and that twenty years of resolute government is all that is necessary in order to settle the Irish question, while at that very time there are searchings of heart among the very men who are carrying out that programme of suppressing popular agitation. We find Sir West Ridgeway preparing a programme which so far as I can see is quite as extreme, if not more extreme, than the programme of Lord Dunraven, in the preparation of which Sir Antony MacDonnell seems to have had a hand. The same applies right through all the administrators who have been sent to Ireland from every Parliament. Lord Spencer went to Ireland to administer coercion, and his experience taught him the rottenness of the present system. Lord Aberdeen went to Ireland to carry out a system of coercion and his experience taught him the same lesson. Lord Dudley went to Ireland to carry out a Unionist policy, and he has not been long in the country without discovering the rottenness of the present system. Speaking of Under Secretaries, there is not only Sir West Ridgeway who can be quoted. What about Sir Robert Hamilton? What about Sir Redvers Buller? Every man who has been sent from this country to govern Ireland under the present system has admitted, no matter what Party he came from, that the system has broken down absolutely. The only differences to-day are the differences as to the methods for remedying the system. Various remedies have been proposed. Sir West Ridgeway says he proposed a system of provincial councils with certain legislative powers, with a financial council partly elective. Lord Dunraven proposes a system of devolution, and I suppose that if the hon. Gentlemen who represent Ulster constituencies were asked for a remedy they would say that the proper remedy is to instal them and their Orange friends in absolute power in Dublin Castle.

It is well for us to remember in this connection that every single class and creed in Ireland to-day is denouncing the system of Dublin Castle. I am sorry I have not the notes of the utterances of hon. Gentlemen opposite which I had intended to read. Hon. Gentlemen opposite have denounced government by Dublin Castle far more vigorously than ever we did. The hon. Member for North Down said just before Parliament met that either the Government must go or Sir Antony MacDonnell must go. I have heard from North Down since then to the effect that when the general election comes the probability is that the person to go will be the hon. Member himself. An hon. Member for one of the Divisions of Antrim made a declaration in Ireland the other day that he for one would not regret the general election, because he did not think that Ireland could be any worse governed under a Liberal Government. And then, not content with that, the Ulster Members issue a manifesto signed by the full strength of their party—was it seven or eight?—and in that manifesto they do not base their attack on Dublin Castle because of Sir Antony MacDonnell at all—there is not a word about him—no, it is an indictment based on the general government of Dublin Castle, as evidenced by the refusal of the Castle to do what they call justice to certain isolated parts of Ulster with which they are identified. And since the House met a most interesting document, which I am sorry I have not with me, has been issued, a manifesto in which they declared in solemn conclave—though it must have relieved the mind of the Prime Minister enormously when he saw that there were only four gentlemen at the meeting—a manifesto in which they declared that they had made up their minds to give a general support to the Government on the Address on every question except questions arising out of Ireland, and went on to say that they entirely distrusted the action of the Government on all Irish affairs. Therefore you have every class of the community expressing distrust of the government of Ireland. I might quote a more important critic of the Government, namely, the Government itself—because the House will remember the speech made the other day in which it was declared by Lord Lansdowne, who is himself the Leader of the Government in the Upper House—that the present system of government in Ireland was antiquated and complicated, and that it required serious improvement, and in which he described what he called Sir Antony MacDonnell's policy as the policy of co-ordination. Now whether you call this co-ordination, or devolution, or provincial councils—as Sir West Ridgeway called it—all those policies amount to this, that every class of the population and the Unionist Government itself condemns the present system of rule. In my opinion it has come to this, that as practical men we, in the House of Commons, ought not to consider the theoretical question at all as to whether the government is good or bad—because, I submit, it is by universal consensus of opinion condemned—but we ought to confine ourselves as practical men to the remedy.

Now the remedies which are proposed are various. The remedy which we propose at any rate is well known. We propose Home Rule for Ireland. We believe that the present system, in a phrase once used by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose, is too rotten to be mended. The policy must be a policy of ending and not mending. The system should be abolished altogether, and I think I am correct in saying that what has occurred within the last few days will make it impossible for any English Government in the near future to sit upon the Treasury Bench without proposing some radical remedy in the present system of government. Nothing in my judgment can be a possible or even a tolerable substitute for self-government in any country. Without self-government I am convinced that Ireland will go on in the future as she has gone on in the past, badly governed, poverty-stricken, and discontented. But with self-government I am perfectly convinced in my heart and conscience she has before her a future of freedom, prosperity, and peace.

*MR. WALDRON (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green), in seconding the Amendment, said it was almost impossible to bring anything new before the House in regard to the system of government in Ireland as the subject had been debated again and again during the last twenty or thirty years. The events of the last few days had shown how difficult it was to justify the present system. In his own recollection in Ireland there had been twenty Chief Secretaries since Mr. Chichester Fortescue held the post, and they had had an average duration of office of less than two years. What hon. Member in this House would entrust the management of his business or his property to a manager who held his appointment on such a tenure? Had the physical condition of the country improved under this system, or had the consent of the governed been obtained? Had the population increased, or had general contentment been diffused? He would be a courageous or a mendacious man who would answer either of these questions in the affirmative. How long was such a system to be forced on the country in defiance of the wishes of the great majority of the inhabitants? The events of the last few days gave the best possible answer as to the impossibility of the present system. When the present Lord-Lieutenant arrived in Ireland he said that the first necessity of the government of Ireland was that it should be in accordance with Irish ideas. What attempt had there been to govern the country in accordance with Irish ideas? The Union had never been allowed to work on account of the course pursued by persons who called themselves Unionists. What they wanted was, not to make Ireland contented with the Union, but to run a system in which they were allowed to be monopolists. It was a matter of common knowledge that they turned with great ferocity on the candidate for a Unionist seat in Leinster with the result that the seat was lost to their Party. It had been said that the Liberal Party were not committed to Home Rule, but he could not believe that. The first principle of Liberalism all over the world was that government against the consent of the people was wrong. The system by which Ireland had been governed had diminished the population, increased poverty, and prevented the development of the resources of the country.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people.'"—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.) asked that he might be allowed, before proceeding to lay before the House very shortly the views of those whom he represented, to express the regret felt on his own side, which he had no doubt would meet with general sympathy from Members opposite, at the absence of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh, who was a popular figure in the House. And, compared with this occasion—an occasion important for the very existence of Irish Unionism—there never was an occasion on which his services were so much needed. The House would, he thought, be pleased to know that he was fairly on the way to convalescence. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford had taken the straightforward course of reminding the House where, after twenty years, his Party now stood. He said they were still, as ever, united in an unalterable demand for Home Rule, and although the hon. Member rather unworthily sneered at their small numbers—they were seventeen Members in that House—still they represented those who were the loyal supporters of Unionist government in Ireland, and who numbered 1,250,000 of their fellow-countrymen. It was not only on behalf of his own constituents, but of all those who whilst they chiefly lived in the province of Ulster were scattered throughout the rest of the land, that he would like to say that after twenty years they, too, stood where they did. They had fought inch by inch during those twenty years with all the weight of the Nationalist Members against them, with the people in the country behind those hon. Gentlemen against them. Yes, they were 1,250,000 of people who had stood out against all the odds, and had fought Home Rule at home inch by inch. They had succeeded in keeping it off so far, and they would succeed for another twenty years if they were fairly and honestly treated by the Leaders of the Unionist Party. That day, after twenty years of loyalty, they were just as determined to face Nationalist opposition, and the intrigues and plottings of those responsible for Irish administration under a Unionist Government. The hon. Member for Waterford was perfectly correct in the statement which he made when he said that in every section of the population of Ireland there was discontent. After twenty years of Unionist Government he never remembered, as at this minute, such universal contempt and mistrust; such disaffection on the part of this million and a quarter of people who, certain members of His Majesty's Government thought, might be lightly thrown overboard without a regret. One quality—and the sooner that this was borne in on the minds of statesmen on that side of the House or the other, whether they were members of a Government which was a friend or a foe—the one quality which was required for a Government in Ireland was the quality of straightforwardness; and that was the one quality which within the last two years had been conspicuously lacking in every department of Irish administration. Of course it was very easy, when they came over to this country, to have their grievances misrepresented. It was very easy to minimise the numbers of those who put them forward. It was quite a simple matter to get hold of friends in influential quarters of the Press and say, "This is a little Unionist clamour, it does not matter; it is Orangemen"—as if that answered everything. The opinions that he expressed that day were held, it was true, by the Orange body, but they were equally held by every Irish Liberal Unionist; they were held by Irish Conservatives, and the attempt to minimise them in that way was unfair to their importance and dishonest in practice. If they wanted to go by the newspapers, let him ask the hon. Members of the House to take a look at the Irish Press. They had in Ireland four leading Unionist papers. They had the Orange paper, if he might call it so, the *Belfast News Letter*, the Liberal Unionist *Northern Whig;* they had the general Unionist paper, the *Irish Times*, and they had the Conservative organ in Dublin, the *Daily Express*. Of course, English Members did not often see those papers, but they represented and covered the entire ground of Unionist opinion in Ireland, and day after day in each one of them—it was a fact which could not be disputed or denied—they found column after column of direct criticism, complaint, and suspicion charged against the heads of the Irish Administration. Things were not right when that was so.

They did not get many opportunities of bringing these things forward in the House except on an occasion like this, and they would dwell a little in detail upon them. He knew the subject they were discussing, although important, was very general, and they must avoid, as far as possible, details. [NATIONALIST cries of "No."]. He meant details likely to weary the House. But one matter they felt very much the loss of in the North, and also in other parts of Ireland. They had brought their plea before their people and before the House. It was the systematic boycotting of counties, because they were Unionist, from participation in public funds. It was not merely a money matter. It was the persistent unfairness of the policy of the Irish Government which had, within the last two years, done more than anything else to goad Irish Unionists into revolt. It was only within the last six months that the dishonesty—for there was no other term for it—of the whole method had been brought home to them. It was a policy of glow and glamour. They went to the Chief Secretary or elsewhere. They received the most bountiful of promises; but when it came to fulfilment of those promises, there were other parts of the country to be considered. It was said, "Oh, you are Unionists; you can be trusted not to make yourselves unpleasant in the House of Commons. We have no money; it is all going to the West and you had just better wait till next year." Now, they had been put off long enough. He would give an instance of this policy. There was a very important matter in the North of Ireland involving the expenditure of public money. He would not discuss the matter on its merits in detail—hon. Members opposite would know them. A deputation representing the five Unionist counties waited on the Chief Secretary in Dublin Castle in 1901. They were then told that everything that could be done would be done, and that immediately. In 1902 the Chief Secretary, in pursuance of his policy of promises without performance, was anxious to get through a Marine Works Bill which affected the West of Ireland. They were relying on his promises, and one of his colleagues, the Deputy-Master of the Mint—he was sure that the hon. Gentleman would be pleased to hear how hon. Members cheered him that day—pressed the matter of this grievance on the Chief Secretary, and the Chief Secretary, anxious to get his Marine Works Bill through, on August 5th, said he might take it from him that, in regard to all those schemes in which he was interested, all that could be would be done. The Chief Secretary in 1902 got his Marine Works Bill. In the following year this matter was pressed again and again on the Chief Secretary, and again and again disregarded, because it came from the Unionist part of the country. In the following year the Chief Secretary wanted a Development Grant Bill, and on April 1st, 1903, the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh again pressed this demand upon the Chief Secretary, who had admitted it was legitimate. When the Chief Secretary got the Bill through, he got up and said, "Oh, yes, what you say is quite right. £100,000 was allotted, but as some jealousy was raised in some other part of the country, it would only be fair to consider the claims of the north-east corner of Ireland, though I cannot say that any one scheme will be dealt with." In 1904 matters were still pressed upon the Chief Secretary, when £90,000 was being expended in Mayo, and in the present year Sir Antony MacDonnell was able to assure the hon. Member for Mayo that up to the present time in the Union of Swinford £376,000 of public money had been advanced for land purchase. No doubt they would get plenty of promises, but while the present Administration continued in Ireland, no Unionist would get a copper from the public funds. [Ironical NATIONALIST cheers] Hon. Members might laugh. It might be a light thing when mud and water were two feet high in the houses and fever was rampant. Of course it did not matter to the Chief Secretary—they were only Unionists—who all the time was devoting money to a part of the country where it was of absolutely no use, except to keep hon. Members opposite quiet. Harbours and piers for Nationalists were always forthcoming, but Unionists could get nothing. Yet this was called impartial administration! All over the country Unionists and Protestants were being excluded from getting their share by the local boards. [NATIONALIST cries of "Where?"] He could give particulars. When the Local Government Act was passed the House of Commons, knowing that the power given to local boards would be abused, inserted clauses protecting the minority, all appointments having to be sanctioned by the Local Government Board or the Lord-Lieutenant. But when they got a Nationalist local board excluding Protestants on account of their religion, or because they were Unionists, and the Local Government Board was asked to intervene to protect this wretched minority, the Government said:—"We cannot really afford to vex the priests, or run against the Nationalists," and so the Protestants were sacrificed. This was nothing but moral cowardice on the part of the Chief Secretary. What happened at Ballinasloe? On November 26th last the Cavan County Council met to appoint a rate collector. These collectors were paid by poundage on the amount of the rates they collected. A candidate named George Armstrong, a resident in the neighbourhood, sent in a tender that he would collect rates for 2d. in the £. But the Cavan County Council, who had never allowed a Protestant to sit at its board, appointed instead of Mr. Armstrong another gentleman, simply because he was a brother or cousin of the priest and was a Roman Catholic. His terms were 3d. in the £; and the ratepayers of county Cavan were paying the additional 1d. in the £ of poundage because Mr. Armstrong was a Protestant and a Unionist. That case was sent up to the Local Government Board, which was asked, in the interest of the ratepayers, not to sanction the appointment of a man who was to receive 3d. per £1 instead of an efficient and solvent applicant who was willing to take 2d. per £1. The answer was "we cannot interfere." That policy of non-interference, not only in Ballinasloe, not only in Cavan, but all over the country, had been carried so far that if one went into any Protestant or Unionist house in any part of Ireland one found there no reliance upon any shape of protection against combination to injure them, to exclude them from public service, and deprive them of their rights. That was a matter of administration. He could only assure his friends on that side of the House that if they cared to investigate the matter they would find a hundred cases of this sort. It was going on all over the country, and it was because this state of things was so general that there was this general distrust and dislike of the Irish Government on his side, just as much as on the other.

To turn to higher politics the position was a very curious one. In the old days the theory of government in Ireland was that there should be one Minister, whether he was the Lord-Lieutenant with a seat in the Cabinet, in which case the Chief Secretary had no seat, or whether, as now, it was the Chief Secretary in the Cabinet with the Lord-Lieutenant Governor of Ireland, he being assisted by people who had local knowledge, the Lord Chancellor and the two Law Officers. [HON. MEMBERS cheered.] He did not know why hon. Members cheered. It had been pointed out by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford that the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary had generally been either Englishmen or Scotchmen. What were they expected to know of Ireland? It had been customary to provide the Ministry with men who were born and brought up in the country, and had risen to eminence in their profession. Such men had always been allowed to have a voice in the internal government of the country. He was dining with a Judge not long ago. [Ironical NATIONALIST cheers.] He did not know that that would be an object of merriment to hon. Members opposite. This gentleman was old enough to remember, or to have gathered from his legal forefathers, how government in Ireland was carried on in the early days of last century, and he told him as a fact that, for twenty-one years in Ireland, Saurim, the distinguished Irishman and Attorney-General, practically administered Ireland. Now although the Attorney-General was a trusted and influential colleague in the last Administration, with a voice in the government of the country, what had happened in the last two years? They had changed the permanent non-political Civil Service staff, and had brought over and put in this subordinate position a gentleman of avowed politics, a gentleman of pronounced opinions, both political and religious, a gentleman too distinguished to be put under the ordinary rules of the Civil Service, a gentleman who was provided with greater freedom of action, greater opportunities of initiative than if he was promoted in the ordinary course. And what was the first act of this gentleman? Whatever his powers might have been he was an ordinary Civil servant and member of a permanent staff. He went to Ireland, and to secure that he should have the greater freedom, the greater power of initiative, he directed that the Law Officers were not to be consulted as to the business of the country. Thus two members of the King's Government, with seats in this House, were shut up in their law rooms in the Castle in a position very little better than that of law clerks. The same gentleman caused it to be publicly known, shortly after his arrival, that, being cut off, of course, from the views of those familiar with the country, he would be dependent on other sources. He said that the opinion of the Roman Catholic Bishops and priests of the country and other influences were the most useful means of supplying the Government with information that would keep them in touch with affairs. That also had been put to them in a delicate paraphrase, called "accessibility." They had it stated that it was with the Chief Secretary's approval that Sir Antony MacDonnell made himself accessible to persons of all kinds and descriptions with whom he discussed important subjects. But did anyone suppose that when this official was appointed with those extra powers—powers of initiative and of greater freedom—that he was to be the authority to rule 4,750,000—1,250,000 of whom were Protestants and Unionists—through the information and influence of the priests. That was the cause of the whole disaster. Ulster could not be ruled on the information and influence of the priests.

He had said many hard words against the Irish Administration, but he had never done an injustice to Sir Antony MacDonnell. He had never spoken to him in his life. It pleased the Chief Secretary to suggest bias in the Anderson case, but he had no prejudice against Sir Antony MacDonnell. He had an Indian record of which any Irishman might be proud, and if he had done an injustice to Sir Antony MacDonnell he would apologise to him. Now they were beginning to see that the Chief Secretary and the Irish Administration, for all their fair words and sympathy, had been at the back of the whole thing. Only the other day a letter appeared in the papers from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick, in which he denounced the Chief Secretary and the Irish Administration for having tricked and played with him and his clerical colleagues in the matter of University education. He was sorry to say he thought that that was exceedingly probable and that Sir Antony MacDonnell would be obliged to disclose what he promised the Roman Catholic bishops in carrying out his policy of "accessibility." From Friday night, however, instead of the straightforward action they were entitled to expect from a Unionist Minister, they knew he was at the back of the whole thing. That was enough to make every Unionist, whether he were an Irishman or an Englishman, sick of the whole business. It was quite reasonable then that they should describe the mischievous effect of such a policy, and he did not deplore a single word he had said in regard to the Administration, but he would withdraw if the state of affairs were shown to be otherwise. It was, however, inadvisable that a Civil servant should be sent down to Belfast on a quasi-political mission to interview the Lord Mayor and the Town Clerk. Sir Antony MacDonnell got his answer from the Town Clerk. He stated that the Government were about to introduce a Roman Catholic University Bill, and that he wished to overcome their objections. Of course, hon. Gentlemen opposite would say that that was perfectly legitimate, but he maintained it was not legitimate in a country where they wanted to establish confidence in the Government that the head of the permanent staff should be sent on such missions. Further, Sir Antony MacDonnell attended dinners and other functions in Dublin, and made speeches which, reading between the lines, could have been delivered by any hon. Member in the House. That was neither fair to him or to them.

That was the position. It was utterly unsatisfactory and would have to be ended as soon as possible. Up to August last the position of the Irish Unionists towards the Government was one of dislike and distrust, but since the introduction of this devolution scheme those feelings had become five times as intense, and the real question was, "Who was responsible for this scheme?" Irish Unionists were now asked to vote confidence in the Government. It was not a question of approval or objection to Home Rule—Home Rule was a question they would vote against at any time—but a question of confidence in the Irish Government. In regard to Imperial affairs the Irish Unionists were as proud of the Empire as anybody, and they would support this Government because they thought it was the only Government, but was it not rather hard to put a man in such a position that he should be asked to vote confidence in the Irish Administration when it was now established that the head of that Administration, responsible to the Unionists and to the House, had been sitting in Dublin Castle intriguing to ruin the whole of Unionism in Ireland. In August there came this devolution proposal, the root principle of which was the transfer of money in bulk to the Irish Administration. The action of the Civil servant who had taken part in it had been said to be indefensible. They had been told by one member of the Government that these proposals had been moderately condemned by the Government and by another that the Government repudiated them. He did not know what the varying grades of censure might be, but in some shape or form every man of the Government had thrown these proposals overboard. Irish Unionist members of the Government had done their duty to their constituents. The Attorney-General had done more than anyone else to show how destructive to Unionist principles this would be, and the English Attorney-General boldly challenged this measure and threw it overboard. He, therefore, would not discuss its merits, but here was a wholesale and insidious betrayal of Unionist policy upon a question vital to the Irish Unionists, and they were asked to give a vote of confidence to this Government.

Let them see who was at the bottom of this, and who was responsible for the paternity of these proposals. There was no doubt that it was born at the Castle. There were four people present at the birth. One was Lord Dunraven—he had told them what he thought about it. Another was Sir Antony MacDonnell, who, he thought, had been infamously treated. There was also Lord Dudley, who had frankly admitted that he was party to, privy to, and cognisant of the action of Sir Antony MacDonnell in what he did in connection with the scheme. He could not understand how, if the full facts were before the Cabinet, Sir Antony MacDonnell could be permitted to be censured by any honest Government, if the Cabinet were aware that the Lord-Lieutenant had given his sanction to his action. They might be told that the Government was not aware that there were three people, the Lord-Lieutenant, Sir Antony MacDonnell, and Lord Dunraven—he would come to the fourth in a minute—who knew about it. The question was about the Chief Secretary, because the curious thing was that Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Lord-Lieutenant, and Lord Dunraven all believed that Sir Antony MacDonnell was not exceeding the instructions of the fourth Party. Lord Dunraven said it was not true to say that Sir Antony MacDonnell pursued a policy that had been disapproved of by his chief. The Lord-Lieutenant wrote saying he was aware Sir Antony MacDonnell was helping Lord Dunraven and that he had discussed the suggested reforms with the Under-Secretary, but he did not think Sir Antony MacDonnell was exceeding his instructions, because he knew that under the terms of his appointment he differed from the ordinary Under-Secretary, and that on two previous occasions, in connection with the land question and the University question, Sir Antony MacDonnell had been in close communication with Lord Dunraven. The curious thing was that of the four supporters, three of them took an absolutely different view from the fourth, and that was that Sir Antony MacDonnell was not running counter to the wishes of the Chief Secretary. The root-principle of these proposals was the transfer of money in bulk to the Irish Administration. That was the very thing that was attempted in the House, but was stopped by the hon. Member for King's Lynn and the hon. Member for Islington. That was the very idea for which the Chief Secretary strove. His idea was to take the Development Grant and make it a charge on the Consolidated Fund. That was the idea at the bottom of devolution.

Then there was another matter. Lord Dunraven was chosen—he was a harmless nobleman with a passion for notoriety—they thought as much of him in Ireland as they did in New York—as a harmless instrument, on two occasions, for bringing schemes before the public. Here they had from start to finish Lord Dunraven in close confabulation with the Chief Secretary, or, as he was careful to put it, Mr. Wyndham. What were those topics dealing with administrative reform which it was inexpedient for Lord Dunraven to discuss with the Chief Secretary except in his private capacity. Those discussions were going on all through the year and Lord Dunraven said very fairly that the Chief Secretary's disavowal should have come earlier. The element of secrecy on the part of the Chief Secretary cast suspicion over the whole transaction. When these proposals appeared in print the Chief Secretary wrote a disavowal. But such a disavowal! It meant that he never saw the identical words in the proposals. It was to be regretted that the right hon. Gentleman did not disavow these proposals on principle. From that day to the present, although members of his Government had been calling for the paternity of this precious scheme, never one word could be extracted until the House met, and Ministers could no longer escape from the inquisition of question and answer. If everything was fair, honest, and above-board, why this desire for concealment? On Thursday last he asked the Chief Secretary whether there was any official sanction for this proposal, and it actually took two days to get a "Yes" or "No to that question! Was there any wonder, under these circumstances, that Irish Unionists were distrustful? Was there any wonder that Unionists, when they saw that they had been wounded in the house of their friends, should jib at a vote of confidence in a Government which—and from the evidence it was the almost irresistible inference—had hatched this plot in Dublin Castle? When this matter came to be dealt with, it would not be a matter of apology or excuse. They would want, not graceful sophistries or platitudes, but categorical denials if they were going to satisfy Irish Unionists.

This was a serious matter. It was not a matter merely affecting Irish Unionists. Their English Unionist colleagues had been elected for the maintenance of the Union. If this were a fraud on Irish Unionists it was also a fraud on English Unionists. They believed that they had been betrayed by their own leaders, and they were going to fight the matter out.

They did not care if they had to fight an open foe—they did care a great deal, because after years of loyalty it was a hard position to be placed in—but they would fight a secret enemy just as hard as an open foe. These were times of danger and stress; they had been given away behind their backs; and it was their duty to themselves and to those whom they represented to see the thing out, and, fortunately, a means was at hand which would enable them to do so. It was a striking commentary on the Chief Secretary's administration of Ireland that, within the last twelve months, two different associations for the protection of Unionist interests had had to be formed. They had organised and embodied in a union all the constitutional associations in Ulster, and they now had the Ulster Union. The Liberal Unionists and the Orangemen were separately represented. That council, with some 200 delegates, would be meeting in Belfast on March 3rd, and they would take counsel there whether the time had not come for Ulster to draw on her reserves. [Laughter.] Hon. Gentlemen laughed, but they did not know what he meant. He would tell them what the Ulster reserves were. They were Ulster's contribution to the Government. There were five Members representing Irish constituencies members of the Government; there were two Members for the University of Dublin, and three Members sitting for Ulster constituencies. If they were pressed in this way, if they were convinced that they were being tricked and betrayed, as their people believed, it would be time for them to consider whether they should not ask the five Unionist Members of the Government to step out of the ranks, and come to their help. He knew perfectly well what their feelings were; he knew their loyalty, and the services they had always rendered to their Unionist constituents. It would be a great sacrifice to ask them to make, but if the Irish Unionists were betrayed in the fashion now prevalent there would be no alternative. He was sorry that on that occasion he in company with his colleagues were absolutely prevented from voting confidence in an Irish Administration carried on as at present. It was the first time, he thought, for twenty years that Irish Unionists had been forced to say that. They appealed to the Chief Secretary last year to get rid of this wretched, rotten, sickening policy of conciliation, which meant bribing one's enemies at the expense of one's friends. That appeal unfortunately fell on deaf ears. Matters had changed now: they left it to the leaders of their Party, they appealed to them to put their foot down on this trickery and treachery towards Unionists in Ireland, and to give them a straightforward, resolute Government, which would be impartial to all sections of the community. The men who were responsible for the present state of affairs were guilty of much disservice to the Unionist Party. It was lamentable that the Viceroy should have been concerned in a movement which struck at the whole principles of Unionism, and gave colour to the statement that the Unionist Government were being converted to Home Rule. He and his colleagues had not abated their opposition to Home Rule, but it had been made impossible for them to oppose Home Rule on the present occasion by voting confidence in the Irish Government as now administered.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Wyndham, Dover): I rise at once because one passage in the speech of the hon. and learned Member who moved the Amendment before the House, and almost the whole of the violent speech to which we have just listened, were directed to a matter which is personal to myself, and I therefore do not propose until I have dealt with that matter to go into the merits of the Amendment or to answer the subsidiary points which have been raised. But in case I should otherwise forget to do so before I sit down, I wish most emphatically to repudiate the charge that during my administration and in pursuance of my policy, favouritism has been shown to certain parts of Ireland at the expense of other parts. It is not so. I have the figures here, and if it would not seem as if I were interposing them between the House and the matter on which I must speak I would read them now. [Cries of "Read."] No; whether the House is impatient to hear me on the Dunraven scheme or not

I am impatient to speak upon it. I ask the House to allow me to go into this matter somewhat fully. The last speaker, in the attack which he delivered against me says he is sick of the policy of conciliation, and I have no doubt he disapproves cordially of any Chief Secretary meeting any persons except those who agree with him. I have no doubt he thinks I am betraying the Union and no longer deserving of his confidence if I attempt to make higher education acceptable to the Irish people and to bring it within the reach of their pockets, and if I think it proper to speak, as I have spoken, to a Roman Catholic Archbishop, a Presbyterian Moderator, Fellows of a University, to all and sundry who could give me any opinions or facts which might help me to solve a problem which I bitterly regret I have not been able to solve. Therefore, I am not going to make a speech which will convince my hon. friend, who has attacked me so vehemently, that he should approve of all I do and have tried to do in Ireland. That is beyond my power. What I do wish is to make it quite clear that in the letter I wrote to *The Times* on September 27th last I was expressing a view which I have always held—I was expressing my objection to the introduction of a semi-elective financial board, and my fundamental and unalterable objection to the delegation to any board of any legislative powers other than those of Private Bill legislation. These are the views I hold and which, I thought, everybody knew I held. They are clear to me, but it does not always follow that views which are clear to one's self are clear to everybody else. When we discussed Home Rule in the 80's and 90's there were many somewhat ambiguous solutions proffered as alternatives to a direct negative—provincial councils, and I know not what—and at the end of that controversy there were some, among whom I include myself, who arrived at the definite view that there was no middle path, that Home Rule must mean really a Parliament, and, I think, a Parliament with powers to tax, and that if we are not prepared to adopt that form of government we must be content with the Union as it stands and try to work it as best we may. That is my opinion; and that being so, knowing as I do that a great many people in Ireland are not satisfied with the present political position, knowing as I do that Ireland stands in need of all the help this House can give her, and is bound to give her, as I think, under any intelligent appreciation of the Union, I have not been anxious to guard myself against suspicions and risks by refusing to meet any man who came to speak to me on his views as to how some amendment might be brought in.

And now I come to the point of my relations to Sir Antony MacDonnell. The charge against me is either that I appointed a distinguished public servant whom I had no business to appoint, and that I gave him powers I had no business to confer on him; or that I was right in doing that, but that the moment he put one foot wrong I threw him over. I deny both charges. What were the conditions of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment? If I may develop this at some length I shall be glad to do so, because, unless the House goes back with me over the last few years, I do not think they will realise the impression that was made upon my own mind. In the year 1902 I had no idea there was going to be a vacancy in the office of Under-Secretary. Sir Antony MacDonnell came back from India with about as high a record as any man who ever went there. He was an Irishman, and I was introduced to him by Lord Lansdowne. I was delighted to make his acquaintance, and I was much impressed by his personality and his ability. He asked me to give him letters to the heads of various departments in Ireland in order that he might make use of them on a visit to that country. He talked at great length on land problems. In India he had tackled successfully a great many land problems. I know it is the fashion to deride the appointment I made on the ground that Indian experience was not an advantage but rather a disadvantage to the man going to Ireland; but anybody who reads Sir Henry Maine's works will know that in India every form of land tenure is to be found, and would understand that the man who did the work Sir Antony MacDonnell did in India was not a man unfitted to assist me in dealing with the

Irish land question, and certainly not a person likely to be hostile to the landowning class. However that may be, I was much impressed by Sir Antony MacDonnell; and a vacancy which I did not expect suddenly occurred. Sir D. Harrel resigned at a moment when I did not expect his resignation; and my thoughts naturally and inevitably turned to the distinguished Irishman I had met with such a high record, and I asked him to assist me in my task, not a very easy one, by becoming Under-Secretary for Ireland. At that moment I found myself under the necessity of proclaiming a number of districts in Ireland under the Criminal Law Amendment Act; at that moment I was hoping to pass the Land Bill of 1902, or to bring in a better measure the next year; and at that moment, before I had any conversation with Sir Antony MacDonnell, I was gravely exercised in my mind, and had had many conversations with his predecessor on the subject, by the immense amount of new work which had been cast on the various Irish Departments by Unionist legislation. The Government of Ireland has ceased to be merely the police force of Ireland. Under the Congested Districts Board, the Government of Ireland has to administer large sums of money, and under the Local Government Act and other Acts many new duties have been created, and, in my judgment, in my deliberate judgment, I had arrived, before I saw Sir Antony MacDonnell, at the conviction that it was proper and right and almost necessary for the Chief Secretary to take a better collective view of all these Departments, that he should try to draw them together, and that he should have a strong chief on the staff to assist him in the difficult task thrown upon his shoulders.

The case I have to make is that there are certain things which I have always held and hold now. Other things have been attributed to me by the last speaker; for instance, that I am in favour of delegating legislative powers to a body in Ireland. I have never held that view, and I do not hold it now. It is natural that I could not invite such a man as Sir Antony MacDonnell, with such a record, to come and help me as a mere clerical assistant; and, apart altogether from anything that specifically passed between us, if it was proper to make such an appointment, and I hold that it was proper, it was impossible to make it without accepting Sir Antony MacDonnell as he was, as a man sworn of the Privy Council on the same day as I was myself. Do you suppose a Minister could invite a man who had rendered greater services to the Empire than he could ever hope to render, to sit on an office stool and merely to register the papers that came into the office? Let me be condemned for making the appointment, but if I made the appointment I had to accept Sir Antony MacDonnell, and I was glad to accept him, on the valuation he had won in India by his long and distinguished services. Sir Antony MacDonnell did not take up this task with a light heart. I was perfectly well aware that by appointing him I exposed myself to risk of attack. I had talked over Ireland with him before I suggested he should become Under-Secretary, and it was because we were both deeply interested in the possibility of doing something for the good of Ireland that, after a fortnight's consideration, he decided he could undertake the task, and we embodied in our letters the conversations in which we had been engaged; and these letters make it perfectly plain and clear that Sir Antony MacDonnell was invited by me rather as a colleague than as a mere Under-Secretary to register my will. I was glad to have his advice, to welcome any suggestions from him, and it was made clear, subject, of course, to my control, that he was to enjoy a certain freedom of administrative action. Let me be blamed for that if my hon. friends think I made a mistake in the appointment. I do not think I did. But I made clear to Sir Antony MacDonnell all the projects which I thought within the conceivable bounds of legislative action.

It has been suggested, not here, this afternoon, but elsewhere, that when I invited Sir Antony MacDonnell to help me in Ireland I had in my mind, and that I imparted to him, some desire to carry out what is called devolution. That is certainly not the case. Nothing of the kind was ever mentioned by either of us. The letters are extant—they are in Sir Antony MacDonnell's possession—and they show that no such problem was contemplated by me at the time of his appointment. We had proposed to deal, in the first place, with the maintenance of order. At that time that was a pressing problem. Here are the problems we hoped to deal with then, and the order in which they were placed:—(1) the maintenance of order; (2) a Land Bill on the lines of voluntary purchase, or, where that was impossible, an automatic and cheap system of fixing rents instead of the existing litigious system; (3) education in the spirit of the Prime Minister's views; (4) the co-ordination, direction, and control of detached boards. The co-ordination, or correlation, as I used to call it, of the various boards in Ireland does not suggest to me, and never will suggest to me, the introducing of another board which is to be of an elective character. It is bad enough to have forty-two boards, and the last thing I want, at any rate, is to have a forty-third board, half of the members of which I am to nominate, and be accused of betraying the Union, and the other half to be elected to quarrel with those I have nominated; while the Treasury views on finance will not be accepted by the board, and the views of the board will never be accepted by this House. That has nothing to do with co-ordination. The other matters mentioned were material improvement and that object of derision, administrative conciliation; and by administrative conciliation no man has ever meant winking the eye at disorder, and if proof of that were needed it comes at the end of a programme which begins with the maintenance of order. Administrative conciliation in my mind means an attempt, however vain, however futile, however malign — however libelled — to show that the duty of government does not end with maintaining order as the first condition of economic progress. The province of government is larger, and some positive direction and energetic help can be given to economic progress. That was all that was contained in Sir Antony MacDonnell's letter to me as the projects which he contemplated. In my reply I indicated one or two more, and here they are. One was, that if we lived long enough, I hoped something would be done to carry out the Report of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Commission—something to consolidate the grants to Ireland and to relieve the rates. And I hoped something would be done to develop transit in that country. That is all that was proposed—nothing else was proposed. And therefore I hope that from this day forth it will not be suggested in this House or in another place that I entered into a clandestine conspiracy with Sir Antony MacDonnell to foist upon the public, unbeknown to them, principles which were opposed to the principles of the Unionist Party. The hon. Member who attacked me in his speech, quoted some words to the effect that it was better that the members of the Reform Association, I think he said, should not meet me at Sir Antony MacDonnell's dinner table. Was that the charge?

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: The Chief Secretary considered that the meeting should not be held at Sir Antony MacDonnell's house, as he wished to keep it private.

MR. WYNDHAM: What meeting, with whom and when?

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: This is a letter written by Sir Antony MacDonnell—

> "If the first meeting," that is of Lord Dunraven and his Committee, "was held at my house, or at my invitation, everyone would say that Mr. Wyndham was a prime mover in the business. Any help I can give I should be happy to give by supplying facts and information, but I think—and in this Mr. Wyndham, to whom I have spoken, agrees with me—that it is better I should not appear prominently or even to the extent of inviting men to meet you."

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not know what impression that conveys to the minds of other people in the House, but the impression which it conveys to my mind is that I was to meet those persons who published the Dunraven scheme. [Cries of "No."] The impression conveyed to my mind is that it has some connection with the Reform Association. Well, but it has not any.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: It was read in that connection in the speech of Lord Dunraven.

MR. WYNDHAM; No, I think not. That is not what Lord Dunraven could have intended, because what is the fact? Not this year, but in the year 1903, just after the Land Act had been passed amidst general plaudits—at a time when Lord Dunraven received the compliments that he had earned from all sections of opinion—at a time when the hon. Member for Cork City, who is not in the House, had converted a paper which was very hostile to the Government into an organ of the derided policy of conciliation—it was at that time that Lord Dunraven came to me and discussed the chances and prospects of a Moderate Party in Ireland, and showed to me the proof sheets of an article which he subsequently published in the *Irish People.* And still I am in favour, if it was possible—the chances are not so good as they were—I am not going to disguise anything from the House—I am in favour of Lord Dunraven or anyone else forming a Moderate Party in the Centre and South of Ireland. I should be very glad if it could be done. I know that on many questions hon. Gentlemen from the South of Ireland do not see eye to eye with my friends who sit for northern constituencies, but surely they would not deny to Unionists in the Centre and South of Ireland the right to express their views. Luckily, I can refer anybody in this country to the article which Lord Dunraven contributed to the *Irish People* on November 7th, 1903, which was the outcome of our meetings at the time. Lord Dunraven and I were discussing these projects. And again, just as in the letter exchanged between myself and Sir Antony MacDonnell, there is no mention of any desire to delegate legislative power other than for Private Bills to anybody, so in the contribution which Lord Dunraven made at the time, and after our conversation in 1903, there is no mention of anything of the kind. He speaks of land purchase, of education, of the conditions of the people, of the labourers, of the Irish Land Bill, of transit, of fiscal reform, and after that he asks, in heavily leaded type, how is further co-operation practicable? Upon that point did anybody expect devolution? Not at all. The article goes on—

> "The questions enumerated sufficiently prove the existence of a vast field on which the efforts and energies of all men of all creeds, classes and politics can be profitably employed."

I agree with every word of that. I think with Lord Dunraven, although I do not approve of his two proposals—to have a semi-elective financial board and to delegate legislative powers other than for private legislation—although I do not approve of those two proposals I will not turn round when it puts me in a difficulty and unsay all that I have said about Lord Dunraven, who took the foremost part in producing the Land Conference. When he took up the Land Conference he was exposed to derision, but he carried it through and was praised by all. This is not an occasion when I shall turn round and say I am embarrassed, or the Party is embarrassed, because you have advocated objects to which I object.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): What about the suggested meeting at Sir Antony MacDonnell's house?

MR. WYNDHAM: Why not? In the year 1903, when we were discussing these matters, before there was any Reform Association or anybody had any idea of it—what has it got to do with the Reform Association and the manifesto published on December 26th, 1904—what has it got to do with founding a Moderate Party in the South of Ireland? What has the desirability of Lord Dunraven asking men to meet me—what, I ask, have those things and the article contributed to the new organ of peace—what have they got to do with a publication which I saw for the first time a year afterwards, which contained two things to which I objected, and to which I expressed objection?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I do not disagree with the right hon. Gentleman, but I wish to know what first of all the meeting was to be about, and why it should be secret.

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not see the force of that. Does the hon. Gentleman suggest that we were going to discuss devolution at that meeting?

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: Lord Dunraven is asked, according to this letter, to bring together the identical people who within twelve months formulated this scheme. It was suggested that the meeting should take place at Sir Antony MacDonnell's house. Sir Antony MacDonnell said: "It will never do to have Mr. Wyndham appearing as the prime mover in that matter." What is the meaning of that secrecy?

MR. WYNDHAM: If the hon. Member suggests that a letter of that kind having been written, it reflects upon me let him think so. It has nothing to do with the matter that he has been discussing, and I can quite understand that for Lord Dunraven to hold a sort of political dinner party at the Under-Secretary's house would have been a mistake, and would have excited comments which would have been prejudicial to the objects which he had in his mind, and those objects are the objects which I have read out. I do not know whether that seems as clear to the House as it does to me. [OPPOSITION and NATIONALIST laughter.] What I cannot understand is why discussions at the beginning of the autumn of 1903 should have been woven by the hon. Member who has attacked me into a charge that I was in favour of these two things. The prospects of such a Moderate Party working for objects upon which all men were agreed are, I regret, overcast when the same men—if they are the same men—take up the idea of delegating legislative power other than for Private Bills to anybody. The prospects of a Moderate Party are overcast to-day by taking up that project, because it is a project on which I do not suppose any two men in Ireland would agree. But the meetings and discussions in 1903 which have been referred to were meetings and discussions on subjects upon which it was hoped that all men would agree, and at that time I never gave any countenance to the idea either of creating a semi-elective financial board or to the idea of delegating powers, other than for Private Bill legislation to anybody or board of any sort or description. That is really all that I have to say. Neither then, nor on any subsequent occasion, have I ever said a word, or written a word, to Sir Antony MacDonnell in favour of either of those two proposals, those proposals have not been before me, and those are the proposals to which I attach importance, and to which I strongly and vehemently object.

But then it is said, how do you testify to the loyalty of Sir Antony MacDonnell? I testify to it with all my heart. He is a man of the greatest candour and integrity—a man with whom I have been proud and glad to work. And if the House cares to follow the lines which led to the misunderstanding, I will trace them faithfully from start to finish. I had discussed finance with Sir Antony MacDonnell, not on many occasions, but on several occasions. I had, as the hon. Member for North Antrim pointed out, been for a long time in favour of devoting moneys which are exclusively Irish to the needs which are peculiar to that country. I am not going to defend that position now. It is a position which men of honour understand. I have defended it in this House, and I have carried a Bill—the Development Grant Bill—through this House. I brought in a Bill last year for devoting the savings on Irish administration to that grant, which I was not successful in carrying, but my mind has been working upon that fact for a long time since. I do not claim any great merit for that. It is not very novel. As a matter of fact Ireland has always enjoyed something of that kind. When the Exchequers were amalgamated in 1817 funds were expended without consultation with this House and without any control on the part of the Treasury. When the Irish Church was disestablished and disendowed the Church Surplus Fund came into being, and it has for many years been devoted to needs which are peculiar to Ireland. The Congested Districts Board started with an income, the new Technical Department started with an endowment and income; and with all those precedents before me I desired, in view of the political and financial circumstances of the situation, to give some extension to the principles which are to be found in those measures, and which have governed the dispensation of all those funds. I have spoken on these lines to Sir Antony MacDonnell, and he, with his

Indian experience, found analogies between my ideas and the views which he had formed in India. But here comes the first source of serious misunderstanding. When Sir Antony MacDonnell has spoken to me of the Indian Budget and of provincial contracts I, who am colossally ignorant about Indian affairs, did not know that in India there is a semi-elective council with a voice in these matters; and therefore it never occurred to me during the conversations I had with Sir Antony MacDonnell that in pointing out the analogy between Indian finances and some of the ideas I had in my mind, he had in his mind, unexpressed, or at any rate not clear to me, the idea that another board would come into existence, partially elective, a board to which I should have to submit my Estimates, in addition to the Treasury and this House. If I had obtained an inkling of the idea that I was to submit the allocation of Irish resources not only to the Treasury, but then to another body of this description, which would resent everything that the Treasury had done, and in the third place to this House, where the Irish Members would dissent sharply from the views of the board—if I had ever entertained in my mind that this was part of the financial ideas intended I should at once and forthwith have told Sir Antony MacDonnell that, in my judgment, the proposal was impracticable and unworkable. But it did not. When I was talking of the Development Grant policy and he was citing the Indian analogies it is now clear to me that, though we were travelling on parallel lines, he was travelling on a line that went further, in accordance with the practice of India. In any case it has never been suggested to me that there should be any control over my allocation of Irish money for certain purposes other than the control of the Treasury and this House.

Now I come to the second and the graver cause of misunderstanding which confirmed the first cause. At the end of last session I defended Sir Antony MacDonnell, and I am prepared to defend him again. I went upon a holiday, and I tried to make that holiday as complete as I could make it. I paid no heed to the newspapers, I neglected my correspondence, and my mind was not intent upon politics at all. I do not dwell upon this, though, owing to the exacting demands that Ireland makes upon the time and attention of a Minister, I had not enjoyed a holiday for six years, and I meant this to be a holiday. There was no indication to make me suppose that anything important was going to happen in Ireland. The Irish Reform Association came into being without startling me. In the second manifesto, published on September 26th, everybody read into the formation of the Irish Reform Association all kinds of designs which I had not discovered in it on a very cursory and otiose perusal of the report on the first reading. I was on a holiday, and I did not know that the association was going to be formed or to issue a manifesto or report. The first report issued by the association made no impression on my mind, and it made very little impression upon the mind, of other people. I did not read it at the time; I was not following politics at all closely; but the *Irish Times*, a Unionist organ, seems to have read this report, I suppose, more carefully than I did. It was not at all startled or alarmed. This newspaper pointed out—and I think it is a fair criticism of the first notice of the Irish Reform Association—that its proposals were very vague, and added—

> "For the present we are content to bid the Irish Reform Association a cordial welcome and to wish success to its patriotic labours."

If I had been in Dublin and had read the article I should not have thought it my duty to dash into print and to say that these gentlemen were all wrong. The association only becomes real and concrete to me when I see the two proposals to which I have referred and to which I object. I was travelling about from this place to that place, and I was on the eve of going abroad. Sir Antony MacDonnell, who, as I now know, was taking a great interest in the Irish Reform Association and was intent upon this matter, which was not present to my mind, wrote me a letter saying that he was helping Lord Dunraven in respect of Irish finance. I wish I had that letter. If I had that letter I must say that the last cloud of suspicion would be dispersed; but I do not remember getting that letter. Sir Antony MacDonnell, however, recalls that letter to my mind, and he says that he was helping Lord Dunraven. I am not sure that he mentioned the Irish Reform Association, and he is sure that he did not mention the two matters to which I object—the creation of a financial council and the delegation of any legislative power other than Private Bill legislation to that body or to any other body. I may have erred in this matter; but all I can say is that if the letter did not contain any reference to these two points then I am not concerned as to what its contents were, except that I am deeply concerned that there should be a serious and melancholy misunderstanding between Sir Antony MacDonnell and myself, the only misunderstanding in the whole of our official connection. But, if these two points were not suggested in that letter, it contained no suggestion that a manifesto was to be issued; and it was the last thing I anticipated. I was abroad in Germany, and I never for a moment imagined that anybody was going to issue another political manifesto. Those are the points to which I attach importance, and I attached so much importance to them that I objected strongly to them both. When I saw for the first time in *The Times* on September 26th, without an idea that Sir Antony MacDonnell had assisted in drafting these proposals, and without consulting a single soul, I said that, in my judgment, the two points were inadmissible. That is the effect of my letter to *The Times*. I attached then, and I attach now, greater importance to the second point—the delegation of legislative powers other than Private Bill legislation. In the forefront of my letter I repudiated that. For the first time in *The Times* I did not, perhaps, state strongly, as I now state, my objection to the semi-elective financial board. That was not because I did not object to it. I never heard that there was to be a semi-elective financial board. I was concerned in the second part of the letter, to making it clear that the Treasury had some part to play in the giving of greater grants to Ireland. It was my duty, even on a cursory perusal of the document, to let the Chancellor of the Exchequer know that I was no party to seeking to get at that time further funds for Irish purposes. It was obvious to me that if these two proposals were objectionable I was bound to repudiate the second one forthwith.

I think that I have now exhausted the personal drama; at any rate, I have searched every nook and cranny of my mind and I have told the House all that I know of the matter. I am ready to take any blame which it is ready to cast upon me. I will take great blame for securing Sir Antony MacDonnell's services on the only terms commensurate with his performance of the duties. I did that, and I would do it again. I will take blame for permitting and for encouraging him to see Lord Dunraven and others and to collect information which might be useful to me in respect of Roman Catholic education. I did that, and I would do it again. I have as great a right to my views on the higher education of Roman Catholics as any other hon. Members. In India there are elective boards. I may be blamed because such little heed as I did pay to the coming to birth of the Reform Association during my holidays did not seem to me to afford any reason for my rushing back to Ireland. But from all this there followed, as I have said, a serious misunderstanding, but what is perfectly plain is that Sir Antony MacDonnell was justified and well warranted in the belief that I should not, and could not, object to his seeing Lord Dunraven or discussing with him the possibilities of reform, and the chances of Unionists in the South taking a more active part in politics and local affairs. He knew from conversations and from my speeches in this House that I was in favour of allowing the Irish Government to devote money exclusively Irish to the needs peculiar to that country, and he knew that I did not object, and I do not object, to the principle of some such measure for Private Bill legislation as that which has been given to Scotland, with the necessary alterations to make it applicable to Ireland. From this he inferred that I did not object, and I do object, to the creation of an elective financial board, and that I did not object, and I do object, to the delegation of any legislative power to anybody in Ireland other than for the purpose of Private Bills. His inference was a perfectly honest one, upon which he acted without any attempt to conceal anything.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Then why was he censured by the Cabinet?

MR. WYNDHAM: I am coming to that. He was wrong in drafting that document without being sure that I approved of the proposal, but it throws no kind of reflection upon his honour, candour, or integrity. His career in India stands unblemished by this matter. Now I am asked why I do not defend his action. I ought to add, as I said before, that as soon as Sir Antony MacDonnell saw my objection to these two proposals in *The Times* he at once informed Lord Dunraven that he could have no connection with the programme. Having made that clear I am asked why I did not defend Sir Antony MacDonnell. I have defended Sir Antony MacDonnell.

MR. DILLON: But why was he censured by the Cabinet?

MR. WYNDHAM: He was censured by the Cabinet because he assisted the publication owing to this misunderstanding, as I have explained, of proposals to which I and to which the Cabinet object; proposals which I was not at liberty to make without consultation with my colleagues, and which, therefore, he was not at liberty to make without knowing clearly that I was in favour of them.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): Does that apply to the Viceroy?

MR. WYNDHAM: A statement made by the Cabinet that they could not defend a publication of these proposals is a statement of fact. How can we as a Party, as a Government, defend the publication of proposals to which we object? But to that statement was added that the Government were thoroughly satisfied with the loyalty of Sir Antony MacDonnell. Now, it may be urged that you ought not to say you cannot defend the publication of those two proposals, and, at the same time, say that you are satisfied of his loyalty.

MR. DILLON: You said his conduct was indefensible.

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not know whether hon. Members wish to add acerbity, but I do not remember the word "conduct" being used. The point was that in assisting the formulation of these proposals his action was indefensible. But that casts no reflection upon Sir Antony MacDonnell. You cannot defend the publication of views from which you dissent yourself. Let me put it to my hon. friend. If we had said that we could not defend the publication of these proposals and we disapproved of them, without saying that we were satisfied that Sir Antony MacDonnell was acting honestly, we should have been casting an unmerited aspersion upon a public man upon whom no such aspersion should be cast. It would have been thought that the Government approved, or tacitly assented, to proposals to which the Government as a matter of fact took the strongest objection, and to which I have taken the strongest objection. I have dealt with this matter fully and without any artifices of speaking, and having dealt with it I feel it would be dull indeed——

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: Before the right hon. Gentleman passes from the subject altogether, will he answer the question whether the censure of the Cabinet on Sir Antony MacDonnell also covers the action of the Viceroy?

MR. WYNDHAM: This is a somewhat new question, because, when the Cabinet censured, if that is the proper term, Sir Antony MacDonell they did not know that the Viceroy had assented. Having dealt with this personal drama, at any rate very frankly, I feel it would be useless for me to deal seriously with the Amendment before the House, for this personal drama for the moment engages all our attention. The Amendment before the House raises very great questions of the highest moment. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford who opened this debate was quite explicit, as he always is. He wants Home Rule. We are entitled to know whether those who vote for this Amendment are ready to go to that length or not. I saw in the newspaper the other day that everybody should vote for this Amendment, because it meant a change in Party Government. Well, I should like to know the views of the Opposition upon this Amendment. My own views are perfectly clear. I stated last year in the debate on the Address that there is no middle term between Home Rule and the Union as it at present exists. I do not believe you will improve the situation of Ireland by means of a National Assembly and calling it something else. I do not believe you will improve the situation in Ireland by giving limited powers which you say you can revoke. I do not think you will improve the situation by supporting a national body and giving it no financial control, giving it a stipend like a boy upon an allowance. If any of those plans were followed the situation of Ireland would not be better, but worse than it is now. Because I am unable to say now, and because I have never been able to say, that the Unionist policy is unacceptable to the majority of the Irish people, it is assumed that we ought to try some experiment. Sir, I deny that. It is true now, as it was when the words were written, 110 years ago, that "This a state of things which no man in his senses can call perfectly happy." But it is the state of Ireland and the words go on. "To-day, the question is this—Are we to make the best of this situation which we cannot alter?" My view as a Unionist Minister has been that we ought to try and make the best of the situation. Because I have followed that view, I have exposed myself in some quarters to a great deal of hostile criticism, and if it is because I hold that view I have been condemned, I shall accept the condemnation with equanimity.

*MR. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire) said that after listening to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman he accepted fully the assurance he had given. He was a man of honour, and he accepted every word he had uttered as regarded his personal share in this most unhappy transaction. He could not help feeling, however, that Sir Antony MacDonnell had been very badly used in this matter. What were the circumstances under which Sir Antony MacDonnell, in the year 1902 was appointed to the great office which he held at the present time? They had heard them stated by the right hon. Gentleman, but they had also heard them stated in another place by Lord Lansdowne, and they knew pretty accurately what was the footing upon which Sir Antony MacDonnell came to Dublin Castle. The conditions were quite different from the usual conditions. Lord Lansdowne had stated that one of the conditions was that Sir Antony MacDonnell was not to be bound by the narrow rules of routine, and that he was to have greater opportunities of initiative. That was one of the phrases which appeared in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. One of Sir Antony MacDonnell's tasks was to be the co-ordination of the many detached or semi-detached boards under which the Government of Ireland was at present sub-divided. That was a most remarkable phrase. Upon that footing, and coming to Ireland from a great position in India as Sir Antony MacDonnell did, what took place? There was a discussion between the right hon. Gentleman and Sir Antony MacDonnell as to what was to be the policy of the administration in which he was to take a share, and the Chief Secretary had told them that there were many topics on which there was large discussion, and that there was an exchange of views not merely in writing but also in conversation. There was, for instance, an exchange of views upon education, and they knew, of course, that that meant the large question connected with University education in Ireland. Then there was the question of co-ordination of the many detached boards, which were the same words as he had just quoted from Lord Lansdowne's speech. Then there was administrative conciliation, another very remarkable phrase, and there was also consolidation, opening up a wide field. It was perfectly obvious from what the right hon. Gentleman had told the House that the discussions between himself and Sir Antony MacDonnell went very far. He accepted the right hon. Gentleman's statement that there was a mistake, but his point was that the person to be sympathised with in this matter was Sir

Antony MacDonnell and not the right hon. Gentleman. The Unionist Party had made a step forward towards a larger and more liberal measure of government in Ireland, and they had been reproached for being under the influence of hon. Gentlemen from Ireland who sat on the Nationalist side, but those gentlemen had even a better ground for reproaching the administration for being under the heel of the Ascendency Party in Ireland. He welcomed certain signs of a systematic effort on the part of the administration to try and free itself from that control. First, there was the Local Government Bill of the President of the Board of Trade, then at the Irish Office and, later, the conference in Ireland which led up to the Land Act of 1903. That conference was composed of the same people who had issued this manifesto which gave rise to such misunderstanding. The House had learned to-night that the views of the Chief Secretary were not opposed to every statutory board. He had made an exception in favor of Private Bill legislation, and held the view that a statutory board could be formed in Ireland to deal with that. The proposed financial council, however, was a matter on which he would like some light, for such a council was certainly a new feature in the situation. The right hon. Gentleman, he understood, had not concealed from them that he was in favour of a financial council of some kind, but what he did object to was a financial council which should control the allocation, which he himself chose to make, of the grants.

MR. WYNDHAM: No, I personally, speaking for what my experience of Dublin Castle is worth, object to having anybody interposed between the Treasury and this House.

*MR. HALDANE: It was not to have any power of control, but it was to be a financial council.

MR. WYNDHAM: Well, what is the good of a financial council if it has no power?

*MR. HALDANE: Well, I should have thought that that was a topic which emerged in the conversations between Sir Antony MacDonnell and the right hon. Gentleman. Was it not discussed?

MR. WYNDHAM: That is so; but I must ask the right hon. Gentleman to take it from me that I supposed, in my ignorance of Indian affairs, when the words "provincial control" were mentioned, that they did not convey financial control. I did not know there was a council in India. My object had been to get more money from the Consolidated Grant for Ireland, to be devoted to Irish purposes on the lines of the Development Grant. My object has never been—and as soon as I heard it stated I objected to it—that anybody should intervene between the Treasury and this House, a third body to whom I should have to repeat the endless arguments I have to urge in order to get money for any purpose.

*MR. HALDANE: Then I misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman very much when I heard his speech. I certainly thought that some consultative body was discussed.

MR. WYNDHAM: No.

*MR. HALDANE: Not even discussed.

MR. WYNDHAM: No.

*MR. HALDANE said that of course he accepted the right hon. Gentleman's statement; but it was very remarkable that Sir Antony MacDonnell should have slipped so easily into the idea that a financial council, which occupied a prominent position in the Reform Association scheme, came within the scope of what he was authorised to discuss. It only confirmed in his mind the fact that the discussions between the right hon. Gentleman and Sir Antony MacDonnell must have gone very far and been very loose. The step taken by the right hon. Gentleman in summoning Sir Antony MacDonnell to the councils of the Irish Office on the footing which had been described was a most extraordinary one. It seemed to him that Sir Antony MacDonnell must have very much misunderstood the letter of this, as he had misapprehended the spirit. It seemed to him that the case was one either for dismissal or defence, and not for the policy of censure which the right hon. Gentleman and those around him had adopted. It also seemed that there had been a good deal of division of opinion in the councils in which the right hon. Gentleman had taken part. For example, the attitude of mind of the right hon. Gentleman and Lord Lansdowne was quite different from that of the more extreme representatives of the Ascendency Party, not only out of the Government, but in the Government. One of the most extraordinary features of the situation was the fact that the attack on the right hon. Gentleman should come from the English Solicitor-General, who was a member of the Government. Then, again, they found *The Times* demanding the head not only of Sir Antony MacDonnell, but of the Lord-Lieutenant, in such an article in that paper as appeared that morning from its Dublin correspondent. After quoting the article in question, the right hon. Gentleman said that it was conveyed to his mind that there were two elements with which the right hon. Gentleman had to deal—those who, like Lord Lansdowne, wished to govern Ireland sympathetically, and those who, like the writer of *The Times* article and the hon. and learned Member opposite, took the old stiff ascendency view.

There had been a great deal of talk upon the question of a Catholic University. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House had always taken a very large view of this matter, and had stated that he wished to put education upon a footing free from the taint of Protestantism on the one hand, and Catholicism on the other, and existing only for educational purposes. The Chief Secretary committed himself to that policy in 1899, but since then some other element in the Cabinet had diverted him from carrying out those views, and what they had before them on this occasion was very much like what occurred in 1899, namely, the Government coming to a certain conclusion, and expressing certain convictions, and then being terrorised out of them. A Government of that kind could not command the confidence of the country and could not command the confidence of Ireland. They had just had an example of the kind of confidence which this policy inspired in hon. Members representing Ulster. The House knew perfectly well the opinions of the Opposition upon these questions. He could not help contrasting the want of firmness and definiteness now shown in this matter by the Government in regard to Sir Antony MacDonnell with the very different attitude adopted by Lord Morpeth and Lord John Russell in regard to Mr. Drummond on the memorable occasion which presented the nearest parallel. In the spring of 1839 Mr. Drummond found himself in a situation very much like that in which Sir Antony MacDonnell found himself at the present time. What he did was to come to the conclusion that the magistrates in Ulster could not be trusted to deal with the maintenance of order in cases where there was a conflict between Protestants and Catholics, and so he appointed stipendiary magistrates. Knowing the spirit in which Mr. Drummond was appointed, knowing the work they had sent him to do, the men then responsible for the conduct of government in Ireland did not waste time upon small matters of detail, but took into account the fact that they had given the largest freedom to Mr. Drummond, just as it was given to Sir Antony MacDonnell, to do his best. And what happened? The House of Lords passed a vote of censure upon Mr. Drummond, but Lord John Russell in the House of Commons defended Mr. Drummond's action and reversed the decision given in the House of Lords. One could not help thinking that it would be much better if there was a little more of that firmer spirit shown on the part of those now administering Irish affairs.

He was talking of what they might have done, if they had used all the splendid opportunities which had come to them, with the magnificent majority they had in the House, and the resources at their disposal. Whether they took education, administration, or the reforms which formed the non-controversial part of the conversations between Sir Antony MacDonnell and the Chief Secretary, a vast field was open to them from which they seemed to have been frightened by the paralysing influence of that small Party in Ireland which appeared now to be exerting such a great influence. Surely the business of the Government of this country was to know their own mind about what they were going to do in Ireland, and he could not believe that they knew their own mind when they appointed Sir Antony MacDonnell, with the views he held, and then had to pull him up with a censure upon the matter they now had before them. Taking that broad view of the case, which one was bound to take in matters of this sort, the dilemma was one which necessitated either dismissal or a defence from the Chief Secretary. Dismissal they could not adopt in the face of what had now been admitted. That there were differences of opinion was quite evident, but it was not as though Sir Antony MacDonnell had neglected to perform some executive act, for he had simply taken part in the preparation of a certain scheme which had been given to the public. That might have been unwise, but it only represented Sir Antony MacDonnell's individual view and it was not put forward on any other footing. This matter had been going on for some months, and the whole head and cause of Sir Antony MacDonnell's offending was that he had taken a line of his own in trying to administer the government in the interests of Ireland and not in the interests of any section. Surely this was a possible policy for hon. Members opposite, and they ought to try to find some lines on which to run the government of Ireland, which lines should have in them the element of continuity and should be in the interests of Ireland as a whole and not of any one section; lines which those who came after them might take up with some assurance of continuity, still carrying on the good work which had already been begun. That did not seem to him to be the mind or the mood of the present Ministry, who stood up to nobody; they could not stand up to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and they could not stand up to the Ulster element. One wondered whether there was anything left upon which the present Government would show sufficient nerve to initiate a policy and follow it out to its conclusion. The proposal before the House was a most opportune one, for it gave them an opportunity of discussing and bringing to the test a situation which he thought was more extraordinary than any situation which he had seen in the House of Commons for some time past.

Lord HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) said he was unable to agree with his hon. friends sitting near him upon this question, although he was generally very warmly in sympathy with their actions in Irish affairs. Upon Home Rule he heartily agreed with them. He should have thought that at the present time Home Rule was as dead as any question in the world, and his hon. friends representing Ireland need not be so anxious about it as they apparently were. He was very much surprised that anyone should be alarmed at the idea of this question coming to the front again, because in his opinion the English people had come to regard Home Rule as a closed issue. ["No, no!"] Nevertheless it was quite fitting that the Chief Secretary should repudiate with all the earnestness in his power any notion of coquetting with such a policy. He did not think that anything which Sir Antony MacDonnell had done could be reasonably construed as meaning an encouragement to Home Rule. Sir Antony MacDonnell was pursuing a conciliatory policy, and the right hon. Gentleman naturally contemplated that he should collect information from all sorts of people, and all sections of society, upon all sorts of matters, but he did not contemplate that he would either identify himself with any scheme of delegation or the Imperial control of finance. By doing this he was extending his duties beyond the limits which his right hon. friend had marked out for him. It was absurd, however, to say that Sir Antony MacDonnell was not to discuss these matters. Paraphrasing the apostle, "It is not a shame to speak of Home Rule." Home Rule, though pernicious, was not indecent. What was improper was that a scheme should actually be formulated with the assistance of the Under-Secretary and published to the world. That scheme was of a very moderate character, and did not go the whole distance of Home Rule; but it was an extremely foolish proposal and would probably have given an advantage to Home Rulers in the discussion of the question both in this country and in Ireland. It was improper, therefore, that Sir Antony MacDonnell should have identified himself with the publication of the scheme. Then arose the question of what his position and what the position of the Government towards him ought to be. The hon. and learned Member for Haddingtonshire strongly affirmed that the Government had no alternative except to dismiss or to defend Sir Antony MacDonnell. It was impossible to lay down a more astounding doctrine or one more injurious to the public service. Was it to be said that the Government must either approve what they knew to be wrong or dismiss a public servant whom they knew to be useful? Was there to be no alternative to insincerity or injury to the public service?

*Mr. HALDANE asked whether the noble Lord held that public servants should be attacked when they had no opportunity of defending themselves.

Lord HUGH CECIL said that when an attack was made the truth should be told. So far as a public official was in the right the Government should say he was in the right, and so far as he was in the wrong they should say he was in the wrong. How could he be aggrieved because they had spoken the truth when asked about the matter? The hon. and learned Member, who doubtless as a lawyer could defend anybody, had already taken up the cudgels in Sir Antony MacDonnell's behalf.

*Mr. HALDANE asked whether the noble Lord suggested that Sir Antony MacDonnell should be sent to him with authority to state all the facts of what passed between him and the Chief Secretary?

Lord HUGH CECIL understood that all the facts had been laid before the House. ["No."] The hon. and learned Member had already made a defence of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and had laid down the doctrine that the Government must get rid of a public servant whom they believed to be useful to the public service, because they were not able to say they thought him right when, as a matter of fact, they knew him to be wrong. Common sense demanded that they should pass a moderately and temperately worded censure when he was wrong, praise the much wider portion of his official work which deserved praise, and leave him in the position he adorned, and in which he would continue to be able to serve the public. It was often said of soldiers in the field and other public servants that the Government must either defend or dismiss them. That led to a series of insincere public defences, which everybody knew to be insincere, which were positively unfair to those who legitimately criticised the action of public officials, and which advanced no cause whatever except the lowering of the tone of debates in Parliament by creating the impression that Members were playing an unreal game and could not tell the truth. He strongly defended and applauded the Government for the course they had taken in regard to Sir Antony MacDonnell. He could not help feeling that his hon. friends were a little unreasonable in their attitude in regard to the policy of conciliation toward all classes in Ireland.

Mr. WILLIAM MOORE said he had no objection to conciliation at all. He thought it a capital theory, but in practice it proved to be conciliating their enemies at the expense of their friends, and as such was disastrous to Unionism.

Lord HUGH CECIL said that wherever a Government had to deal with two bodies of partisan opinion, each strongly inflamed against the other, if they were impartial, it was certain that they would be strongly censured by both parties. In view of the strong opinions held by the hon. Member for Antrim, if he did not criticise the Government it would be almost positive proof that the Government were partial in his favour. Everybody who had sat through Irish debates knew that the Irish question was not a question between Ireland and England; it was a quarrel between two parties of Irishmen — landlords and tenants, Nationalists and Unionists, Protestants and Roman Catholics—and this quarrel was perpetually being brought before the House, and landed the Government of the United Kingdom in a series of awkward positions. Any effort to do what was fair and just to both parties was denounced by the opposing camps. The Chief Secretary's administration had received that mark of success, and it was exactly what he should have expected from that right hon. Gentleman's moderate and impartial way of looking at things.

He was glad the Chief Secretary had repudiated so emphatically all schemes of devolution which partook of the nature of the Dunraven proposals. There was no doubt great force in the argument in favour of relieving the House of some of its burden of business, but he distrusted all schemes designed for that object unless they possessed two qualifications—first, that they left a real control to the House, and secondly—which was more important—that they proposed no delegation from the other House of Parliament. Whatever might be said about the House of Commons being overburdened with work, the other House could not be said to be, and any proposal to delegate power from that Assembly could be put forward, not as a matter of business, but only with an eye to the principle of nationality. That was where he dissented so vehemently from hon. Gentlemen opposite. They conceived the Irish question to be a national question, in fact, they called themselves "Nationalists." If he said there was not, never had been, and never would be such a thing as an Irish nationality, he would very deeply offend hon. Members; therefore he preferred to say that in none of the four countries of the United Kingdom could it be maintained that there was historically a nationality in the full sense of the word. When was England a nationality? In what year of grace? He did not know that England, as such, ever had what was called the idea of nationality. He did not admit that a country was a nationality when one half of the population was engaged in cutting the throats of the other half, hence he did not admit that England was a nationality during the period of the Wars of the Roses. Nor as long as they were under French influence could they be called an English nationality. That brought them down as late as Henry VII., and by that time Wales had become amalgamated. Then, in the time of Elizabeth, Scotch influence came in. Scotch influence spread over England so that England was almost a protected State. Under James I. the two peoples were united. There was not a single moment in Irish history when it could be said that Ireland had a nationality of which she had since been deprived. How absurdly unreal it was to speak of the United Kingdom as being made up of nationalities! He doubted whether there was a single Member of Parliament in whose veins was not flowing blood belonging to all four. Clearly they were of one nationality, amalgamated of different racial component parts—one nationality with one national history, just as they had one body of national interests and one national language. There was no greater sham than the idea of nationality as applied to any one of the four countries. The only difference between Irish nationality and English nationality was that the one was an active and the other a dormant sham. This very debate served to remind the House of the essential duality of Irish character. If they were to treat any nationality at all they must divide Ireland into halves, separating the North East from the rest of the body, unequal in population, wealth, and intelligence. Home Rule was in many respects a pernicious proposal; and it was certainly altogether misdirected. It did not "touch the spot" in Irish affairs, or reach the real Irish difficulty. Disapproving strongly of Home Rule, he submitted to his hon. friend that there was something more important than their immediate quarrel with the Government. Home Rule was for the time being extinct in English opinion. English and Scotch opinion would decide the Home Rule question. There was no prospect of converting the whole of Irish opinion to the one side or the other. Ulster would not be converted to Home Rule, nor the South of Ireland to Unionism. It followed, therefore, that it was all important to have regard to English and Scotch opinion, and to inflict, or nearly inflict a defeat on the Government which would beyond all doubt revive the Home Rule feeling in England and Scotland. It was thought the thing was dead; people did not care two straws about it.

They had not followed Sir Antony MacDonnell—hardly knew his name. But the moment they saw that the Imperial Government had been either defeated or jeopardised they would say, "This is a very serious matter, the Irish Government is not being well conducted; we must really listen again to those views, which we thought almost every one had abandoned, as to a fundamental administrative change." He was convinced hon. Members would sincerely regret it if they took such a course. Not only were loyalty, zeal, and earnestness necessary to achieve great objects, but patience also, and it would be an ill day for their common country if, in a moment of irritation, his hon. friends jeopardised the fruits of a victory which was almost won, and to which their courage and patriotism had largely contributed.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.) said it was a very fitting thing that the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich should lecture the Irish landlords on the disadvantages of ill-tempered debate in this House. He was not aware that any of the Irish Members of the House on one side or the other had addressed the epithet "coward" to any Member of the House, though that was the epithet the noble Lord flung at the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. The speech just delivered by the noble Lord displayed an amount of British audacity which was characteristic of all superior Englishmen when they came to deal with the affairs of Ireland. The noble Lord had made it plain what the Irish Nationalist Members, and what Ireland, might expect from him and the Party to which he belonged. He had taken upon himself to pose as the apostle of unambiguous speech in the House, but he had come forward to-night to defend the Government on a question with respect to which, to borrow a phrase, "metaphysical sophistication" had been the prominent feature. There had been questions put from both sides of the House to the Chief Secretary, and he had not answered one of them. The right hon. Gentleman had been asked from both sides what was the part Lord Dudley had played in this transaction. He wanted to know from the Government—did Lord Dudley represent anything or anybody in Ireland? Lord Dudley was the representative of the King, and surely the Government could not charge Sir Antony MacDonnell with reprehensible conduct if Lord Dudley sent a communication to be read in the House of Lords that he had been associated with the whole transaction from beginning to end.

The Chief Secretary had that afternoon pointed out that he at least was free from association with the proposals of Lord Dunraven, and yet the right hon. Gentleman's speech from beginning to end was a defence of Lord Dunraven and his proposals. The right hon. Gentleman had written on behalf of the Cabinet that the conduct of Sir Antony MacDonnell was reprehensible. An hon. Member on his side of the House had stated that Sir Antony, if his conduct was reprehensible, was unworthy of being entrusted further with the administration of Irish affairs, or else the Government was a sham and a fraud. No one knew the views of the Prime Minister on the fiscal question, but if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham were to succeed in inducing the country to accept his policy, the fruits of his labours were to be plucked by the Prime Minister. The Chief Secretary had in the same way freed himself from the proposals of Lord Dunraven and Sir Antony MacDonnell, but if these gentlemen had succeeded they would have been put on one side and the Chief Secretary would have come forward and claimed the credit.

The hon. and learned Member for North Antrim approached every question affecting Ireland from the point of view of place and jobs. His own opinion was that the hon. Member was a rather unreasonable Unionist, for he had admitted that out of the ten Irish Unionists five had got places of emolument which might, all things considered, be regarded as a reasonable share of responsibility and gain. He had noticed that the hon. Member's eloquent appeal to his friends on the Treasury Bench to give up their places had been met with a painful silence. The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich had said there were two Irelands. That was not so; but in any event he denied that the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim represented the Protestants of Ireland while there were in the House the Member for South Tyrone—who had rendered more service to the Union than the whole galaxy of hon. Gentlemen opposite—the Member for Fermanagh and the Member for East Down. None of these Gentlemen were Catholics, nor, so far as he knew, Nationalists. The only Protestantism in Ireland the hon. and learned Gentlemen recognised was the Protestantism which had for its music the big drum and which marched under Orange colours.

These three hon. Gentlemen were the representatives and exponents of a new idea in Ireland; a wider appreciation of the events in Parliament; they would come back after the general election strengthened in numbers and influence, and the House would have the Irish Question presented with an irresistible power that it never had before. Everybody knew that Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment was not a Castle appointment. According to Lord Lansdowne he was a different kind of man from those usually appointed by the Castle. Lord Lansdowne said—

> "Sir Antony MacDonnell has held successively a series of the highest and most responsible posts in the Indian service. He was at different times at the head of the Government of Burma, at the head of the Government of the Central Provinces, with a population of 12,000,000 committed to his charge, and he was Chief Commissioner of the North-West Provinces, with a population of no fewer than 47,000,000 under his government. Subsequently he became a member of the Viceroy's Council, and on his return home, as the noble Marquess reminded us, he had the high honour of a place in the Privy Council conferred upon him. Now, my Lords, during that long and arduous service in India Sir Antony MacDonnell has had to deal with the most difficult of the many difficult problems with which Indian statesmen are confronted. He dealt with great famines, and thanks to his administration, waves of distress, the violence of which we can scarcely conceive in this country, passed over the districts committed to his charge and left the population scathless behind them. He dealt with religious difficulties in a country where religious differences produce feelings as bitter even as those which can be found on the other side of the Irish Channel. He dealt with the great and intricate problems of Indian land tenure—problems as complicated as any with which we are familar in these islands."

That was what Sir Antony MacDonnell had done, and that was not the class of appointment that hon. Gentlemen opposite wanted. If a mere Castle hack was needed that could be got without any difficulty and without going very far afield. There were five placemen on the benches opposite and ten or twenty eager to be made placemen. There was never any difficulty in getting a fine lot of candidates for a Government job. There were hon. Gentlemen on the other side who would preserve the best traditions of Castle government if they could only get a place. There had been some appointed to unpaid positions who were found too dear at the price. What was wanted was a man of strong mind and great powers of initiative to popularise Dublin Castle—an entirely hopeless task. It was not the Under-Secretary's fault that he had not succeeded, it was the fault of the Dublin Castle system which was rotten to the core, and could never be anything but a name that stank in the nostrils of all decent men. Sir Antony MacDonnell was given large powers of initiative, free action, and consultation as they had now learned. But the foundation and basis of all the charges against him was, that he was an Irishman come to govern Ireland; and secondly, he was a Catholic Irishman. Was that a crime? Let the gentlemen answer who had traduced him in Ulster. It was not his function to defend Sir Antony MacDonnell. All Castle officials were alike to him. He believed that they could never govern Ireland satisfactorily by Dublin Castle, but still the position of Sir Antony MacDonnell should be regarded with some consideration for Irish chivalry. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had not only pursued Sir Antony MacDonnell in regard to this particular incident raised in this debate, but had throughout pursued him with a truculence unparalleled in the case of any other public man. And that night the hon. and learned Member stood up in the House and practically apologised for all he had said about Sir Antony MacDonnell, rightly interpreting the new condition of affairs, and that the responsibility rested with the Government—a responsibility which the Government had shirked. Sir Antony MacDonnell merely pleaded that honourable past which had characterised him in all his public actions since he was entrusted with responsibility in public office.

The hon. Member opposite, in order to prove that there were two Irelands to intelligent, but ignorant Englishmen, made an attack upon County Cavan. He told about the horrible action that was done to a poor Protestant rate-collector or a potential rate collector. His argument was that a rate collector had been appointed, who was preferred to a Protestant candidate who was prepared to collect the rates at 1d. in the £ poundage less. Was that a basis of attack on Sir Antony MacDonnell? What were the real facts? They did not know in the House anything of the local conditions of this much-maligned County Cavan. And yet, having a Catholic population of 95 per cent. of the whole, it returned a Protestant Member of Parliament. The hon. Member did not tell that to the House. Might he ask the noble Lord, with his airy epigrammatic references to two Irelands, was that a proof of Catholic bigotry, or of the bitter passions that existed between Protestants and Catholics? Here was County Cavan returning to this Parliament to represent them, and promote their interests, a gentleman of a different religious persuasion to 95 per cent. of the inhabitants. How many Catholic representatives had they in the noble Lords of Ireland? And yet he came there flaunting the flag of religious liberty, while it would be a positive miracle for any Catholic, even if he betrayed his own class, to be returned for a constituency in that part of the country. The hon. and learned Member opposite also came there, representing that poor persecuted minority, and at a time when there was a keener realisation of the future in store for Ireland, and a better spirit was prevailing among the people, when the writing was on the wall, so far as this Government was concerned, he appealed to the old Party cries, bad manners, Party strife, and religious differences among the people of Ireland. The hon. and learned Member talked about the 1,250,000 Protestants whom he represented in the House, but the Orange lodges in his own constituency would revolt against him. He talked about something a minute ago that was an abortion in Dublin Castle, but there was another abortion, brought forth he did not know where—the Ulster Landlords Union; and he talked about the various associations which it represented. Why, the hon. Member for South Belfast would not be allowed into it. This association, which surely represented something in this House, would not be recognised amongst the brilliant Constitutionalists which dominated the Government and that new-born body. If he came there to speak for the whole of Ulster and his hon. friend sitting opposite him, he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would tell the House what his view was of the hon. Gentleman who brought forward the Irish Landlords Union. What was his speech from beginning to end but the most powerful impeachment of British rule in Ireland ever heard? The United Irish League would print it at their own expense, because it showed that eighty-two Nationalist Members on that side of the House, ten Members on the other side of the House, and five or six on both sides of the House were all united in saying that the Government was a bad Government, the system was an evil system, and that the conduct of Irish affairs was pernicious in principle. What could be more irresistible? Hon. Gentlemen opposite were not satisfied; they on that side were not satisfied, and if all were united in dissatisfaction of British rule in Ireland, surely the country ought to have a Parliament of its own.

The hon. Gentleman opposite was very fond of aristocratic company; he told the House that he was dining recently with a Judge. All he himself would say was that he was sorry that two Judges were not dining together. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that he need never have any fear of opposition to his promotion from that side of the House. He observed, however, that the hon. Gentleman did not use as a peroration the eloquent passage delivered by Lord Westmeath in the House of Lords, who he believed bore the same relation to Unionists in that House which the hon. Gentleman bore to Unionists in this House. Lord Westmeath said that he would urge on his friends to leave Ireland alone in future, as they wanted to manage their own affairs. The House was now agreed on two fundamental propositions. One was that the government of Ireland was an extravagant and partial government, and that its conduct of Irish affairs from every point of view had been a failure and a disaster. It was also agreed that it was inefficient. He had always understood that logic was one of the great characteristics of the English people; and if that were so, how could they refuse to give Ireland a Parliament of her own. Ireland had not been mentioned in the King's Speech; but it had been heard in the House and elsewhere all the same. The fiscal question and other great English controversial topics had been completely obscured by Ireland springing to the front again. Their policy had been denounced in one breath and practically vindicated in another. The attempt to blind the public on this issue was almost as patent as that in connection with the fiscal policy. The fact was that the Government could not be straight on any question. He expected that that was why the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast was appointed War Minister.

The hon. Member for North Antrim stated it was his duty to show the Chief Secretary in his true light to Unionists in England. If that was the view held by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and if they demanded a dissolution, surely if the Government had any respect for public opinion, they would allow the judgment of the country to be taken. The Chief Secretary had broken his promises in connection with the labourers' question and other questions. He got £12,000,000 sterling for Irish landlords, because the House relied on his promises that something would be done for the labourers. Last year he introduced a Bill which was an insult to the labourers; this year they were not mentioned at all. The Prime Minister himself had for years been telling the world how eager he was for a Catholic University. If the Government had as much tenacity for principle as they had for office, they would have resigned long ago. He did not expect prosy platitudes from the right hon. Gentleman, but an honest and chivalrous speech apologising for the attack he had made on Sir Antony MacDonnell when he charged him with being guilty of conduct which was indefensible. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Hampshire had a seat in this House, and was able to defend himself, but the Prime Minister, anxious to stand by a subordinate member of the Government, sprang to his feet, and, not satisfied with his own eloquence, had to go to that of John Bright to find words eloquent enough to defend that hon. Member. Sir Antony MacDonnell had no seat in this House, and could not defend himself from the most unfair and cruel charges that had been made against him. Here was a distinguished servant who had been charged with being guilty of indefensible conduct, although they had it on the faith of both Lord Lansdowne and Lord Dudley that they knew all about it. Had he been the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary he would have scorned to have retained office by trampling upon his subordinate.

*MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) said he embraced this opportunity of withdrawing everything he had ever said with regard to Sir Antony MacDonnell, in view of the statement made by the Chief Secretary. It was quite possible that had Sir Antony MacDonnell not been accused they would not have extracted such important information from the Government as that which they had received that day. He was surprised that the Chief Secretary on going for a holiday, not having had one for six years, did not settle this matter before he went. The Unionist supporters of the Government found themselves that evening in a very awkward position. Lord Lansdowne had given an entirely new definition of Home Rule, which, he said, was "co-ordination of detached and semi-detached boards." They could always fight an open foe, but when they found a Jesuitical friend they must watch him. While the debate was in progress he thought of the speech made by the Viceroy at Belfast, wherein he said that it did not matter whether a man wore an orange or a green shirt, what they wanted was toleration. They also found that the Government was ever ready to give an answer across the floor of the House in regard to a permanent official who was muzzled, who had been unjustly condemned, who had, in his opinion, been most unfairly treated — that this permanent official had been wrong in his action, and his conduct indefensible—but the conduct of the Viceroy, who wrote to Lord Lansdowne that he knew all about it, had not been questioned why? Being interested in this devolution scheme, he invited one of its promoters to Belfast to explain it, and he was asked whether Sir Antony MacDonnell had anything to do with it, because they all thought it was the creation of Sir Antony's brain, and that the Chief Secretary had nothing to do with it, but Lord Dunraven in another place on Friday last said the scheme was type-written in Dublin Castle for secrecy. More than that, some of the Unionists of Belfast honoured Sir Antony with a visit and discussed the question of a Roman Catholic University, or what was called the "educational spirit of the Prime Minister's view." All these things had been going on, and the Chief Secretary was supposed to know nothing about these interviews of Sir Antony's.

It was an absolute impossibility to expect an Irish Unionist to give a vote of confidence on the Amendment which had been moved by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Waterford. The representatives of a Unionist Government ought to be able to get up and say to the Nationalists, "You are here to demand Home Rule, we are here to refuse it." As to the suggestion of the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich, that since there was no possibility of satisfying either Party in Ireland, the best thing was to treat both with contempt, that was a course the right hon. Gentleman would be well advised not to pursue. Lord Lansdowne had said that Sir Antony MacDonnell was an honourable and able official who had come over "to do something for his country before he died." Did this mean granting Home Rule to Ireland under a new name? If, in order to do that, it had been announced that he was to occupy the Chief Secretary's chair and that the right hon. Gentleman was to sit at his feet, it would have been easy to understand Sir Antony MacDonnell taking the lead in many things that he ought not to have. It would be interesting to hear the Prime Minister's views on the question. Another question to be asked was what connection the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Police had with this correspondence? That official also had helped in the matter of higher education and knew something about the correspondence. The whole mystery was not yet unravelled; it would not be surprising if other mysteries were revealed. He would that Sir Antony MacDonnell were unmuzzled, for he believed he would make a clean breast of the whole matter. The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich was perfectly correct in saying that the question of Home Rule would be decided by England and Scotland. The Irish Unionists were a small minority, and it would be useless for them to attempt to fight the battle of the Union unless England and Scotland sent a majority of Members to defend the same principles. The true opponents of Home Rule were not the Ulster Members, but this country as a whole. The Chief Secretary was entitled to regard the course of the debate with some dissatisfaction, but what Unionists had to complain of was not so much that the scheme was allowed to be put before the country as that Sir Antony MacDonnell had been connected with the proposals with the knowledge of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary. He did not think that Ireland would be any more peaceful under the kind of Government described by the hon. Member for Waterford. Many hon. Gentlemen opposite disapproved of the treatment meted out to Protestants in various parts of Ireland. The truth was that the great trouble in Irish politics and the great hindrance to the welfare of the people was the unnecessary interference of the priests. Peace was impossible while the priests controlled Ireland, and until that control was stopped it would be difficult for any Irish Administration to draw an impartial line between the two Parties.

He and his friends were willing to support the Government upon Unionist principles, because they believed that such principles were best for Ireland, but he regretted that their desires had been prevented by the Jesuitical treatment which had been meted out to them from a so-called Unionist Government. He was thoroughly convinced that this treatment was not conciliation but something under a false name, full of hypocrisy, and the sooner the Government washed its hands of it the better. They ought not to expect support from Irish Unionists until they adopted that course. He wished to assure hon. Members opposite that he was as much interested in the welfare and prosperity of Ireland as they were, and the question upon which they differed was as to what methods and tactics ought to be adopted. He was anxious that the Government should take an honest stand, and when they gave a permanent Under-Secretary or any Civil servant a free hand they should not hide themselves behind that official. If they failed in their policy let them say so, and take the responsibility. It was a disastrous thing, and not even honourable, to allow any person who had occupied the position of permanent Under-Secretary in Dublin Castle to act in this way. He was not satisfied at all that the Chief Secretary ought not to release Sir Antony MacDonnell from his false position. What were they to have for the future? What guarantee had they that the principles he had initiated would not be carried out this year or next year? What guarantee had they that Lord Dunraven would not go on with a scheme of co-ordination of detached or semi-detached boards with the consent of the Cabinet. Were they to understand that this was a sort of half-way house without an open door into which people of all creeds and politics might enter. Irish representatives on the whole were not unaware of the disastrous effects of Dublin Castle administration. While he could not agree with the hon. and learned Member for Waterford that the only solution of this problem was Home Rule, because under Home Rule meant Rome Rule, he believed that there was a possibility of giving greater consideration to the needs of the Irish people than was being given by the present Administration. It was time that the Government set their house in order. He thought that the Opposition would find it very difficult indeed in some quarters of England to advocate Home Rule with success, for it would be a harder nut to crack than it was before. They were all agreed that because the Government had refused to take a resolute stand they had been most unsuccessful in conciliating their enemies, and this time they ought to consider not so much conciliation but even-handed justice to all classes.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that this had been an interesting and extraordinary debate, but he could not agree with the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich that they had had the whole of the facts brought out. He assured the noble Lord that there were a good many ugly facts still to come out. The hon. Member for Haddingtonshire was entirely right when he said that this attack upon Sir Antony MacDonnell began long before the devolution proposals were heard of, and in this aspect this controversy was one of the most squalid character. He had handed to the hon. and learned Member for Waterford a circular issued by the Irish Unionist Party which was signed by the hon. Member for Mid. Armagh. This was the origin of the whole business under their own hand and seal. [AN HON. MEMBER: What is the date?] It was dated 15th February, 1905. It states—

> "The Chief Secretary appears to have abdicated his position of responsibility in favour of a subordinate official with a policy of his own, which is directed to destroying the basis of Irish Unionism and to stimulating against Irish loyalists a political and religious propaganda."

That was the point he wished to direct the attention of the House to. The circular went on to state—

> "Unionist constituencies are deprived of their share of public funds; Unionist individuals of their right to emoluments or promotion."

These gentleman were very candid. The circular proceeded—

> "Government is carried on in a mass of clerical intrigue directed against Protestants, all in pursuance of this policy."

Those gentlemen for whom the hon. Member for Mid. Armagh spoke, and the Party which they represented, at present held nine-tenths of the positions of emolument and trust in Ireland; and yet they desired more, and were getting them every day. He had only to refer to a fact, known to every Irish Member of the House, that within the last twelve months four County Court Judges had been appointed in Ireland, and although the counties over which they had to administrate had an overwhelming Roman Catholic population, three out of four of those appointments had not gone to Catholic barristers, although there were plenty of Catholics fit for them, but three of them had been given to Orangemen and only one to a Nationalist. It was the same in every branch of Irish Government, and yet the gentlemen holding nine-tenths of these positions came and made an appeal to the House of Commons for more. He had been a Member of the House of Commons for twenty years, and remembered a good many gentlemen, barristers from Ireland, who had sat in the House. Where were they now, or, at any rate, most of them? On the Bench opposite. The people who now came clamouring for appointments had received almost all the appointments which had been given since the Union took place, and the vast majority of the population had been practically ostracised by successive Governments. What was the state of things when the Grand Juries had control? Where did the Catholics have a chance then? Was it likely that they could change all that and give the people the chance they had never had before whilst those gentlemen's friends held all the positions of authority. In some respects this was the most squalid debate, so far as the hon. Gentlemen opposite were concerned, that had ever taken place in the House of Commons.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.)

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [20th February] to Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people."—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL, continuing his speech, said he had listened attentively to the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as to how he and Sir Antony manufactured Irish policy. It consisted of five or six heads. They were to settle the land question by a system of voluntary purchase. They were to deal with higher education in Ireland, and they were to deal with local government or Home Rule by co-ordinating detached or semi-detached boards, whatever that might mean. He thought it might mean a great deal. He did not see how they were to co-ordinate forty-one boards without abolishing most of them and setting up another body in their place. What he would like to ask the Chief Secretary was, with a policy such as that what did all this secrecy mean? Why did he not come out into the open? Had he made a speech in Ireland explaining the policy, it, at all events, would have received fair play. It might not have been carried, but he most certainly would not have been in the very difficult and dubious position he was in that day. What was the position? The Chief Secretary answered a Question in the House on Thursday last, and used remarkable words. It was a remarkable answer—he rather thought it had been sanctioned by the Cabinet. The right hon. Gentleman said that the first time he saw these proposals was in September in *The Times*. What would the man in the street think of a statement like that? The man in the street on the English side of the water might be a more intelligent person than the man in Ireland, but he could tell the Chief Secretary what he would understand by a reply of that kind. The right hon. Gentleman said he saw those proposals for the first time in September and most people would have imagined that he had never heard of them before. Supposing there had been no debate in the House of Lords and that answer had stood as it was given, the inevitable conclusion of the public would have been that the Chief Secretary was ignorant of those proposals until he saw them in the newspaper. Why did he not stand up and say he had discussed those questions, as Lord Lansdowne told them, over and over again with Lord Dunraven? Technically he was right and technically it was the truth. He remembered an hon. Member raising a storm of hostility because he said in a Court of Justice that he once made a statement to deceive that House. What did the Chief Secretary mean by telling the House that he did not see these proposals till September? Why did he not stand up like a man by his friend and subordinate and say that he had discussed those matters over and over again with Sir Antony MacDonnell and Lord Dunraven. Might he ask, when he saw them, what was his action? He (Mr. Russell) remembered the famous phrase used by the right hon. Gentleman at Dover, when he said he blew out that candle, but he was not concerned with the blowing out of the candle. He wanted to know whether the right hon. Gentleman was present at the lighting of it. Let them see how he blew it out. In a letter he said the report embraced, but tended to confuse, three subjects which were by their nature categorically distinct. First, economy in the application to Irish purposes of public money now actually expended in that country; second, amendment in the procedure of Private Bill, legislation in Ireland consequent on the success of the measure in Scotland, and then the institution of a statutory Legislative Assembly for Ireland. What did the Chief Secretary think about those proposals? He said nothing about the first, he approved the second, and he condemned the third. The real reason why he did not condemn the first was because he was convinced that the proposal was sound in principle. The letter might be taken as a condemnation of the establishment of a statutory body for Irish legislation. It was not a condemnation of the setting up of a financial council, or of Private Bill legislation being dealt with in Ireland. There was a correspondence in existence between Sir Antony MacDonnell and the Chief Secretary on this question. Would it be produced? That was a plain question. He desired a plain answer. The contrast between Lord Dudley and the Chief Secretary in this matter was very great, Lord Dudley had not thrown over his subordinate officer to the Ulster wolves. Did the right hon. Gentleman confer over and over again with Lord Dudley on this question? He (Mr. Russell) wanted to know why the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, did not take his stand with Lord Dudley instead of taking refuge in the paltry statement he had made in the House. Lord Dudley had come out of this in a much more creditable manner than the right hon. Gentleman.

There was danger in this debate that other questions would be lost sight of by the predominance of the question of Sir Antony MacDonnell. He wanted to lay bare to the House how the Government was being carried on in Ireland regarding great public issues. Taking the question of higher education, Mr. Gladstone attempted to deal with that thirty-two years ago. About twenty years ago the present Prime Minister declared in Glasgow to a gathering of Unionists that there was in connection with that question an intolerable grievance. He had restated his views over and over again. The Prime Minister now commanded a great majority. He forced through an Education Bill which had deeply touched and wounded the conscientious feeling of hundreds and thousands of English people But the Irish grievance still remained where it had stood for ages. He would ask them to see what followed from this method of treatment. The Catholic youths were placed at a great disadvantage in the battle of life. That question was kept alive in Ireland so as to inflame the passions of large sections of the people, and a case was made out for Catholic education, which, even according to the Prime Minister, was all but unanswerable. The Government appointed a Royal Commission three years ago. Lord Cadogan, then the Lord-Lieutenant, declared that he meant business. Yet nothing had come of it, and Lord Cadogan was Lord-Lieutenant no longer. That Commission took the line of least resistance. They said in effect, "Let the Royal University stand, no new University is needed now; affiliate the Queen's Colleges and the University College of Dublin." Why could they not have acted upon the Report? The Catholic Bishops were ready to accept that plan. By a telegram read from the Nationalist Benches from Archbishop Walsh last session that was announced. But the Government invented a new plan of their own; they threw over the Commission and sent Sir Antony MacDonnell down to Belfast to interview people who represented nobody. There were two dinner-parties given in Belfast. Very respectable gentlemen were present. But there was no one at them who could command a single vote in Ulster. It would have been better to have gone and seen the hon. Member for South Belfast. What was foolishly called the Dunraven scheme was put before them. Lord Dunraven seemed to be the handy man of the Irish Government. But it was no more Lord Dunraven's scheme than his own. The author of the scheme was sitting on the Treasury Bench. They were not content to act upon the Report of their own Commission. The suggestion was made in a letter of two columns in the *Irish Times*, signed by Lord Dunraven, that there should be a Catholic College within the University from Dublin. They got the information from these Belfast gentleman, and as they did not like the idea, so for the sake of the Union—which always came into every Irish question—they resolved to sacrifice their conscientious convictions on Catholic education. What was the next step? The Catholic Bishops were consulted. He did not object to that, for they represented somebody. It was a highly proper proceeding, and of course, they, like wise men, were not so much concerned about the scheme. They had had interviews with the Commission on Education before. What they wanted to know was if the right hon. Gentleman meant business, and they were assured that nothing was nearer to the heart of the Irish Government than the settlement of this question. The Bishops then consented to accept either Lord Dunraven's scheme or the scheme of the Commission. But it then occurred to the Government that they had better consult Trinity College—a thing that should have occurred to them at first. But the moment the scheme was put before the College, of course, they would have nothing to do with it. Just imagine all this as an example of effective government. Why did they not go to Trinity College first and see whether they would consent to such a scheme? Why did they deliberately keep alive this question to divide people? This was what they called ineffective, and he submitted that that word in the Amendment was too mild.

Now, let them take the Land Act. There was a proverb that "Man proposes, but God disposes." It might be said that Parliament proposed and Irish officialdom disposed. Under the present system it was impossible to get an honest adminstration of any Act. In the session of 1903, the House spent two or three days in discussing the case ot non-judicial tenants, tenants who had not got their rents fixed. They were provided for with the other tenants under Section 1 and were under the zones. He remembered the Attorney-General saying that these tenants had no relation to Section 1 and that they ought not to be there. They succeeded, and these 50,000 tenants were put under what was now Section 5. Irish officialdom in its worst days never did a more monstrous thing than was done with regard to those tenants. They had fought to get them outside the zones because they would be submitted to impossible and unfair prices. And what had happened? He knew cases in the North of Ireland where they came under Section 5. The Act said that the Commissioners should take all the circumstances into consideration, yet would it be believed that the interpretation put on Section 5 by the Estates Commissioners

—and he presumed by Mr. Justice Meredith—was such that these people who were free from the zones, merely got out of the frying-pan into the fire. The question in such cases was whether the farm as it stood was security for the advance or not. There was no question about the tenants' property in it. But now that was valued as part of the security, and the price went up to thirty and thirty-five years purchase because of the property of the tenant. In other words the tenant might have to purchase his own property over again. He would take another case which came before the Estates Commissioners the other day. It was an estate in the West of Ireland. In 1897 this estate was in Mr. Justice Ross's court and a request was issued by him to the Land Commission to have it valued for sale. Two years afterwards the estate came before the Land Commission on the report of the Commissioners, Mr. Frederick Wrench and Mr. Lynch. They were both landlord's friends to the chin, and were not consumed with anxiety about the tenants, but they reported deliberately that, in their opinion, there was no security for the advance of a single shilling upon that property. They reported that the estate was laden with arrears and that there were only two holders with a valuation above £5. They said that if default occurred recovery would be impossible. The demand of the new tenant for an advance of £7,000 was refused. The 1903 Act was passed, and here came the comedy of the whole thing. Mr. Blake Foster, the owner of the estate, disappeared, and the Scottish Union Insurance Company came upon the scene. The Irish Members would recollect that one afternoon the Member for West Edinburgh and the Member for Peebles and Selkirk were active on the Ministerial side of the House protecting the interests of that insurance company. The Scottish Union Insurance Company employed an agent who got the tenants to sign agreements for 10 per cent. less than the rents they had ever paid. That being successfully accomplished they brought them up to the Land Commission and handed them over the counter to a clerk of the Commission, and without inquiry they were registered as judicial rents. That being settled the agent proceeded again to the West and got the tenants to sign purchase agreements, showing another 10 per cent. reduction. These purchase agreements were lodged with the Estates Commissioners, and £9,800 was demanded for the estate on which, according to the Land Commissioners, not a single shilling could be advanced under the old Act. What was stated in support of the demand was that the prices were within the zone and that the Estates Commissioners had no discretion. What he wanted to know was whether the Chief Secretary was going to do anything in that matter. Were these gentlemen to be allowed to sell these bankrupt estates at fancy prices where there was absolutely no security for the advance? Was the right hon. Gentlemen going to amend the Act so as to protect the public against these men. They had heard nothing about that to-day. There was nothing in the King's Speech about it, and yet these cases would be crowding before the Land Commissioners in a few days. It was a serious matter for the taxpayers of Ireland, and, indeed, for the taxpayers of England too, That was what was called efficiency in Ireland.

The mover of the Amendment had said that this system of government was extravagant and costly. He thought he would be able to prove that up to the hilt. What were the facts? This country extracted from Ireland £10,000,000 per annum in the shape of taxation. The cost of the government of Ireland, all told, was something like £7,000,000. That was to say, £3,000,000 per annum came to this country from Ireland as an Imperial contribution. The cities of Ireland were crowded with masses of the very poor. In the city of Dublin there were 25,000 families living in one room apiece. A great tract of country in the West was in a state of chronic famine and the people were given over to something like absolute despair in the face of facts like these. This Imperial contribution of £3,000,000 a year helped to pay for the Army which was useless and from which Ireland got no benefit. More than that, Ireland was taxed to the extent of 30 per cent. over Scotland for government, although the population was about the same. He would give a few figures by way of contrast. In Ireland the cost of the Lord-Lieutenancy was £36,557; in Scotland it cost nothing, there being no such office. The Chief Secretary's Department cost £41,650, while the cost of the Secretary for Scotland's Department was £41,678. The Local Government Board in Ireland cost £79,875, and in Scotland £15,825. The Registrar-General's Department in Ireland cost £22,913, and in Scotland £12,227. The Valuation Department in Ireland cost £32,425, and in Scotland there was no Valuation Department. The work of that Department in Scotland seemed to be done by the Local Government Board. The Supreme Court of Judicature, the County Courts and law charges in Ireland cost £421,687, and that was exclusive of £16,333 for the Land Commission which came out of the Consolidated Fund. The Scottish legal expenses amounted to £259,373. The Royal Irish Constabulary and the Metropolitan Police cost £1,569,214, while the whole of Scotland was policed for £539,196. Why should the government of Ireland cost more than the government of Scotland? Scotland was a well-governed country. He saw his hon. friend the Member for Clackmannan rather shrink from the imputation of a previous speaker that there was more crime in Scotland than in Ireland. What was the reason? Scotland was a great manufacturing country, and it had large towns, and wherever these two things were found they would get crime of a certain kind. Ireland was to a large extent an agricultural country. That was the reason.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross): I beg your pardon. We have a great many Englishmen in Scotland.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he wanted to ask this question seriously. Why was it that Ireland, a poor country, should be taxed to the tune of 30 per cent. more for government than Scotland, a rich country? He thought it was high time that English Members did pay some attention to that matter. Was the Amendment of his hon. friend wrong in describing the Government of Ireland as extravagantly costly? It was the absolute and literal truth.

Did this system enjoy the confidence of anybody? They had ocular demonstration in the House of Commons. Here there were eighty-two or eighty-three Members, permanently encamped in their midst, hostile to the Government in every shape and form. Did hon. Members from Ulster feel confidence in His Majesty's Government? There were the Unionists from Ulster who arrogated to themselves the title of the only Unionists. There were a few others, and there would be more by-and-bye. For a hundred years and more the Ulster Unionists had been a favoured class. They now had nine-tenths of the positions of trust and emolument in the country. There were sixteen Irish Judges, and thirteen of them were Protestants. Two-thirds of the County Court Judges were also Protestant. There was not a department of the State where friends of those gentlemen were not quartered. Chief Secretary after Chief Secretary quartered his private secretary on the country—and there were at least half a dozen of such gentlemen occupying positions of emolument in Ireland to-day. And Ireland was expected to be content. Those gentlemen would be content so long as they were fed with manna from the Treasury. But it did not follow everybody else would be content. And yet because a Protestant doctor at Ballinassloe was passed over for promotion and a Roman Catholic chosen instead these gentlemen had actually conjured up a state of affairs which had no existence save in their own heated imaginations; and here 105 years after the Union the English garrison was in revolt. Let not the Chief Secretary be discouraged. After the First Lord had spoken they would come to heel. He was not a betting man, but if he were he would bet heavily upon every one of them trotting into the lobby against the Amendment when the division came. At all events they were in open revolt. One would imagine to hear them that they were in the fight which defeated Home Rule. But not one of them was there. Did they save the Union? Some of them were in swaddling clothes at the time and the rest of them took precious good care to keep a safe distance from English platforms, and it was a very good thing for the Union that they did. Here they were in open revolt, their heart-strings torn because their beloved Government had disappointed them and determined to make a last stand—what for?—not for the Union but for their immemorial privileges.

The Irish Government had the confidence of nobody save officials and lawyers "on the make." But for the Home Rule scare which the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich had raised the Government would not have a single supporter save for Trinity College—and that support would not be entirely disinterested either. No man could fail to be alarmed at the condition of Ireland, and if they had statesmen at Dublin Castle instead of men who intrigued, the question would be faced and a remedy would be devised. The working of the Land Act was absolutely arrested for lack of money, there was maladministration in favour of landlords, and the West, which was the great reason of the Act being passed, was practically exempt from its action. If this went on for fifteen or sixteen years more they would have a nation of old men and old women, of policemen, and officials. What a lurid light this Dunravenism threw upon it all! He was no admirer of some of the methods of what was called "MacDonnellism" in Ireland, and he rather suspected Sir Antony MacDonnell had discovered, what he might have discovered earlier, that Ireland was not India, and that the methods applicable to India were entirely out of place in a country of representative institutions. He now realised that, although the Ulster Unionists had probably found that they had "bitten off more than they could chew," in this case, it was after all a rather dangerous thing to defy the representatives of any section of the people. The cardinal mistake in all this business was the secrecy. This policy was a reasonable policy — settlement of the land question, of education, extension of local government—there was no reason for secrecy in all that. But the people had been deceived, and he told the Chief Secretary that the period of his usefulness and the usefulness of the Irish administration had gone for ever.

And upon this subject he had a question for the Attorney-General for Ireland, who went to North Derry and assailed Lord Dunraven's scheme. He hinted darkly at the author of that scheme, and assailed Sir Antony MacDonnell, though not by name. He demanded investigation. He had got it, and it was to be hoped that the right hon. and learned Gentleman was satisfied. Now when did he propose to go back to Coleraine and inform his friends he was totally mistaken, and that, instead of Sir Antony MacDonnell being the author of the scheme, he only assisted with information; that the real culprits were the Irish Government, with Lord Dudley, and the Chief Secretary, who talked things over and kept them in such a state that he could retire at any moment when it became necessary? The Attorney-General for Ireland had told his constituents that this was Home Rule on the sly—did he mean to continue to serve those gentleman who had deceived him and his constituents? This business had been got up because the Ulster representatives were played out in Ulster upon every other question, and by raising a Home Rule scare they hoped to befool the farmers once more, but they would not do it. He heard Lord Lansdowne the other night and enjoyed his definition of co-ordination of detached and semi-detached boards —a blessed word, "co-ordination." He was going to vote for this Amendment—not because he was a Home Ruler, but because he was in favour of co-ordination. They might call this a Home Rule Amendment, but the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich would not frighten him by calling it so. He voted for it not on that ground. He voted for it because it was a sterling indictment of the whole system of Irish government, and he believed that system to be intolerable. He would vote for the Amendment because he believed it was true in every line and every word.

*MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.) congratulated the Member for South Tyrone on his first speech from the Nationalist Benches, where they thought he ought to have sat long ago. The Amendment directly attacked the system under which Ireland was governed. Hon. Members opposite wanted to demolish that system in order to put in its place a form of government which would make Ireland absolutely independent of the rest of the United Kingdom. They who represented Irish Unionism were of course as determined as ever to resist to the utmost all revolutionary proposals of that kind. They were equally determined to offer the most uncompromising opposition to the insidious schemes of devolution which had been put forward by men who had called themselves Unionists. The fact could not be disguised that there existed a strong feeling of discontent at the present Irish administration. It was due not to the system but to the partisan way in which the system had been conducted. In the last session of Parliament the Unionists had endeavoured to make the Government understand how deeply the people of Ulster were stirred by the numerous acts of partisanship that had been committed. Under Sir Antony MacDonnell the Unionist administration was swayed by influences opposed to the interests of Loyalists, and the alarm they felt was increased by the publication of devolution proposals with which the name of Lord Dunraven was associated. The disclosures made in that House and in the House of Lords, while they justified the mistrust by the Irish Unionists of Sir Antony MacDonnell's administration, did nothing to lessen the resentment which was felt at the action of the Unionist Government. Sir Antony MacDonnell had been permitted a freedom of action which was altogether unusual in one holding the position of Under-Secretary. They were given to understand now that Sir Antony MacDonnell was far too distinguished a man to be bound by the ordinary rules of the Civil Service, and that in accordance with the understanding arrived at when he accepted the position he had been left practically a free hand at Dublin Castle. He did not hesitate to say that the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell upon such terms was entirely inconsistent with the principle of Ministerial responsibility, and had the conditions been made known at the time he went to Ireland, the Unionist Party would never have ratified the arrangement. It was understood that he had been asked to assume the Under-Secretaryship only for a time, because his special experience in India would be of service in the preparation of the Land Bill. It was never contemplated by any Unionist Member that Sir Antony MacDonnell, whose Nationalist sympathies were well known, would be placed in such a position of freedom that he could initiate and carry out a policy of his own which was not a Unionist policy, but one that was, in fact, destructive of the first principles of Unionism.

They were entitled to ask from the Chief Secretary some explanation of his position in relation to this matter. They had it placed beyond doubt that Sir Antony took a very active part in shaping the scheme of devolution which had been repudiated by the Government. The Chief Secretary stated that he saw these proposals for the first time when they appeared in *The Times* in September and that he at once repudiated them. Of course he accepted that statement, but he considered the Chief Secretary should inform the House as to how far he was cognisant of the negotiations and discussions which had been proceeding between his Under-Secretary and Lord Dunraven, and also to what extent he sympathised with the objects they had in view. It had been avowed that the Lord-Lieutenant had full knowledge of the discussions that were going forward, and it was impossible to resist the conclusion that the Chief Secretary, as a member of the Cabinet, should have interfered earlier than he did, not merely to check the zeal of his Nationalist Under-Secretary in his schemes to promote Home Rule, but to prevent the many acts of partiality and injustice, which had made the system known as "MacDonnellism" a by-word among Irish Unionists. What more glaring example of partisanship could they have than the way in which the Executive dealt with the extra police charges, to which he called attention last session. Nine Nationalist counties in the South and West of Ireland, which flatly refused to pay the demands levied upon them, were excused payment by the Lord-Lieutenant. Very different treatment was meted out to the Ulster counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Down, and Londonderry. Their claims for equal treatment were ignored; payment in full of these charges was insisted upon; and they had been given to understand that if they did not pay, the amounts would be summarily deducted from grants due to them by the Government. It was impossible to justify this arbitrary and one-sided exercise of the administrative powers of the Irish Executive. It stood as an illustration of the flagrant abuse of authority in favour of Nationalists, and to the prejudice of that section of the Irish people who had a clear right to expect fair and just treatment from a Unionist Administration. He asked the Government to reflect upon the absolute failure of the so-called policy of conciliation. It had conciliated nobody. Hon. Members opposite refused to be conciliated. They would not be moved even by the sacrifice of the interests of Loyalists and Unionists. The friends and supporters of the Government had been alienated, and, so far from allaying differences among the Irish people, this policy had stirred into fresh activity the sectarian feeling which was, unfortunately, too rife in Ireland. It had encouraged aggression and intolerance on the one side, and created a sense of injustice on the other, and this sense of wrong would not be removed so long as the author and chief organiser of this policy remained at Dublin Castle. As representatives of the Irish Unionists in that House, he and his colleagues demanded fair treatment and nothing more. He could not believe that in these circumstances the Government would persist in turning a deaf ear to their representations. He hoped that they would receive from the head of the Government, not merely a repudiation of Home Rule and devolution, but such assurances as would convince them that the malign influence at Dublin Castle would be withdrawn, and that in future the administration of affairs in Ireland would be carried on in accordance with the principles of strict justice towards all sections of His Majesty's subjects.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had stated the point of view of the Ulster Members with rather more moderation than others who had spoken from his quarter of the House. But he noticed, or he thought he noticed, in the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich a disposition to ignore altogether the fact that any change of any sort had come over the Irish question in the passage of years, and even a disposition to suggest or assert that whatever might have happened as regards others, no change could come over that question. Now, it seemed to him—he spoke with great diffidence in presence of hon. Members who had taken part in these debates for many years—that there was a very great difference between the Irish question as it presented itself in 1905, and as it presented itself in 1886. For twenty-five years the House of Commons had been debating Irish matters in their more modern aspects, and the attention of Parliament was very rarely concentrated for a very long time on a question without some result being produced. On this particular question it had undoubtedly produced great results both in Ireland and England. He must say that time had largely vindicated the opinions which were expressed by Mr. Gladstone in 1886. A great scheme of local government, which Lord Salisbury in 1887 declared was worse and more dangerous than Home Rule itself, had been established in Ireland by the Tory Party, and was now at work. Upon the whole it was said to be working well, and gave still brighter promise for the future. The land policy in 1886 was the principal object of the attack of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and other Unionists. That land policy which was almost contemptuously refused by the House of Commons, condemned without debate, killed without division, and which, as much as any other single circumstance, had helped to injure the prospects of its companion measure, had since been passed by the House of Commons by overwhelming majorities at the instance of the very Party which had most vehemently opposed it. Well, these were great events, and their consequences ought not, he thought, to discourage those who took an interest in Ireland. It was quite true that the credit of those measures belonged to the Party opposite, and he did not think any one would wish to deprive them of any credit properly their due. But it was also true to say that nothing else than the espousal of the Irish cause by a great English Party would have been sufficient to give the necessary impulse which had awakened the conscience of the English nation. These events had produced great changes of feeling in Ireland. No doubt the Amendment before the House made a clamorous assertion of irritation and discontent. He was not minimising these, but it was true, he thought, to say that, in spite of that discontent and irritation, the Irish question did not present itself to the House of Commons with anything like the terrible and tragic aspect which it wore in the years between 1881 and 1887. Events had also changed aspects in England. There had been elections since. After all, the electors in this country followed the course of politics with some attention, and they had observed that a large number of important measures, from which they were led to believe all sorts of dire consequences would follow, had been passed in Parliament by the very men who had made these most gloomy predictions. So far from any serious and unfortunate consequences arising, both countries seemed to have benefited very much by their operation. So he ventured to say it was a new situation in Irish affairs which had arisen.

They were confronted now with a problem in almost every respect less difficult and dangerous than had been confronted in 1886. They found in former times a much more restricted demand put forward on a much less representative authority. Surely it was a striking fact when the hon. Member for South Tyrone could sit on the same side of the House as the hon. and learned Member for Waterford. [An Hon. Member from the Ministerial side: "Let him stay there."] Yes, but the hon. Member for South Tyrone was not an unattached unit. He carried with him a considerable body of opinion, and when Lord Dunraven promulgated a scheme which was treated with consideration by the hon. Member for Mid. Cork these were facts which ought not to be excluded from a judgment of the Irish question. They ought to all be encouraged by them and by successful experiments in the past in Irish legislation. As the hon. and learned Member for Waterford had said that day, he hoped that the Irish question would be honestly approached. He maintained that there had not been a time for many years when there was a greater mass of opinion arrayed against any extreme departure in Irish policy. There never was a time when the declaration of leading politicians of every political complexion in Great Britain, when the pledges given by candidates in various parts of the country, and when the composition of the Parties at Westminster, was more intolerant at the starting of any revolutionary scheme. There never was a time when a Government would be less able to take office fettered in its entire discretion. But it was also true that there never was a time when there was a greater number of moderate sensible people who were prepared to give consideration to the Irish question without passion, to see what a rotten system of Government prevailed in that country, and to approach one of the most difficult, as it was one of the most attractive, questions which could occupy the minds of English politicians.

He did not propose that night to fall foul of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. He was quite ready to admit, and sincerely believed, that during his tenure of office the right hon. Gentleman had tried to do his best to hold the balance even between Catholic and Protestant in Ireland. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman's policy and efforts in Ireland had been, he would not say a bright exception, but a less dark exception, to the records of this somewhat melancholy Parliament. He quite agreed with the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich that the very fact that the Chief Secretary was attacked from all parts of the House proved in a certain sense the impartiality of his administration. But since the attack had been made, after four years of administration by the right hon. Gentleman with his great powers, high motives, and distinguished talents, and since it had drawn down on him discontent and adverse Irish opinion, it proved something more. The right hon. Gentleman's impartiality might be unaffected, but it likewise proved the impossibility of the system over which he had been called to preside.

Now, being himself a somewhat lonely politician [Ministerial cries of "Not now"] he was naturally very sympathetic with any Member who was in a minority, and consequently he was not at all prejudiced against the strong expressions of opinion uttered by the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim; but he confessed he was a little sceptical about the grievances of the Irish Unionists. They had heard a piteous tale of their patient suffering under intolerable treachery and wrong. It was a world of sin and woe that we lived in! But he saw that other good people suffered misfortune besides the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim, and the hon. Member for Mid. Armagh. And he was not convinced that these latter deserved more pity than other persons of equal virtue and intelligence. Never before in the recent political history of this House, he supposed, was there a minority so well-equipped for political warfare, and so influentially protected as the Ulster and Orange Party in that House. It added to their debates fifteen Members altogether, and out of them—he was counting the right hon. Gentleman the Solicitor-General, who was one with them in thought and sympathy—there were no fewer than five in the Government and two in the Cabinet. The Cabinet was well disposed towards them, for they were its thick and thin supporters—they supported it when it was right and when it was wrong. That was the kind of supporters a Government, and particularly this kind of Government, was always well disposed to. They had many strong supporters in the Conservative Party who were devoted to their interests and the interests of the class in Ireland whom they represented. They had immense influence in the House of Lords. They enjoyed the support of *The Times* newspaper, which must be a great consolation to them. When they came to the influence which they exerted in the Government, they had the support of the Solicitor-General, that great master of political deportment, who had added to their knowledge on that question several valuable precedents as regarded the conduct of colleagues towards one another, as regarded the conduct of the Law Officers of the Crown towards the Prime Minister, and as regarded the conduct of the Prime Minister towards public servants. They enjoyed the support of Lord Londonderry, who, notwithstanding that he had views of his own on free trade, was not inclined to abandon them, and naturally exerted great authority in this country, particularly on a Tory Cabinet. In addition to that they had the support of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War in those comparatively lucid moments which interrupted the continuity of his labours at the War Office. Well, when they observed, with all this influence in high places, with all this talent of newspaper organisation, that this minority had failed to persuade their own Government for which they had worked so long of the reasonableness of their demands and the essential justice of the position they occupied, he did not believe that they had suffered any great course of flagrant wrong which it would not be in the power of any Government easily and readily to remove. He quite believed that they were seeking for justice, but it seemed to him that what they considered justice was privilege. When they asked for justice and fair treatment for their own affairs, what they wanted was considerable power over the affairs of other people who lived in the same country with them. He was not convinced that the indignation they had expressed was altogether sincere, for, after all, people usually brought their opinions to the test of a vote. There was an Amendment before the House the other night praying for the dissolution of Parliament and the dismissal of His Majesty's Ministry which, according to the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim, had betrayed him, and yet the hon. and learned Member had voted against that Amendment, and for the continuance in office of the Government against whose conduct he now so strongly protested. What did that mean? Either that the grievances which the hon. and learned Member brought forward were not sufficiently well founded to be carried to a vote, or that the hon. and learned Member's case and his demands were so extravagant that there was no Party and no Government likely to be called into existence which would be able under any circumstances to entertain them.

He now came to a much more interesting and momentous question which had obtruded itself into the general discussion of Irish affairs; he meant the relations between the Chief Secretary and the Under-Secretary at the Irish Office. He believed that his right hon. friend, the Chief Secretary—if he would allow him to refer to him in that form—although they sat on opposite sides of the House he thought it desirable that public relations between Gentlemen on opposite sides should be cordial—he had known the right hon. Gentleman long enough to believe that he would not be guilty of any wilful misleading of the House of Commons or of subordinates who, on his own admission, had been perfectly loyal to him. He did not think it was difficult to understand how the present situation had arisen, judging from the general political attitude of the right hon. Gentleman, and from the revelations they had lately heard. The views of the right hon. Gentleman were rather peculiar for a Unionist Minister to hold. The right hon. Gentleman was a sincere and convinced opponent of Home Rule; but yet he thought that the Irish ought to be free to manage their own affairs. That was a position not so paradoxical as it might sound; but it was rather difficult for a gentleman occupying such a dual capacity to carry on an Administration. The right hon. Gentleman desired earnestly the welfare of the country he was appointed to control; but the principal plank in the platform of his Party was absolute opposition to the repeal of the Union. How did the right hon. Gentleman reconcile his conscientious opinion and his duty to the Party ticket? Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed under conditions which were highly irregular, though not indeed, improper. For his own part he regarded the irregularity as the best part of the story. If the Chief Secretary said he did not consider himself technically responsible, either for Sir Antony MacDonnell's action, or for the scheme which Lord Dunraven had put forward, he accepted his words as final. But he did not think the right hon. Gentleman could escape from some degree of moral responsibility in regard to that scheme, and the proof of that was, he thought, that Sir Antony MacDonnell still remained Under-Secretary for Ireland. He did not know whether in the course of the next few days there would be an announcement; but he was under the impression that unless the right hon. Gentleman felt some confusion in his own mind, he would not have allowed an officer whose conduct was indefensible to continue to serve under him.

Passing for a moment from the personal to the political aspect of the situation, he could not help remarking how very keen the Government were on having everything their own way. They did not mind what they did, as long as they themselves did it. Here in this Irish business there was what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife would call "pure Balfourism." The right hon. Gentleman and the Party to which he belonged accused their opponents of endeavouring to subvert the Legislative Union between this country and Ireland; and on that ground they received the support of hon. Gentlemen from the North of Ireland. Many people thought that private arrangements should not be made which weakened and violated the whole conditions on which that support had been extended, and when the matter became public, to explain that it was only the unauthorised act of an agent led away by enthusiasm. The right hon. Gentleman had some moral responsibility for Lord Dunraven's scheme. It had now been dropped like a hot coal. He should like to know if, when the right hon. Gentleman returned from his hard-earned and richly-deserved holiday, he had found that the Dunraven scheme had been received with universal applause, if he had found the hon. Member for North Antrim anxious to embrace Lord Dunraven, and the Solicitor-General asking them both to meet him at dinner at his house, he would have then developed this extreme orthodoxy?

Mr. WYNDHAM: My hon. friend forgets that I wrote a letter directly I saw the scheme in the newspapers.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said that the right hon. Gentleman might say he never saw the publication of the scheme a month earlier, which scheme had been very considerably attacked by the organs of the Unionist Party in the intervening period. In fact he thought that before the right hon. Gentleman repudiated Lord Dunraven's second scheme there had been three or four leading articles in

The Times newspaper which, he dared say, the right hon. Gentleman occasionally read, all of which were calling upon him for an immediate repudiation of the scheme of Lord Dunraven even before it appeared in its final form. The whole of this incident showed quite clearly that the governing instrument, which had discharged much useful work in past years, was worn out, and that a new instrument was required to deal with real and pressing questions, not merely of Irish government, but of British politics generally. Last Wednesday, when the House was discussing the dissolution Amendment, a Cabinet Council was being held to discuss what was to be done with regard to the revelations which had become public, and the Prime Minister and those who sat with him at the table were engaged, as they had been engaged before, in trying to frame a form of words which would reconcile persons who profoundly differed from each other and enable them to continue a little longer in office as a Government. This form of words involved the direct censure of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and it was decided at that Council to apply to his action the word "indefensible," and to his opinions the word "erroneous." He would ask the right hon. Gentleman what was the position of the Viceroy in this matter? Lord Dudley had been four years in Ireland. The Viceroyalty was, he supposed, the most thankless and disagreeable office in the gift of the Crown. Lord and Lady Dudley had exerted themselves and spent money with princely generosity with no other object than to leave Ireland a little better than they found it; and it was only in accordance with the character of the noble Lord that he should have made a frank avowal of sympathy and approval of Sir Antony MacDonnell's action and policy. What he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman was, did the censure of Sir Antony MacDonnell cover the Lord-Lieutenant also? When he asked him earlier in the afternoon, the right hon. Gentleman said that the Cabinet did not know that the Viceroy was involved in this matter. He also understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he did not know until December 27th that the Viceroy was involved in Sir Antony MacDonnell's action.

MR. WYNDHAM assented.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he was astonished at that. It seemed to him a very strange thing that the right hon. Gentleman should have failed to make that very important fact known to his colleagues in the Cabinet.

MR. WYNDHAM: At the meeting of the Cabinet the other day the question of Ireland was not discussed.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said there must have been a Cabinet some time or other at which the answer which the right hon. Gentleman read in that House was drawn up His point was that at that Cabinet the Ministers were in ignorance of the fact that Sir Antony MacDonnell had the support and approval of the Viceroy, and the right hon. Gentleman, although he knew it, did not inform them of it. If that were true, he could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman had failed in the correct appreciation of his public duty.

He would pass away from the special incident to the general issue raised in the Amendment. The Amendment contained a statement of fact that might be extravagant in some parts of it. Although it was negative in its character no one could admit the evil it asserted without being involved in real responsibility to make an effort to redress it. He did not think that the question of Irish devolution stood alone. There was also the question of Wales. An extension of self-government was demanded, not only in the interests of nationalities which were cramped within our larger political organisation, but also in the interests of Parliament, which had become choked with an ever-expanding volume of business. They demanded greater freedom to manage or mismanage their own political affairs. The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich seemed to imagine that nationality was not a valuable principle and indeed that there was no such thing at all—that Burns was just as much an Englishman as Shakespeare and Shakespeare just as much an Irishman as Moore. This question of devolution, however, was not brought before them in the interests of nationality alone, but in the interests of Parliament, which was becoming increasingly choked with an ever-expanding volume of business, due not only to the complexities of modern life but to the manifold possibilities of the King's Dominions. It was now admitted that the House of Commons had no effective scrutiny over necessary details of expenditure. They knew that Private Bill legislation was almost a farce, and the position had arrived at such a topsy-turvy condition that time could be found to pass an Education Bill for Wales which the Welsh Members detested, but no time to pass an Education Bill for Scotland which the Scottish Members desired. He was convinced that no Party in the future would refuse to consider the delegation of administrative and legislative functions to provincial or national boards. He believed in the extension of local government on a scale hitherto quite unknown, in the creation of national boards in the four parts of the kingdom, and the handing over to them of large slices and blocks of business which could not properly be dealt with at Westminster. Lord Dunraven's plan had been called amateurish, but it was now known that it was framed by an expert in administration. It was allowed to be workable, it originated in Dublin Castle, had the approval of the Lord-Lieutenant, and merited respectful attention from all interested in Irish affairs. They were told it was contrary to Unionist principles; but what were Unionist principles? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had, surely, a right to set the standard of Unionist orthodoxy, and he in 1885 expressed an opinion, which he had not since repudiated, in favour of local government for Ireland more thoroughly popular than had hitherto been attempted, with powers to deal with a variety of questions, including education, land tenure, railway and other communications, and with financial authority.

The most obvious objection to the present Irish system was that the people had no sense of ownership in government similar to that existing in this country. We might have a poor thing of a Government, but at least it was our own, and slowly the electoral machinery could change it; but in Ireland there was no change possible, it was an arbitrary authority under the specious guise of representation. A Catholic University desired by four-fifths of the population and admitted as desirable by every Government for the last twenty years had never been attempted by any Government with prospect of success. He, himself, was not favourable to a Catholic University in Ireland, and if such a measure were introduced he would be compelled to vote against it. There was no inconsistency in that. He believed that the day had passed when the House of Commons could defend religious tests in connection with education. But what business was that of theirs? So long as they were unable to deal with a question of that kind, there stood revealed a cardinal defect in their system of government in Ireland.

Then there was the question of finance. It would be easy to show that the Irish people had no interest whatever in making economies of any kind, how a Royal Commission had declared that they were paying an undue proportion of taxation, and how they were charged no less than 75 per cent. of indirect taxation. But he would pass to a more general point. What was there in the air of these Irish offices that so powerfully influenced distinguished public officials, Chief Secretaries, and Tory Viceroys, who were sent to watch the working of the Irish governmental machine on the spot? Sir Anthony MacDonnell did not stand alone. Before him there had been Sir West Ridgeway, Sir Robert Hamilton, Mr. Thomas Drummond, and others. What was it that disquieted these public officials? What was it that drew Lord Carnarvon to the empty house in Grosvenor Square? What was it that induced Lord Dudley to cast away all his prospects of future promotion in the Conservative Party? Was it some dim understanding of a great truth which came to those who watched the working of the machine at close quarters, or was it the clear apprehension of a great fraud?

The Irish polity had its equal nowhere in the world. It might be that in South Africa one of these days the system would be much the same, because the same seed planted in soils, however different, produced the same peculiar plant, but for the present the Irish polity stood alone. Ireland was governed by neither King nor people. The system of government was not democratic, autocratic, or even oligarchal. The land was hag-ridden by forty-one separate semi-independent administrative boards, which overlapped in all directions, some of them fed with money from the Consolidated Fund, others with money voted by this House, and others from Irish funds; some under the control of the Viceroy, some under the control of the Chief Secretary, some under the control of the Treasury, and some under no control at all except their own sweet will. The resultant administration was costly, inefficient, and unhandy beyond compare. A mighty staff of police and officials, nine-tenths of the latter drawn from the minority of the population, were employed in imposing the system upon a people desperately poor; taxation rose automatically with the expanding establishment of this wealthy and extravagant country; population at the same time dwindled steadily. To all this had to be added a Loyalist caste. What an Old Man of the Sea a loyalist faction was to get on the backs of any British Government! He had no quarrel with hon. Members opposite. They were perfectly loyal —to their own interests—and honestly believed that those interests were the interests of their country. But they paraded their loyalty, using it to extort concessions of privilege and ascendency from the British Government; when any man attempted to do even-handed justice in the King's name between man and man in Ireland, they complained that they were being betrayed; and, in the exact language of their own South African prototypes, they declared that loyalty did not pay a dividend on the capital invested. Let all this be thrown into the arena where British Parties were fiercely struggling for the mastery, and the panorama of Irish government was complete. Against such a system, brought to the knowledge of the House and the country by distinguished Irish Unionists who had hitherto never been challenged as exponents of Unionist opinion, by witnesses so trustworthy, impartial, and reluctant, it seemed to him that every liberal-minded man ought cheerfully to vote.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.) said that, listening to the hon. Member for Oldham, he had been reminded of the phrase once used in this House about "an old man in a hurry," and he could not help wondering whether there were not also some young men in a hurry, who would one day realise the truth of the old proverb, "More haste, less speed." It seemed to be the congenial occupation of some Members to abuse their Party and condemn their leaders, but it was in no such spirit that the Ulster Members had approached their difficult and disagreeable task of criticising the Government. Hitherto they had been amongst the most loyal and devoted supporters of the Unionist Party and Government; the *raison d'être* of their presence in the House of Commons was the defence of the Union, which, after all, was the very corner-stone of the whole fabric of the Unionist Party. Consequently the revolt of the Ulster Members had been undertaken with no light heart. The Prime Minister in a memorable phrase recently declared that the Unionist Party was not for sale. For some months past, however, the Unionist Members for Ulster had had the feeling that they were being sold, and that when they were not being sold they were being given away. Too long they had submitted to the scarcely concealed contempt with which the Chief Secretary had treated their opinions and received their representations; the Government had taken advantage of their Unionism, evidently believing their loyalty to Party and leaders to be so deeply ingrained that they would not cause any trouble. What was to be said about the plain facts which had been dragged to light in the other House of Parliament? The Government selected for the post of Under-Secretary for Ireland a distinguished official of great ability, a man of well-known Home Rule sympathies, and a devoted son of the Roman Catholic Church, who would accept the office only on special terms. The House had a right to know what those special terms were. Negotiations had been carried on with the knowledge of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief

Secretary. Why were not those negotiations stopped at an earlier period? Was Sir Antony MacDonnell allowed to feel his way and only thrown over because of the storm which had arisen? Knowing Sir Antony MacDonnell's religious and political opinions, he did not blame him so much as he blamed those who put him in a position to do what he had done. What had the Government gained by their policy? They had not gained a single Nationalist vote, but they had certainly lost the confidence and loyalty of their most devoted, sincere, and true-hearted followers in the North of Ireland.

Mr. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.) thought it would be a pity if in this debate attention were diverted altogether from some of the larger aspects of the question raised by the Amendment. The objections to Home Rule might be divided into three classes:—first, the old story that Home Rule meant Rome Rule; secondly, that of which the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich was the exponent, that the whole thing was absurd child's play, a ridiculous mirage, that there was no such thing as an Irish nation at all; and, thirdly, that there was an Irish nation, but that it was a horribly criminal and disloyal faction which could not safely be given self-government, lest it should bring wreck and ruin on the Empire of which it, *de facto*, formed a part. As to the first class, it had already been pointed out that overwhelmingly Roman Catholic constituencies had returned Protestant Members to the House of Commons. When would a constituency of the North-East show a similar spirit of tolerance by returning a Catholic? This was not a mere accident; he doubted whether there had been a year since the Union in which Catholic voters in all parts of Ireland had not sent men of other faiths to represent them in Parliament. The one case of Catholic intolerance put forward by the hon. Member for North Antrim was debated in the House nearly a year ago, and, although a special association had been formed to hunt up such matters, not a single case of oppression had been discovered in the intervening months. As to the contention that no such thing as an Irish nation existed, what constituted a nation? It was certainly not race. The essence of nationality was like the essence of Christianity. A man was a Christian who believed as such, and a man was of that nation in which he believed, and to which he felt himself to belong. Finally, to what was it that the Irish people were expected to be loyal? The history of Canada should ever be borne in mind in this matter. What was the foundation of loyalty? The answer was given many years ago by Grattan, when he said, "Loyalty is a noble, a magnificent, a capacious thing, but loyalty without liberty is corruption."

Sir JAMES HASLETT (Belfast, N.) said that it was quite possible he might be mistaken in his estimate of what this Amendment meant, but the speeches which had been delivered, pointing to the difficulties under the present administration of Ireland, contemplated as the only solution of this problem the complete separation of Ireland from England and a complete Ireland within herself. Anything less than that was not the principle of Home Rule advocated by hon. Members opposite. If it was to be merely a partial or fiscal separation, or a withdrawal from the British Parliament of merely minor affairs, then he understood that that was not what was meant by the demand for Home Rule for Ireland. Lord Randolph Churchhill once stated that, so far as he could gather from the Irish Members, Home Rule meant dissolving the last link that bound Ireland to England. If that were a wrong definition of what Irishmen meant by Home Rule, then of course they started upon fresh ground. He remembered a speech made by the hon. Member who had addressed them in such clear terms that evening from the opposite side, in which he stated that a liberal measure of county government would meet the demand of Ireland, and would give to the people the opportunity to show their capacity and their right to have government upon similar lines to England. The measure of 1898 had now borne fruit for some years, although there were still many faults and blots upon the system of county government in Ireland. No one would contend that that Act or its administration was anything like perfection, for it was full of blots and shortcomings which showed a narrowness of mind, but, notwithstanding all that, the present system of local government in Ireland had done good, for it had developed the interest of the people in local affairs, and in the main he welcomed that measure. Personally, he never joined in those invectives of one section against the other, for they could do no good for Ireland. He supposed that the Chief Secretary was the greatest scoundrel in the world, if they listened to one side, whilst the other side considered him quite a respectable gentleman. He had conversed with Sir Antony MacDonnell, and had always found him willing to listen to reason, and he was equally ready to advance his own views for the general welfare, not of Belfast alone, but of Ireland as a whole. He had suffered from Chief Secretaries in the past, and he had not got from them all he wanted, but that was not always the fault of the Chief Secretary, but on account of the eternal tugging at him for money from all directions. They had heard that Belfast was the place that was getting all the money, but he could assure hon. Members opposite that Belfast never got a copper of the Government doles. Belfast had, however, asked that the Government doles should not be given out to other districts in opposition to Belfast, and they insisted that the free trade which had made Belfast should not be stifled by doles made to other cities.

With regard to the general administration of the affairs of Ireland, his chief objection was that the money voted and placed in the hands of the Government in Ireland was not given on a broad and general principle, but on just a hand-to-mouth principle dependent upon the parties tugging at the Treasury, and that cases were decided without any reference to the general administration of Irish affairs. Many of the relief works undertaken by the Government, such as the making of roads, had turned out practically useless, and he could point out one road made in this way which was scarcely ever used except for the purpose of grouse shooting. The mover of the Amendment before the House had stated that he had no other idea than to prove to the House of Commons that, in consequence of the general breakdown of the administration in Ireland, there was no solution of the question except the granting of complete separation. [NATIONALIST cries of "No, no!"] If he was wrong in his definition of Home Rule he would ask the Home Rulers themselves to supply a definition. Until they adopted this course, he had a perfect right to take the previous definition of their demand. The hon. Member for Oldham had told them that things had changed since 1886, and that in Ireland they were now in more favourable circumstances. All he had to say was that he had not heard one word in mitigation of the demand put forward by the Home Rulers, or any alteration in the definition of Home Rule, which still remained what he had ventured to put before the House. What was demanded was the absolute right to govern Ireland through an Irish Parliament, absolutely separated from the Parliament of the British Empire. That was not devolution but absolute separation. Mr. Gladstone had honestly tried to grapple with the question; at first he said that it passed the wit of man to devise a satisfactory scheme to deal with the subject, but afterwards made proposals which were pregnant with contradictions. Under one scheme the Irish Members were to be retained at Westminster taking part in the management of English affairs, but the English people were not to have any voice in the management of Irish affairs. Home Rule meant that for general purposes, for the general welfare of the nation, for the making of laws to protect life and property, for taxation, and for the protection of Ireland by an Army and Navy, Ireland was to have a separate Parliament, and that the Parliament at Westminster was not to have any voice or control over Irish affairs. Under such a system the idea prevailed in the minds of the Loyalist minority that it was quite possible that they would receive only scant justice from the majority. The Protestants had in many instances elected Roman Catholics to fill public positions on governing bodies in Ireland, but he would like hon. Members opposite to give the House any case where Protestants had been elected as members of a local governing body where the power existed to elect a Nationalist. Those were some of the dangers which were present in the minds of the minority.

He wished to remind the House that the taxes paid by the minority in Ireland amounted to five times as much as those paid by the majority. They had been promised an Ulster Parliament. The Ulster people might have many faults but they refused to desert their brethren throughout the length and breadth of Ireland by accepting a Parliament of their own. Many of his warmest and dearest friends were Catholics, and he did not consider them any the less worthy of his friendship, because they differed from him upon politics and religion. Nevertheless, they refused to have a Parliament of their own for Ulster, and he believed that nine-tenths of the Protestants of Ireland would tell them that, in their opinion, it was for the best interests of Ireland, best for the protection of life and property in that country, and for the securing of laws upon a broad basis, that Ireland should be governed under laws made by the Parliament at Westminster. He had in the past taken part in the devising of laws, and he confessed that he had not always been in the right. He would give them an instance of the danger of making laws from a narrow local point of view. At one time they were very anxious to put down betting in the streets of Belfast, and they embodied in a Bill a clause to the effect that if three men were seen talking together in the public street, the police should have power to call upon them to move on and disperse, or else they should be taken to the police station and their names should be taken. When that measure was brought before the British Parliament, a Member of the Upper Chamber asked, "Do you really mean that? Look what a great power you are placing in the hands of a young constable. You might have all the merchants in your city taken to the police station." Before that explanation, he had looked at the matter simply with a desire to put an end to one of the most degrading things in the city of Belfast, but he afterwards fully realised what a weapon that would be against the merchants in the city, and so they withdrew the proposal. If they had a narrow-minded Parliament, they might have that narrow view put into their laws. Just in proportion as they broadened the basis, in that same proportion were they likely to get broad and generous laws. It had been said that the best laws ever devised by Parliament could be set aside, and rendered futile in their administration. Some charges had been made against the Judges who administered the law in Ireland by the hon. Member for South Tyrone, but he did not think anyone could say that Dublin Castle influenced the Judges upon the Bench in their interpretation of the law.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: What I say is that it is the duty of the Castle officials to advise upon the law, and they have a very curious way of deciding in favour of the landlord in every case.

SIR JAMES HASLETT said that no Castle official could override the interpretation placed upon the law by the Judges.

And, it being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

PAUPERISM (ENGLAND AND WALES) (HALF-YEARLY STATEMENTS).

Copy ordered, "of Statement of the number of Paupers relieved on the 1st day of January, 1905, and similar Statement for the 1st day of July, 1905 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 84, Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*)

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 21st February, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Barry Railway [H.L.]; Bridgewater Canals [H.L.]; Hastings Tramways [H.L.]; Hessle Gas [H.L.]; Leeds and Liverpool Canal [H.L.]; Mortgage Insurance Corporation [H.L.]. Metropolitan District Railway [H.L.]. The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Abertillery Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Company Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Alexandra Park and Palace Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed.

Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Blackpool Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Clacton Improvement Bill [H.L.]; East London and Lower Thames Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Humber Conservancy Bill [H.L.]; Hythe Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Nine Mile Point Railway Bill [H.L.]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation) Bill [H.L.]; Sandgate Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Stepney Borough Council (Superannuation) Bill [H.L.]; Tees Valley Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed.

Torpoint Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Tralee Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Weaver Navigation Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed.

Whitby Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TREATY SERIES, No. 4 (1905).

Convention between the United Kingdom and Mexico respecting postal rates upon letters passing between New Zealand and Mexico; signed at Mexico, 1st February, 1904. (Ratifications exchanged at Mexico, 12th January, 1905.)

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account of the sums received and paid in respect of the wages and effects of deceased seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES) (VISITING COMMITTEES).

Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Borstal Prison.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON).

Order made by the county council of the county of Southampton altering the Sarisbury polling district in the Fareham Parliamentary Division.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (SPECIAL EXCEPTION—NIGHT WORK).

Order, dated 18th February, 1905, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards employed in the process of continuous wire-drawing carried on in non-textile factories.

COMMITTALS (IRELAND).

Returns from the Clerks of the Crown and Peace of the number of persons committed for trial in 1904.

RAILWAY COMPANIES POWERS ACT, 1864.

Certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the Corringham Light Railway Company to raise additional capital.

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS (MONEY ORDERS AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES).

Account of all deposits received and repaid by the Board of Trade on account of Seamen's Savings Banks, under the authority of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, during the year ended 20th November, 1903, and of the interest thereon; statement showing the number and amount of seamen's money orders issued and paid at ports in the United Kingdom and at ports abroad from 1855 to 31st March, 1904; also, statement showing the receipts and payments in connection with the transmission of seamen's wages, home and foreign, from 1878 to 31st March, 1904.

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.

Statement of the receipts and payments made by the Board of Trade for the year ended 31st March, 1904; together with an account of the receipt and issue of stores.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

NEW BILLS.

CRIMINAL CASES (RESERVATION OF POINTS OF LAW) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the Crown Cases Act, 1848. Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 11.)

STREET BETTING BILL [H.L.].

A Bill for the suppression of betting in streets and other public places. Was presented by the Lord Davey; read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday next. (No. 12.)

BISHOPRIC OF BRISTOL BILL [H.L.].

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL: My Lords, this Bill is exactly in the form in which your Lordships read it a third time last year. It proposes to bring into the diocese of Bristol, by agreement with the Bishop of Gloucester, twenty-three parishes in the South of Gloucester, and also, by agreement with the Bishop of Bath and Wells, one parish in the diocese of Bath and Wells. That parish already has the populous part of it within the boundary of the City of Bristol, and by general agreement it was thought it ought to come within the diocese of Bristol, especially as I have special means, which the diocese of Bath and Wells does not possess, of dealing with the great population in that district. There is no money to be transferred from either diocese to the diocese of Bristol, although it must be evident to your Lordships that to increase the number of parishes in that diocese by something like one-seventh more than it possesses now must increase the burden on the Bishop. It seems to me a great pity that alterations of boundaries of this kind have to be done by Acts of Parliament. I long for the time when His Majesty's Government will make it possible to effect changes of this kind by Order in Council.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a." (*The Lord Bishop of Bristol.*)

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I think I ought to say that, having looked very carefully into this matter both last year and since, I feel I can support every word the rt. rev. Prelate has said. I think the Bill ought, as soon as possible, to be passed into law.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

SEAMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' FALSE CHARACTERS BILL [H.L.].

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, except for a small, and, I can assure your Lordships, purely drafting Amendment in Clause 3, this Bill is exactly the same Bill that your Lordships passed through all its stages last year. On the Second Reading last session, I explained the Bill at some length, and I do not therefore think it necessary to inflict another speech upon you on the subject. I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ᵃ."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ᵃ, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

ARMY REORGANISATION.

*THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: My Lords, I beg to call attention to certain pages of the summary of the speech of the Secretary of State for War with regard to the reorganisation of the Army, and to ask the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State for War if he can give any information regarding the intentions of His Majesty's Government respecting the Militia and the proposed territorial regiments of the Regular Army.

At the close of last session the Government brought forward a scheme of Army reorganisation which produced the impression that the abolition of the Militia formed an essential part of the proposed reconstruction of the military forces. In the course of a debate which took place in your Lordships' House in July last, the Government announced that the proposals, as far as the Militia was concerned, should remain in abeyance, and stated that the scheme of the Army Council dividing the Army into a General and a Home Service Army had their approval.

Meantime the Prime Minister has informed the country that the problem of the defence of the British Empire is the defence of the borders of Afghanistan. It is then from that point of view that reorganisation of our military forces must be considered. If the occasion arose, the sequence of operations would be as follows: The existing Army in India must hold its own till the command of the sea is assured. The Regular Army must then be embarked and transported to India, replacing the garrisons in India, which would be moved to the front as fresh troops arrived to relieve them. Then a supplementary force, whether the territorial Army or the Militia, must be in readiness to free the remainder of the Regular Army by undertaking all garrison duties at home and abroad. Thus no force assembled in this country as a second line to the Regular Army could possibly reach the scene of active operations under a year from the date of its first assembly at home.

To meet the problem of Afghanistan, the Army Council proposes to divide the Regular Army into a General Service Army and a Home Service Army, into which, if public opinion allows, the Militia is to be absorbed. That appears on pages 11 and 12 of the summary. The question is, Can you better supplement your General Service Army by a Regular Home Service Army or by a force raised on a Militia basis? That is a question which has never been discussed. I desire to bring it to your Lordships' notice, and to contrast the respective merits of the Militia system and of a Home Service Regular Army for the defence of the Empire.

The Army Council's scheme of reorganisation provides for a Home Service Army by cutting off certain battalions of the Regular Army and converting them into territorial battalions. But if the Regular Army is divided into parts, you do not at once and materially increase the sum total of men by that division. Your Army is in two parts instead of in one whole. Does such a division result in multiplication, and does it produce the additional supplementary force required? I presume the answer of the Army Council would be—"Our territorial regiments are reserve-creating machines. All that we, who exist to provide for instant war, require, is a prolonged period of peace in which to build up our Reserves." The aim of the Army Council seems to be to form a Home Service Army of some eighty battalions, partly by subtraction from the present Regular Army, and partly by the absorption of the Militia. This scheme of a Home Service Army of eighty battalions, if realised, would, at the end of eight years, give a Home Service Army with a total Reserve of

200,000 men—allowing 10 per cent. for waste, 180,000 available men. But it will be at the end of eight years, and the Army Council will have wiped out both the Militia and the Militia system. Eight years is too long a tether. Let us test the value of the scheme at the end of four years. The task is to defend the borders of Afghanistan against a great military Power, to occupy Afghanistan itself, to garrison India, South Africa, and all foreign stations, and to defend the United Kingdom. The Army Council proposes to accomplish this task by means of a General Service Army—but less numerous than the present Regular Army—the Indian Army, and a Home Service Army of 90,000 men, for that would be the extent of the Reserve at the end of four years. Behind those 90,000 men there would be nothing except the Volunteers.

There is a clear lesson to be learnt from the South African War as regards the value of the Volunteers. In 1900, when the country was in a tight place, the force was asked for two months of consecutive service at home, but was only able to contribute fourteen days. Their place in the scheme of national defence had to be supplemented by garrison battalions, raised in panic and at a cost of millions to the country. It is true that the Volunteers sent abroad, on an average, 6,000 men per annum for three years. But fourteen days of consecutive service at home and a yearly contribution of 6,000 men for foreign service for three years is not going to save the situation when the 90,000 men of the Home Service Army are used up, as they must be by the end of the first year of the war. The Army Council by favouring the absorption of the Militia into the territorial, that is, the Regular Army, limits military service to that very small fraction of our population which is prepared to serve in the Regular Army.

I find in the Report of the Royal Commission on the South African War that the following opinion is expressed—

> "No military system would be satisfactory which does not contain powers of expansion outside the limit of the Regular Forces of the nation."

History shows that there are only two ways of creating a national Army. The one is by conscription, which has been perfected by the nations of the Continent of Europe and by Japan; the other is by the old English Militia system, which, although neglected by the country of its origin, has never failed to perform all that was required of it. The Army Council proposes to form territorial regiments on the Continental plan of two years training, but without the foundations of the Continental system, which is conscription. On the Continent men are not taken till the age of twenty, and are then trained for two years at the highest possible pressure. For our Home Service Army boys are to be accepted at the age of eighteen, and at a minimum weight of 112 lbs., that is eight stones, which is a child's and not a boy's weight. If the Army Council is going to subject these boys, who certainly will not physically represent the average boyhood of the country, to the same severe strain of military training which prevails abroad for the manhood of the Continent from twenty to twenty-two, all I can say is that the Army Council should be prosecuted by that excellent society which exists for the prevention of cruelty to children.

On second thoughts, it occurs to me that this contingency will not arise, because no recruits will join the Home Service Army if they are to be trained on the Continental plan. On the other hand, if the training of the Home Service Army does not differ from that of the General Service Army, and is made equally attractive, then it is certain that the Home Service Army will attract all the recruits, to the ruin of the General Service Army. Short service at home is preferable to long service abroad, in spite of the differences of pay. That is conclusively shown by the breakdown of the three years system of enlistment, mentioned on page 5 of the summary.

A statement has been issued showing the financial effect of the proposals of the Army Council. But that statement tells us nothing as to the cost of barracks and depôts for these territorial regiments of the Home Service Army. They are to be located near the county towns. That means the purchase of desirable building sites, and entails the provision near each barrack of some hundreds of acres of land for battalion and company training, also the acquisition and construction of many rifle ranges. All that points to a bill of very many millions. From the point of view of national economy, there is no doubt that the Militia system is the better.

No one can dispute the deficiencies of the Militia as now organised. But the true comparison is not between the territorial Army and the Militia in that parlous condition to which it has been reduced since its transfer to War Office administration thirty-five years ago. It is between the territorial Army and the Militia as it would be if properly administered. On page 8 of the summary four extracts are given from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers. We are told with respect to the Militia, first, that as regards the infantry, there—

> "Is a consensus of opinion both among Militia officers, and those Regular officers who have ha dspecial opportunities of observation, that the average Militia battalion would not be fit to take the field except after several months continuous embodiment."

It is necessary to remember that the Duke of Norfolk's Commission was considering a problem, now declared to be of very minor importance, namely, that of the defence of this country after a successful landing by foreign invaders. The Militia was to be embodied on Monday and fight a second battle of Hastings on British soil against the flower of Continental chivalry on the Tuesday following. Hence the stress laid upon the lack of efficiency to meet the best troops of the Continent until after several months continuous embodiment.

But, as the Prime Minister has stated, the problem now is the defence of the frontiers of Afghanistan, and, as your second line cannot be brought into action under twelve months, there is ample time for that improvement which may confidently be expected from a Militia force within some months of embodiment. The proposed territorial regiments are no better situated for the purpose of immediately taking the field than Militia regiments. Both these forces are a second line; neither is more ready than the other at a moment's notice. But the advantages are in favour of the Militia. In the territorial regiments the eighteen-year-old boys with the Colours will not be fit for service, and the imperfectly, because far too hurriedly, trained Reservists must be summoned back from civil life. They will return, having forgotten most of their slight military training, and they will be complete strangers to their officers and non-commissioned officers and to each other. Indeed, the mobilisation of a territorial regiment will, to a great extent, be the assembly of a crowd of men who have never seen each other before. That is consequent upon two years of boy service with the Colours, and then six in the Reserve.

The Reserve of these territorial regiments must be for a moment compared to the Reserve of the Regular Army in 1899. That Reserve had been trained for seven years, mostly abroad, and, to a very great extent, on active service. Such was the Reserve which saved the situation in South Africa, and whose creation we owe to the genius of Lord Cardwell and to the loyal insistence of Lord Wolseley. The Reservists of the territorial regiments will have been trained near their homes, during boyhood, for two years, less intervals spent in hospital, and may possibly have once seen Aldershot, or even gazed upon Stonehenge.

The Militiaman, although trained for a short period, by being brought up regularly for several years in succession acquires a certain solidarity which is not attained under the rival system. The embodiment of a Militia regiment for service is exactly the same as the assembly for the annual training. The Militiaman, on embodiment for service, takes his place in the same section in which he stood for the annual training the year previous. The second extract on page 8 is to the effect that—

> "The training of the Militia officer is inadequate to enable him to properly lead troops, especially incompletely-trained troops."

The Militia officer has to make his living by the exercise of his civilian profession. On that account he is often a far more capable and a much more widely educated man than the Regular officer, for no man who is obliged to use his brains in his youth in order to secure a competence in his old age can afford to enter the Army, but he can and does serve in the Militia.

Now, as for the training of the Militia officer being inadequate, the War Office is not in a position to reproach him on that score. I quote from Colonel Westropp's note to the Report of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission—

> "The military education of the Militia officer is a most serious problem. In nothing is competence more essential in an officer than in musketry. These are the facilities offered during the year 1903. Of the officers of the Militia 315 applied to undergo a course of musketry at Hythe; 121, or just over one out of three, were received there for instruction."

My own experience is that between 1903 and 1904 I forwarded three applications from officers to attend courses of signalling, but all were refused. The War Office is an educational authority, paid to carry out its educational duties. Yet it closes its schools in the face of would-be students, and then denounces their lack of learning, splendidly unconscious of where the responsibility rests. The third extract on page 8 is—

> "That the force is imperfectly equipped for war."

That is no reflection on the Militia, but on those who have been responsible for its administration. It is a complaint of very long standing. But it is useless to dwell on this point until the intentions of the Government regarding the Militia are known. I now come to the fourth extract, that—

> "The Militia, in its existing condition, is unfit to take the field for the defence of this country."

Of course if a force is imperfectly equipped for war by the military administration, it must be unfit to take the field for any warlike purpose. But what of the military administration?

I add one more extract from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, which is not on page 8 of the summary, but which is the conclusion arrived at by the Commission—

> "We are forced to the conclusion that the Militia, in its existing condition, is unfit to take the field for the defence of this country. We think, however, that its defects arise from causes beyond the control of its officers and men."

The Duke of Bedford.

I read in the summary of the speech of the Secretary of State for War on page 7 that—

> "The decay of the Militia is the natural and inevitable consequence of the way in which that force has been treated."

The fact, then, that the decadence of the Militia is due to mistaken military administration, is admitted. The question for the country to decide is whether the Militia system is to be abolished because of the incapacity of successive military administrations to get the right value out of that particular form of service.

It is not surprising that the administration of a force, which combines civil employment and military service, by a controlling body absolutely without any knowledge of civilian business and labour should end in failure. Take the education and training of the average officer of the Regular Army. As a small boy at school he joins the Army class and begins to specialise before he has received any general education. He leaves school for a crammer's establishment where he intensifies the specialisation. He joins the Army and serves abroad. The only method of administration and system of business known to him is the one that he learns in his regimental orderly room. He can always fall back on the Army Act, and that never fails him. It gets him out of any difficulty that he may have created for himself. In due course he fills various unimportant staff appointments abroad. He is certain to be the author of many foolish orders, but still not so extravagant as to bring upon him the censure of his superiors. All his orders must be obeyed by his subordinates, whose duty it is to make the most impossible orders as workable as circumstances will allow, and whose interest it is never to ruffle the temper of their superior officer. Hence he is never subject to criticism, consequently he regards himself as a heaven-born administrator. He returns home as a field officer, and gets an appointment upon some district staff which entails the administration of all the branches of the Auxiliary Forces.

Without such a curriculum the following case, of which I have had personal experience, could not occur. The recruits of a Militia battalion were ordered to assemble for preliminary drill on Easter Monday. To the military mind, trained as I have described, a Bank Holiday meant a holiday for persons employed in a bank. The Militia recruits of the regiment in question were not bank clerks. Therefore Bank Holiday should make no more difference to their assembly than the full moon. Orders must be obeyed. A military force which cannot or will not obey orders is useless. The military mind of the Regular officer is intolerant of excuses for non-compliance with orders based on what to him are petty local reasons. The civilian mind of the Militia officer chafes sorely at having his business transacted by a gentleman to whom he would scarcely offer a stool in his business office as a second or third clerk.

The necessity of a link between the War Office and the Auxiliary Forces was recognised by the appointment of advisory boards in February, 1903. These were abolished by the Army Council in April, 1904. At present there is a Director of Auxiliary Forces, but it is impossible for any Director of Auxiliary Forces, or for any staff with which he may be provided, located in the War Office, to be in touch with the varying conditions of civilian life and labour all over the United Kingdom. Those conditions can only be represented to the Army Council by Militia commanding officers who live constantly in the same neighbourhood as their men. If it is the intention of the Government to retain the Militia, I would strongly advise the re-establishment of the advisory boards, whose mouthpiece should be the Director of Auxiliary Forces.

Advocating, as I do, the retention of the Militia system adapted to modern conditions, I may fairly appeal to some well-known facts in our military history. In the last hundred years we have had three periods of great wars. The Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns, the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, and, lastly, the Boer War. In all these wars the Militia has played its part. But I need not detain your Lordships by entering upon the particular conditions of service of the Militia at home, abroad, and in the field with the Regular Army, which prevailed at each epoch. The fact is undisputed that in none of the wars which I have mentioned could the Regular Army have maintained itself in the field and carried on the necessary garrison duties without the assistance of the Militia. The history of the Militia system goes back for hundreds of years, and the continuity of its existence affords evidence that this form of military service is congenial to the people of this country. I believe, therefore, that the Militia system is the only system by which we can create a national citizen Army.

As to foreign service, there is no doubt that a Militia force will only serve abroad if the war is popular. But in what respect will you be better off with the Reservists of the territorial regiments? After two years of boy-service close to their homes they will have returned to civilian life, looking at, and voting upon, the policy of this country from a Party point of view. They will think and act as civilians, not as soldiers. If they disapprove of the war, and on that account do not obey the summons to rejoin, will you discover them and bring them back by the aid of the police, and send them as prisoners across the seas? Your Lordships may depend upon this. If the war is a just war, both Militia and Home Service Reserve will come forward for foreign service. If the war is held by the country to be an unjust war, neither will. My conviction is that if you attempt to enlist men for foreign service outside the Regular Army as at pressent constituted, under the impression that you can compel them to serve abroad in an unpopular war, the last state of your military forces will be worse than even the present. Therefore I should never enlist the Militiaman for foreign service. I should add to the form of enlistment a distinct warning that, if Parliament considered it necessary, the whole Militia force would be asked to volunteer for foreign service, but that each man was free to say "Yes" or "No" when that question was put to him by his country.

The reorganisation of the Militia to convert it into a truly national force will require some effort, and, more than that, some sacrifices from every class of the community. In the first place, Parliament must explain the reasons which demand such sacrifices. They are not far to seek—the experience of the Boer War, the memory of the disastrous week in December, 1899, the military and also the moral lessons to be learnt from events now taking place in the Far East, the defence of the borders of Afghanistan, are the reasons which make that problem so pressing. If anything more be needed, the speech of the Prime Minister at Southampton in October is surely sufficient. If we aim at a national force, we must stop recruiting for the Militia by means of the War Office, and invoke again the aid of local civil authorities. So long as it remains the business of the War Office to find men for the Militia, the responsibility of recruiting is not regarded as a national duty, but merely as a departmental matter in which the country, as a whole, is not in the least concerned.

It is scarcely necessary to remind your Lordships that the Lord-Lieutenant is purely a military officer, appointed under the authority of the Militia laws, and that Deputy-Lieutenants owe their existence to the same legislation. Their constitutional position should be made a reality. Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in association with county and borough councils should be made responsible by Parliament for finding the officers and men needed for the Militia. The staff for recruiting purposes would be the officer commanding the Militia regiments with his adjutant and permanent staff. This staff, acting under the immediate orders of the Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy - Lieutenants, in conjunction with the county and borough councils, would be an entirely different agency from the recruiting staff at present employed by the War Office, and controlled by an officer of the Regular Army who has probably served most of his life abroad, and is unknown and unheeded by the countryside. This officer must still trust to the recruiting sergeants, who attend fairs and other gatherings, haunt street corners, and seek for the idle and the unemployed. Traditions cling to the recruiting sergeant which make him an object of dislike and distrust to the parents and friends of the working classes.

Parliament should require each county or town, according to the number of the male population, to furnish its quota of men for service in the Militia. If the quota was not forthcoming, then a fine should be inflicted by Parliament for every man deficient. The county or borough would pay this fine out of the general county or borough rate, in the same way as the police rate is now paid. It might be known as the Militia deficiency rate. Neither the duty nor the fine is new. The duty which would be imposed on the county council is inherited from the quarter sessions. The liability for a fine rested, in the reign of Charles II., upon owners of personalty as well as owners of real estate. Any owner who failed to provide his quota was fined. A hundred years later the liability was transferred to the parochial authorities, and any parish which failed to provide its quota was fined by means of a rate levied for the purpose. I would gladly revert to the early principle, and throw the liability not only on realty but on personalty also. But for the present I am concerned only to show that the existing machinery can be utilised to enforce the liability.

At present, service in the Militia, in the case of both officers and men, is regarded by their friends and relations as a pleasant pastime, but one which must never be allowed to stand in the way of the real business of life. If Parliament imposed a penalty for deficiency in the Militia service, the importance and the true meaning of that service might become apparent to the country. The system of recruiting for the Militia which I suggest would not damage recruiting for the Line, because you would be once more opening the door for the Militia soldier, that is, a man who has employment in civil life, and who would under no circumstances join the Regular Army. Does the Government still consider that the proposals of the Army Council respecting the Militia must remain in abeyance? In the summary, on page 12, I read—

> "But the Militia cannot be left in its present unsatisfactory condition. Prompt measures must be taken to improve it so as to make it a more serviceable fighting force."

Therefore I ask the noble Earl if it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to adopt in whole or in part the proposals of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission. I also read on page 12 that in July last the Secretary of State proposed—

> "To take into consultation representative officers of the force in order to discuss any further changes that might with advantage be introduced."

I beg to ask the noble Earl if that course has been followed, and, if so, with what results?

I trust that the noble Earl may be in a position to give a definite reply on these points, because at present everybody connected with the Militia is in a state of absolute uncertainty as to the intention of Parliament. Uncertainty as to the future paralyses action and produces that condition when no one cares to do anything, because nobody knows what is going to happen next. Take the case of recruiting. How can any Militia commanding officer at the present moment have any interest in getting recruits for his regiment when he knows that it is the earnest wish of the Army Council to remove him from his command and request him to hand over his regiment to an officer from the Line? I hear now of instances of men who are thinking of joining the Militia saying to the recruiting officer—"We want to join the Militia, but we do not want to join the Line. We hear some talk of turning the Militia into the Line. Can you tell us before we enlist what is going to happen to the Militia?" Well, my Lords, the recruiting officer returns exactly the same answer that any member of your Lordships' House, not being a member of the Government, would give, namely, "I have not the smallest idea what is going to happen to the Militia." I trust that the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War will be able to give an answer which will at once remove all uncertainty.

*VISCOUNT HARDINGE: My Lords, we are greatly indebted to the noble Duke for bringing this subject before your Lordships this evening, for there is no doubt that this is a most important and urgent problem. I trust the noble Earl the Under-Secretary will not evade the questions which the noble Duke has put, but will give us a definite answer. Since the Secretary of State for War brought forward his proposals in the other House at the end of last session, the Militia, as the noble Duke has said, has been in a state of great uncertainty as to its future, which can only be described as having an effect disastrous to that force; and I believe the same thing applies to the Volunteers. Therefore, my Lords, the sooner some definite answer is given the better, not only for the good of those two services, but of the nation at large.

If I understand the proposals of the Secretary of State for War rightly, I gather that he wished not to imply that he was desirous of abolishing the Militia; in fact he said that nothing was further from his thoughts. What he intended to do was to raise its *status* by drafting the Militia into the territorial regiments, and thereby mixing up officers and men of the Militia with those of the home Line battalion. If such a course is adopted, I venture to think, with all due deference to the Secretary of State for War, who I know conscientiously believes that it is the true solution of this question, and is in the interests of national defence, that the Militia generally will look upon it as the abolition of that old constitutional force, without the aid of which we should have been unable to bring the late South African War to a satisfactory conclusion. For several years past the Militia has not received any encouragement from the War Office; in fact, it has been most unfairly treated. The War Office have always worked on the principle that anything was good enough for the Militia, whilst if the same consideration has been meted out to them as had been extended to other branches of His Majesty's Auxiliary Forces, I am confident we should not hear, as we do now, of the inefficiency of the Militia.

Take, for instance, the shooting of the Militia. I was told the other day by a general who holds a responsible position at the War Office, that he thought the shooting of the Militia was far from satisfactory; in fact, he considered it was very bad. If your Lordships only knew what sort of rifles and ammunition are served out to the Militia, and the way that their annual course of musketry is hurried through—in most instances the officers commanding districts want to clear the ranges for the other branches of the Regular Forces and for the Volunteers and Yeomanry—you would not be surprised at their defective shooting. Until quite lately officers of Militia were unable to attend a course of musketry instruction at Hythe without having to pay their own expenses. Bearing all these points in mind, I think it is matter for wonder that the shooting of the Militia is as good as it is.

From the speech of the Prime Minister to Unionists in Glasgow on January 13th, I gather that he, at any rate, is perfectly satisfied with the present state of the Army. Yet only a short time before this speech was made, the noble Earl the late Commander-in-Chief (Lord Roberts) deemed it his duty to write his opinion of the state of the Army in the *Nineteenth Century and After* in words to this effect:—

> "I maintain that it is the bounden duty of the State to see that every able-bodied man in this country, no matter to what grade of society he may belong, undergoes some kind of military training in his youth, sufficient to enable him to shoot straight and carry out simple orders if ever his services are required for national defence."

No man calling himself an Englishman can fail to doubt the truth and wisdom of these words; and I trust His Majesty's Government, before they finally decide either to abolish the Militia or to change its present organisation, will ponder over these words of warning from so great an authority; for if there is one branch of the service which is suitable for the training of the youth of the country, that force undoubtedly is the Militia.

LORD RAGLAN: My Lords, I feel some diffidence in addressing your Lordships on this subject, as I have on more than one occasion inflicted long speeches with regard to it upon the House; but this is a matter on which I feel so very strongly that I cannot refrain from saying a few words in support of what has fallen from the noble Duke. The noble Duke has fully explained the position in which we, as commanding officers of Militia, feel ourselves, and I do not think it necessary to follow him in regard to that. But I do appeal to the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War to answer as fully as he is able the questions put by the noble Duke.

I would like to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the fact that while the War Office Council is deliberating the Militia is dwindling. As far as I am able to make out, because the Returns for 1904 have not yet been published, the numbers of the Militia have fallen by 600 officers and something like 6,000 men from what they were before the commencement of the late war. That perhaps in itself would be a small thing, but the falling-off had been going on for many years before the war. I must emphasise what the noble Duke says, that we commanding officers of the Militia have considerable difficulty in putting pressure on our friends to send their sons into Militia regiments, because we are unable to say exactly what will be the result to the Militia force of the present changes.

The question of the training of officers, alluded to by the noble Duke, is one which I have before mentioned in your Lordships' House. The proper training of Militia officers is prevented by the difficulties put in the way of their getting proper instruction. I was informed the other day that for the year 1905 the number of vacancies allotted to the Militia of the Western District for the course at Hythe is only twenty-two. According to the new regulations, an officer is supposed to obtain a high certificate before he can qualify for promotion to the position of captain, and your Lordships will be able to calculate how many of the subalterns in the Western District will be able to qualify as captains. The noble Duke has explained most fully the reasons why men do not join the Militia. They previously joined a Militia regiment because they knew what it was, but while there is a possibility of the Militia being turned into a new-fangled, territorial regiment, recruits will not readily come forward.

There is one point on which I differ from the noble Duke—the question of the enlistment of the Militia for general service in the event of war. That is a point which I have urged for many years, in season and out of season. It was originally advocated many years ago by the late Sir George Walker in a lecture at the United Service Institution. Sir George Walker commanded the old Scottish Borders' Militia, and no man ever lived who was a better soldier or more thoroughly acquainted with the Militia. Sir George Walker was a strong advocate for enlisting the Militia for general service, and I, many years afterwards, followed humbly in his wake.

I look upon the existing condition of things as unfair both to the officers and men of the Militia. They are engaged on the distinct understanding that their service is limited to the United Kingdom; in fact, if I am not mistaken they cannot proceed even to the Isle of Man or the Channel Islands without volunteering. But the first thing that happens in the event of war is that they are asked to volunteer for foreign service. That is putting an unfair pressure upon them, for no officer or man likes to hold back when his regiment is proceeding on foreign service. I am fully persuaded of this fact, that if the Militia were frankly told that they were liable to proceed on foreign service in the event of a national emergency, you would not lose a single recruit or a single officer. Moreover, when it is understood that the Militia is liable to go on foreign service, the force will receive a new *status*, and it will become the duty of the War Office to see that it is properly trained and equipped for war. As long as the Fleet commands the sea, this country can never possibly be invaded, but we must have from somewhere a large force of men to defend the great land frontiers of the Empire.

Many years ago we were told that there was no fear of our land frontiers being invaded, but what has happened in the Far East is a lesson to all of us. We have seen enormous armies and immense quantities of guns and ammunition transported gigantic distances by means of a single line of railway. Railways are no great distance from our frontier, and thousands of men can be conveyed on those railways to within very short distances of our bases. You would require a large Army to deal with a crisis of that sort. I hold, if the Militia is enlisted and equipped for general service, and receives proper consideration, it can do all the work that a hastily-raised force can perform. I hold that no other force can succeed to the traditions of the Militia, and that if it is properly treated the Militia can perform any duty which may be required of it.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, the noble Duke who introduced this discussion laid considerable stress on the necessity of an early decision of the principle at issue. I can assure him that I am entirely with him in desiring to see such an early decision. But we must not forget—the tendency is to forget it—what the principle at issue is. The noble Duke assumes that the principle at issue is whether the Militia is to be amalgamated — absorbed was the word he used—in the proposed short-service Army. I think that description is rather too bald adequately to describe the question under discussion. I do not deny that I have myself argued in favour of such absorption, and I wish I could have persuaded the noble Duke that it was an advisable thing; but I think the position of the Government was made perfectly clear last year, particularly by my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty, and perhaps I may be allowed to remind your Lordships of the position. The scheme which has been submitted to Parliament by His Majesty's Government involves the separation of the Army into a General Service Army and a Home Service Army, and the question we have to decide is, what part the Militia is to play in that division. The Home Service Army is that part of the Army which is to be ear-marked for service at home in time of peace and service abroad in time of war. It has now, I think, been universally accepted that our Army is chiefly needed for service abroad; and yet, while we have, in round numbers, a Regular Army of 250,000, a Militia of, say, 90,000, Imperial Yeomanry amounting to 25,000, and 240,000 Volunteers, making a total of 605,000, it is a notable fact that only 250,000 out of that total of 605,000 are ear-marked for service abroad. Therefore, it was with considerable satisfaction that I heard the conclusion of the speech of the noble Lord who spoke last, and who was one of my predecessors in office.

We have drafted a Bill, and I propose to ask your Lordships to read it a first time at the end of this debate in order to have it printed and circulated, authorising us to enlist the Militia for service abroad in time of war or emergency, or perhaps I should say for service abroad when embodied. Care is taken in the Bill to safeguard the rights of existing officers and men in the Militia, and it is not intended, for reasons which I shall be prepared to explain when the Bill comes up for Second Reading, to include the Imperial Yeomanry. I venture to suggest to your Lordships that this is a logical step for us to take in view of our belief that the Army as a whole is primarily needed for service abroad. The old custom, which I am sorry to say still holds favour with the noble Duke, of asking the Militia to volunteer to go abroad on the outbreak of war is cumbersome in view of your definite decision that you want them to go abroad. There has hardly ever been a big war—indeed, there has never been a big war—in which we have been engaged when we have not needed the Militia to go abroad; and I think it is therefore better that we should enlist them for that purpose. The noble Duke and the noble Lord who spoke last, complained, quite rightly, I think, of the uncertainty in which the Militia find themselves in regard to this matter. But on the last occasion on which my noble friend Lord Raglan addresed us on this subject he urged the Government to defer these drastic changes, and my noble friend, Lord Wemyss, whose absence I regret today, urged us, not once, but twice, to do nothing until Parliament had had an opportunity of discussing the proposal. I deplore the uncertainty existing.

It has often been stated in your Lordships' House that the great problem before us in time of peace is to provide adequate drafts for India. Three months ago, in considering the state of the infantry and framing Estimates for this year, we were naturally anxious to make a start with the system of general and short service; but those who are particularly acquainted with these matters came to us and advised us that owing to the very small number of extensions of three-years men, Indian drafts in the next few years would be in serious jeopardy. It was, therefore, decided to make every effort by nine-years enlistments to make the Indian drafts safe. I am happy to be able to inform your Lordships that the result of the nine-years recruiting has been distinctly satisfactory. Since the Army Order was issued on October 26th last, and up to February 11th, 8,427 nine-years men have been enlisted, considerably improving the position, though not making the drafts absolutely safe. Perhaps I may be pardoned if I give one short example to show the position we were in when we decided upon this change. A very distinguished regiment, the Norfolk Regiment, were in 1898 some sixty-eight over establishment, and they had 534 men available for drafts. Last year they were 254 over establishment, but had only 108 men available for drafts.

It followed, the nine-years enlistments having been decided upon, that the enlisting for the short-service battalions had to be postponed. This is the cause of the uncertainty we all deplore; we are not able to contemplate immediately the organisation of a short-service Army, or of finally deciding what form the Militia will have in the organisation. I do not think that the present position can possibly be lasting. Long service alone gives us no Reserve, short service alone creates anxiety about drafts, and I believe the only true remedy is to be found in a combination of the two, but until we are able to say that the drafts for India are made safe provisionally by the number of long-service men in the Army, we shall not be able to start our short-service battalions. I am afraid the state of uncertainty which noble Lords so deeply deplore must continue, but I can assure them no one will be better pleased than my colleagues on the Army Council when we are able to start our short-service battalions and come to a final decision in the matter.

I should like to say a word or two with regard to what the noble Duke said about the Volunteers. The noble Duke suggested that the Volunteers are an unreliable force.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: I gave their record of service, which I believe was perfectly accurate.

* **THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE:** I think the noble Duke's suggestion was that the Volunteers are an unreliable force, and that the only method of raising a citizen Army is through the Militia. Here we differ from the noble Duke. It is our intention to look to the Volunteers for home defence against raids. Though they cannot be relied upon as units for service abroad, we have full confidence in the Volunteers as units for home service. They are slightly more numerous than are now required, and by a reduction in numbers we propose to increase their efficiency. My right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War stated yesterday in another place that the Volunteer Vote would be taken at the same sum this year as last year. We hope to make a saving on that Vote by reductions of numbers, and with the co-operation of the Volunteers themselves, which we are confident we shall obtain, we shall be able to apply the money saved in considerably increasing their efficiency for the purpose for which they are intended.

The Militia, being made reliable for service abroad, will, *ipso facto*, become the Reserve of the Regular Army. The noble Duke drew rather a pessimistic picture as to the efficiency that we could expect from a short-service home force. He suggested that their Reservists would go down after two years training, and on mobilisation would come back to strange regiments, not knowing their officers, and being generally rather a breed of lost sheep, who could not compare with a Militia regiment which had been embodied. What is the position? The Militia have their preliminary drill, very often not under their own officers. That drill is at present, I think, six weeks, and there are suggestions to increase it in length. They then serve for one month a year for a number of years, and on embodiment they come up, I admit, and serve under their own officers in the regiment they have been accustomed to. It is suggested that the men in these short-service battalions should serve for a certain time in the depot and should then join their short-service battalion, in which they would be at least twenty-one months out of the two years. They would then go to the Reserve for six years, and twice during that service they would go back to their short-service battalions for one month's training, practically a Militia training. I do not think it can seriously be argued that these Reservists would go back to a strange regiment under strange officers, when they would go back to the regiment in which they had served twenty-one months, and possibly the two months reserve training. I think the noble Duke is rather unduly favouring the Militia when he says that the Militia would provide a more efficient Reserve than the Reserve we should get by the short-service battalions.

I now come to the important point raised by the noble Duke as to the present deficiencies in the Militia. The noble Duke says those deficiencies are due to the War Office. I think that that is very largely true, but it is a great deal easier to say that the deficiencies in the Militia are due to the War Office than to provide a remedy. I would be more inclined to suggest that the deficiencies are due to certain inherent defects in their position. They are mere adjuncts to the Line, little more than a feeding-machine, both as regards officers and men, and I claim that the line of progress which the Government suggest will do a great deal to remedy the evils that have arisen.

We have received hundreds of remedies as to how to increase not only the Militia but all branches of His Majesty's forces. But there are two necessities which must be satisfied before any remedy can be adopted. The first, I think, will be admitted by everyone. It is absolutely necessary that no remedy must involve a serious increase in the total amount of Army Estimates. Your Lordships will remember that my noble friend supplied me last year with a scheme for obtaining subalterns for the Auxiliary Forces. I think we could easily get them on the terms he suggested—namely, by giving them all a retaining fee of £100 a year. But that would have involved a serious increase in the Army Estimates. Secondly, it is of no use to suggest a remedy for one branch of the Army that will injure some other branch. What is the proposal of the noble Duke? The noble Duke suggests that a remedy for the present state of affairs might be found if local authorities were permitted to recruit for the Milita, and if Militia recruiting were taken out of the hands of the War Office and absolutely separated from recruiting for the Regular Army. According to the noble Duke's proposal, competition would be set up between the Army and the Militia for recruits, so that in every county in the Kingdom in which there is a Militia regiment there would be a sort of "pull devil, pull baker," going on between the recruiting agent of the local authority and the Army recruiting officer who wanted recruits for the Army. I cannot admit that that is a proper remedy.

The matter of better provision for the training of officers is continually before us at the War Office, and we are doing our best to increase the accommodation, but even expenditure on buildings is bound between certain necessary limits, and we have rather to content ourselves with doing one thing at a time. But this is a question on which we feel quite as strongly as the noble Duke, and we are just as anxious to give facilities for the training of officers of the Auxiliary Forces as we are to afford them to officers in other branches. I do not wish to refer at any length to the noble Duke's amusing description of what he considers the intellectual attainments of an officer in the Regular Army and his utter inability to understand any question affecting the Auxiliary Forces. I think he will admit that there are officers in the Regular Army who are fully equal to the intellectual requirements of the time, and I regard what he said on that matter as nothing more than good-natured chaff.

The noble Duke advocates a revival of the Auxiliary Forces Advisory Board which we had at the War Office for some time, and I think his argument is that its revival would be a very useful method for bringing the views of the Auxiliary Forces before the War Office. There are certain disadvantages in that system. I am speaking in the presence of two colleagues of mine on that board, and I am sure they will admit that the procedure was a little cumbersome, for we could never have a meeting at less than, I think, twenty days notice owing to our constitution. But I claim that we have already gone a great deal further than the Advisory Board in what we have done. We have a Militia colonel always in the War Office now, in the department of the Director of Auxiliary Forces, who is available to any member of the War Office for the purposes of information.

As to the question whether the recommendations of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission are to be adopted in whole or in part, it must be evident that to carry them out will involve some considerable expense, and at the present moment we would not feel justified in increasing the Army Estimates. But I am permitted to tell your Lordships that a request will be made in another place for the same amount of money on the Militia Vote as was given last year. There are a great many units, infantry and artillery, which are really past praying for as efficient units, and there are certain regiments of garrison artillery, which, as your Lordships know, have never yet been utilised in any known defence scheme. We hope by a reduction and amalgamation of certain units to effect certain saving, which we intend to apply solely for the improvement of the Militia, largely, of course, in the direction of the recommendations of the noble Duke's Commission. At the same time your Lordships will understand that we are still bound by the fact that we are not yet able to start the short-service Army.

As to whether we have had opportunities of discussing this matter during the autumn with colonels of Militia, I can assure the noble Duke that such is the case. There is one colonel present, sitting beside the noble Duke, whom Mr. Arnold-Forster has had the pleasure of interviewing, and we were also able to obtain the views of a great many colonels of Militia through the Director of Auxiliary Forces. That is in addition to personal interviews which my right hon. friend had. We deplore the delay which has occurred just as much as my noble friend. We shall be glad when the position of the drafts enables us to start a short-service Army, and will rejoice when the end of the present period of tension is reached.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I do not propose to go at length into the whole question raised by the noble Duke, but I desire to say a few words with regard to the remarkable announcement which the Under-Secretary of State for War has made to-night. At any rate, I am glad to congratulate the Under-Secretary of State, rising as he did from between two colleagues, both of whom are colonels of Militia, on the rôle he had to fill, because last year the Secretary of State for War, in the other House, appeared as the stern judge, pronouncing the sentence of early execution on the Militia force, whereas on the present occasion the Under-Secretary has appeared more like the peaceful dove, bringing the leaf of a reprieve to one of the most ancient forces of His Majesty the King. But whilst I recognise the importance of the announcement made by the Under-Secretary of State, I must say that we have not received very much information as to what the future of the Militia is to be. The noble Earl has told us, very clearly indeed, that they are to have a further condition of service imposed upon them. Seeing that such a condition as compulsory foreign service is to be imposed upon a force which has not hitherto been subject to that liability, I think we ought to have been fully informed as to the conditions under which the force is to serve in the future. For my own part, I should be inclined to look upon the proposal with favour, but before we can consent to it we must know exactly the position the Militia are to hold in the future, and the duties that are to be imposed upon them. The Under-Secretary of State told us—and I am glad he was able to do so—that we should find on the Estimates of this year a sum not less than that applied to the Militia last year. If I remember rightly, the amount was something over £2,000,000. That, again, is a guarantee that the Militia are to be maintained.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I was speaking of the Militia Vote—the Pay Vote of the Militia—which amounts to about £800,000. The total spent on the Militia does, I think, amount to about £1,800,000, but a large portion of it is borne on other Votes.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Last year it was £2,017,000. I should like to have, if possible, some further explanation with regard to this Home Army, as to which, in principle, most of us are agreed. There is a general consensus of opinion that this country must have an Army for foreign service whose conditions of service will be somewhat different from those of the Army which is to serve at home. But is it held, as has been put forward by many Army reformers, that the Militia would form the very best nucleus that could be used for a form of short-service Army, primarily for service at home, but which might be called upon in time of war? There is a great deal to be said for such a proposal—that it is possible so to revivify the Militia, so to improve its conditions of service, and to give it such attention and care, that it would form the nucleus of your Home Service Army, and in that way expand into a very useful part of His Majesty's troops. Everybody agrees that the Militia cannot remain in its present condition; nobody holds the opinion more strongly than distinguished Militia officers. But I would add to the War Office a second agent of mischief to the Militia, and that is the Regular Army itself. You have sacrificed the Militia to the Regular Army and you go on sacrificing it. When you get your Militia recruits what do you do with them? You send them to the depots of the regiments, where they are drilled by sergeants whose first duty it is to endeavour to get the recruit to leave the Militia and enter the Regular Army. That is not the way to obtain a strong branch of the service. The Under-Secretary of State seemed to be afraid that the noble Duke was going to set up a sort of competition between the Regular Army and the Militia in the matter of recruiting. If you are going to recruit men for two different services under different conditions there must be a certain competition. But, my Lords, I think that it will be a wholesome competition. The man who is willing to serve for a limited time, and under limited conditions of service, will not really be a competitor with the man who is willing to serve abroad, to serve for a longer period, and to serve under more stringent and rigid conditions. But if you are to have your Army divided into two parts subject to different conditions of service, you must have a certain competition between the recruiting for the two branches. I can only say—and I am sure my noble friends beside me will agree with me—that we should be ready to consider fully the proposals His Majesty's Government may have to make on the subject of the future of the Militia. At this moment we do not consider that we are in a position to give a final opinion on what has been proposed to-night, but the Government may be sure that, so far as is possible, it will be our endeavour to make our view favourable to a proposal that is likely to be of advantage to the country.

Lord BURGHCLERE: My Lords, I do not wish to make a speech; I merely want to supplement my noble friend's remarks by asking a question. My noble friend said that he did not know exactly what the position of the Militia was to be in the future. I have no doubt that when the Under-Secretary of State brings in the Bill he has promised we shall be able to understand more clearly what the position of the Militia is to be. My question deals with a portion of the Under-Secretary's promises which, to my mind, is most important, namely, with regard to the future service of the Militia abroad. If any Member of the Government is to reply to my noble friend, will he tell us whether the service of the Militia abroad is to be at all times, or only in the case of a great war. That is a very important distinction which must be in the mind of the noble Earl opposite, and I shall be very glad if he will tell us the exact position in that respect.

The FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Earl of SELBORNE): My Lords, I do not intend to make a speech, because I do not think that this is the occasion on which we can discuss the proposal at length. But there is no difficulty in answering the question of the noble Lord opposite. When the Bill is printed it will be seen that the Militia are liable to be sent abroad only when they are embodied. That does not cover the ordinary annual training. It covers occasions such as the late South African War, the Crimean War, and all past wars in which the services of the Militia have been called upon.

SERVICE OF MILITIAMEN BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the law relating to the area of service of the Regular Militia when embodied. Was presented by the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 13.)

House adjourned at five minutes past Six o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 21st February, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

LIVERPOOL CORPORATION BILL.

Petition for additional Provision; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 1) BILL.

"To confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to Ashton-in-Makerfield, Burslem, Newbury, Southport, and Ulverston," presented by Mr. Grant Lawson; supported by Mr. Walter Long; read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 48.]

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.

Petitions for continuance; from Forres; and Morayshire; to lie upon the Table.

JUVENILE SMOKING.

Eight Petitions from Edinburgh, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SUNDAY) BILL.

Petitition from Melksham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.

Petition from Brighton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (IRELAND) (OFFICIALS).

Return [presented 14th February] to be printed. [No. 48.]

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Paper [presented 20th February] to be printed. [No. 49.]

COMMITTALS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Returns from the Clerks of the Crown and Peace of the number of persons committed for trial in 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES (ELECTORS, ETC.) (UNITED KINGDOM).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 15th February; *Sir Charles Dilke*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 50.]

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Southampton altering Sarisbury Polling District in the Fareham Parliamentary Division [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Copy presented, of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Borstal Prison [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (SPECIAL EXCEPTION—NIGHTWORK).

Copy presented, of Order, dated 18th February, 1905, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards employed in the process of continuous wire drawing carried on in non-textile factories [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

Estimates presented, for the year 1905-6, with Explanation of Differences [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 51.]

NAVY (STATEMENT EXPLANATORY OF ESTIMATES).

Copy presented, of Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty explanatory of the Navy Estimates, 1905-6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account presented, of the Sums received and paid in respect of the Wages and Effects of Deceased Seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS (MONEY ORDERS AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES).

Accounts presented, of all Deposits received and repaid during the year ended 20th November, 1903, and Statement as to Money Orders issued and paid from 1855 to 31st March, 1904, and of Receipts and Payments in connection with the Transmission of Seamen's Wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 52.]

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.

Copy presented, of Statement of the Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with an Account of the Receipt and Issue of Stores [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 53.]

RAILWAYS (CERTIFICATES) (CORRINGHAM LIGHT RAILWAY COMPANY).

Copy presented, of Draft Certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the Corringham Light Railway Company to raise additional Capital [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TREATY SERIES (No. 4, 1905).

Copy presented, of Convention between the United Kingdom and Mexico respecting Postal Rates upon Letters passing between New Zealand and Mexico. Signed at Mexico, 1st February, 1904. Ratifications exchanged at Mexico, 12th January, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).

Return ordered, "of the amounts of all Public Revenue derived from Taxes levied by Parliament, and from any other sources, which are not paid into His Majesty's Exchequer, for the years 1873–4, 1883–4, 1893–4, and 1903–4, respectively, with the totals in each case."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

NATIONAL DEBT.

Return ordered, "showing the amounts of (1) the Funded Debt; (2) the Unfunded Debt; (3) the estimated capital value of Terminable Annuities on the 31st day of March, 1874, 1884, 1894, and 1904 respectively, with the totals for each year; (4) the estimated liability in respect of sums borrowed under the head of other capital liabilities; (5) the total amount on the same dates respectively, of the Contingent or Nominal Liabilities of the State; and (6) the total amount outstanding on the same dates respectively in respect of Loans guaranteed by the British Government."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (LIABILITIES).

Address for "Return showing the total amount of the outstanding Balances of the Loans of Local Authorities in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, at the close of the financial years 1873–4, 1883–4, 1893–4, and 1903–4, with the totals for the three countries on those dates."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

Return ordered, "showing for the Army, Navy, Civil Service, and Revenue Departments, respectively, the total amount of Supplementary Estimates for the years 1873–4, 1883–4, 1893–4, and 1903–4, respectively, with the totals for each year."—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

JURORS' EXPENSES (IRELAND) BILL.

"To provide for the Payment of Expenses to Jurors in assize and county courts in Ireland"; presented by Mr. O'Dowd; supported by Mr. McHugh, Mr. Conor O'Kelly, Mr. William McKillop, and Mr. Cullinan; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 49.]

ACCESS TO MOUNTAINS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To secure to the public the right of access to Mountains and Moorlands in Scotland"; presented by Mr. Bryce: supported by Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Thomas Shaw, Mr. Black, Colonel Denny, Mr. John Sinclair, and Mr. John Dewar; to be read a second time upon Friday, 31st March, and to be printed. [Bill 50.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Meritorious Service Rewards for Petty Officers in the Royal Navy.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any provision exists for bestowing rewards for meritorious service upon petty officers in the Royal Navy, corresponding to those granted to non-commissioned officers in the Army and Marines; and, if not, whether he can hold out any hope of considering the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) There is no such provision made for petty officers in the Royal Navy. This is one of many differences between the conditions of service and privileges in the Army and the Navy, and it is not proposed to make any change.

Preferential Rates for Foreign Produce.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will cause inquiries to be made, and issue a report upon the subject of preferential rates granted to foreign importers by the carrying corporations.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) I assume the hon. Member's Question relates to rates charged on railways, and I would refer him to the reply to a similar Question on 11th February, 1904.† The hon. Member is no doubt aware that the alleged preferential treatment accorded to imported agricultural produce is engaging the attention of a Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxix., 1028.

Live Stock Transit.

MR. FIELD: To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that a patent humane cattle car has not been allowed by the railway companies of Great Britain to be used; and. if so, whether he will take steps to secure that the great carrying corporations shall not be permitted, against the public interest and the improved carriage of live stock, to prevent a trial of a more humane method of live stock transit.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) We were not aware that the railway companies in Great Britain had refused to allow the cattle car referred to in the Question to be used on their lines. It is, I presume, the car patented by Mr. John Rooth in 1894 and 1895, and now the property of the Humane Cattle Car and Shipping Fittings Company, Limited. The matter is not one in regard to which we have any power to intervene, but I may refer the hon. Member to the provisions of Section 117 of The Railway Clauses Act, 1845, which prohibits the use of carriages on a railway which are not constructed according to the company's regulations.

MR. FIELD: To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether he can state what measures the President of the Board of Agriculture has taken, or if he intends to make recommendations, to ensure the more speedy, safe, and humane transit of live stock on land and cross-channel journeys; whether he will take into consideration the need of insisting on a minimum rate of speed on railways, and improved cattle trucks, also better accommodation and ventilation on ships.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) The carriage of live stock in Great Britain and coastwise is regulated by The Animals (Transit and General) Order, 1895, supplemented by an Amendment Order passed last year. These Orders, copies of which I shall be glad to supply to the hon. Member, have for their object the safeguarding of cattle from all unnecessary hardship during transit by land or sea, and contain amongst their requirements special provisions dealing with the construction of vessels and cattle trucks. A further amendment of the Order is not contemplated at the present time, but we are always very ready to inquire into any specific complaints of delay or injury which may be brought to our notice.

Expenditure on Military and Naval Works in the West Indies.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury what has been the expenditure for each year since 1895 on military and naval works and barracks from Votes on Supply, under the Naval or Military Works Act, Barracks Act, or other sources, in each of the following Colonies: Halifax, Bermuda, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and other West Indian Colonies.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The actual expenditure on military and naval works for the period 1895 to 1904 is as follows:—

Military Works.

Year.	Halifax.	Bermuda.	Jamaica.	St. Lucia and Barbadoes.
	£	£	£	£
1895–1896	13,000	14,200	10,300	19,100
1896–1897	17,100	16,600	11,400	12,200
1897–1898	14,900	19,200	14,200	22,500
1898–1899	26,300	30,500	34,500	53,500
1899–1900	44,900	45,300	14,600	64,600
1900–1901	24,500	55,300	35,200	59,700
1901–1902	54,400	80,900	22,100	81,200
1902–1903	44,000	46,000	21,200	95,300
1903–1904	42,500	47,900	29,500	62,000

Naval Works.

Year.	Bermuda.	Halifax.	Jamaica.	St. Lucia.	Antigua.
	£	£	£	£	£
1895–1896 . . .	11,968	10,922	6,364	—	50
1896–1897 . . .	15,253	7,333	6,792	4,380	50
1897–1898 . . .	21,339	8,067	9,645	45	57
1898–1899 . . .	24,914	8,033	8,326	27	79
1899–1900 . . .	32,099	8,282	4,933	343	40
1900–1901 . . .	104,938	10,467	6,574	465	—
1901–1902 . . .	175,307	9,110	7,847	118	—
1902–1903 . . .	135,597	9,591	6,710	1,330	—
1903–1904 . . .	88,826	9,745	10,538	1	—

The Licensing Act.

MR. CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can state when the charges which are leviable under Clause 3 of the Licensing Act, 1904, and which, if imposed in the present year, are due to be paid by licensees on 10th October, will, in fact, be received by the various compensation authorities; and when the rules to be made by the Treasury under Clause 3 (2) will be published.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*) I am informed by the Board of Inland Revenue, as regards the first part of this Question, that it is their intention to pay over to the compensation authorities the bulk of the moneys levied under Section 3 (2) of the Licensing Act, 1904, in the month of November in each year, and the remainder as soon as possible afterwards. It will be remembered that these charges are payable at the same time as the Excise licence duties, *i.e.*, on 10th October. As regards the second part of the Question, the Treasury inform me that the rules to be made by them under the enactment quoted will be issued shortly.

Publication of Abstract of the Mowat Committee Report.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office when the Abstract of the Mowat Committee Report, as promised on 29th June, 1904, will be issued.

(*Answered by Mr. Bromley-Davenport.*) This document was circulated as a Command Paper (Cd. 1903) on 30th July, 1904.

Railway Construction in Cutch.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that representations have been made by the Cutchi inhabitants of Bombay, the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, and the Municipality of Hyderabad in favour of linking up, by a broad-gauge railway line, the province of Sind with the Bombay Presidency; and that the Rao of Cutch has visited the Governor at Bombay and intimated his intention to visit the Governor-General at Calcutta for the purpose of preventing this line passing through Cutch; and, if so, will an opportunity be given to the memorialists in its favour to reply to the Rao's objections.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I am aware of the first of the three classes of representations referred to by the hon. Member. The Government of India will no doubt give due consideration to any substantial objections to the line that may be urged by the Rao of Cutch; but, as I stated in reply to a Question on the same subject on the 25th April[†] last year, I see no reason at present for doubting that the connection between Bombay and Sind will be carried out when funds are available. In their programme of railway construction for the year 1905–6 the Government of India have included an allotment of six lakhs for a line from Viramgam to Malia, which forms part of a projected connection with Sind through Cutch.

[†] See (4) *Debates*, cxxxiii., 1036.

Grievances of Sea Post-Office Employees on the Aden-Bombay Service.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that in 1890 the number of mail bags between Aden and Bombay was under 600, and that in 1904 it was nearly 1,800; that the reduction of time occupied in the passage increases the number of hours of work; and that complaints have been received from the employees of the sea post-office as to the work, the pay and promotion, and the unhealthy conditions on board the mail ships; if so, whether, seeing that since 1890 nearly 100 of these employees have left the service, he will make inquiry as to the reasonableness of the amount and conditions of the work.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) A similar Question was asked by Sir W. Wedderburn in 1899, and a Report was obtained from the Government of India, who considered that there was no reason to suppose that the work imposed on the sorters was excessive since, although the pressure for short periods is necessarily severe, the sorters have for the greater part of their time little or nothing to do. I will ask for a further report on the subject.

Newman Estate, County Cork.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is in possession of any information respecting the proposed sale of the Newman Estate, Dromore, Mallow, county Cork, showing that the Estates Commissioners are prepared to sanction the advance to the vendor notwithstanding his desire to exclude from the transaction a tenant named Timothy O'Callaghan, who holds under a judicial term and who is prepared to purchase on similar terms to the other tenants; and, if so, whether the Estates Commissioners will delay completion of the sale until this judicial tenant is included in the transaction.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Mr. Newman has expressed his intention of resuming possession of this holding on the expiration of the statutory term, under Section 21 of the Act of 1881. He has also undertaken, in case he fails in his application for resumption, to sell to Callaghan on the same terms as to the other tenants. Under these circumstances the Commissioners have not required the owner to include the holding in the estate.

Irish Lights Board.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Clyde Shipping Company's Steamer "Garmoyle" went aground at Ballyquinton Point, county Down, some months since, and that a lighthouse erected by the Irish Lights Board many years ago has never been lighted, although standing within a mile of the place of the "Garmoyle's" stranding; and, if so, whether, in view of the dissatisfaction existing respecting the administration of the Irish Lights Board and the non-representative character of its composition, he will introduce a Bill to reform and reconstitute it.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) As I have stated on previous occasions, the Commissioners of Irish Lights do not consider the lighting of Rock Angus advisable unless made in conjunction with an extensive system of lights to guide vessels up Strangford Lough to the anchorages of Audley and Cross Roads. Such a system of lighting would be solely for the benefit of local trade, and the Commissioners are of opinion that it should not be carried into effect at the expense of the general lighthouse fund. As to the "Garmoyle," I am informed that the Court of inquiry which investigated the casualty found that the stranding of the vessel was caused by the courses steered from the Codling Light Vessel for the South Rock Light Vessel not being made good, and by failure to use the lead. I have no evidence before me to show that a light on Rock Angus would have saved the vessel. I do not propose to introduce a Bill dealing with the Irish Lights Board.

Staff of Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that dissatisfaction exists owing to the inequality of treatment of the staff of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, especially as regards the Catholic clerks in the Veterinary branch; and whether steps will be taken with a view to rectify the grievances complained of.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Many Questions of similar import were answered by me last session. I can only repeat that there is not the slightest foundation for the suggestion that the position of the clerks referred to has in any way been prejudiced in consequence of their religious beliefs.

Ireland—Public Bodies Order, 1904.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that protests have been made by the Midleton, County Cork, Urban District Council, and many other urban district councils in Ireland, against the Public Bodies Order, 1904, as made by the Local Government Board for Ireland on 17th December, 1904, on the grounds that the Order proposes to unnecessarily increase the work of the urban councils and their officers, and that the said Board have in their Order exceeded their powers by prescribing duties for members and officials, prescribing the manner in which the general minutes are to be kept, requiring copies of such minutes to be sent to the Board, and in various other respects; and what steps it is proposed to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I would refer to my replies to the Questions put to me on this subject on the 16th † and 20th ‡ instant.

Changes in Army Uniform.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state the changes made in the uniform of officers and men of the Regular Forces since April, 1902, and of the cost of each of such changes.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The Return is as follows:—

Return of all Changes (and their cost) in the Uniform of the Regular Forces since April, 1902.

Non-commissioned Officers and Men.

Subject.	Annual.	
	Increased Cost.	Saving.
	£	£
Reversion to khaki drill at Colonial Stations -	4,000	
Addition of roll collar for khaki drill frock - -	1,610	
Shoulder cords instead of coloured shoulder straps for service dress jackets - - - - -	—	9,375
Adoption of plain shoulder straps with metal titles instead of embroidered designations on sleeve of service dress jackets - - - - -	—	6,200
Carried forward - -	5,610	15,575

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† See page 322.
‡ See page 613.

Subject.	Annual.	
	Increased Cost.	Saving.
	£	£
Brought forward—	5,610	15,575
Simplification of new pattern drab greatcoat - -	—	19,139
New pattern grey great coat and cape for Foot Guards - - - - - - - - -	744	
New pattern flat topped forage cap and cover for all services - - - - - - -	4,271	
Simplification of service dress jackets - -	—	2,803
Girdles for Royal Field Artillery - - - -	618	
Chevrons and badges of rank not to be worn on left arm of full dress - - - - - -	—	6,000
New pattern badges for best shots, etc. - - -	340	
New pattern badges Royal Artillery headdress -	200	
Chin straps for new pattern caps, mounted men -	219	
Black buttons for Rifle Brigade for wear on service dress - - - - - - - -	68	
Regimental buttons for Foot Guards, service dress -	80	
Cap with removable bands, Foot Guards - -	—	189
New titles for Rifles, service dress - - - -	20	
Drab spats for Highlanders - - - - -	21	
Rubber soled shoes for Royal Army Medical Corps	190	
Change of facings, Cheshire, Dorset, and Hants Regiments - - - - - - -	36	
Clothing for Motor Car Drivers - - - -	40	
Caps for Mechanical Transport Drivers - - -	38	
Buttons for tunic skirts of Foot Guards - - -	103	
New pattern full dress frock abroad - - -	60	
Kilmarnock bonnet for Royal Scots and Scottish Borderers - - - - - - -	358	
Wolseley helmets - - - - - - -	88	
Alterations to tunics, Army Service Corps - -	185	
Blue clothing instead of drill or s.d. clothing for sub-miners - - - - - - -	—	458
Duck clothing for proof party, and cord pants, and puttees for range sergeants, Woolwich - -	25	
Plumes for Inniskilling Fusiliers - - - -	10	
Surgical slippers for use in hospitals - - -	5	
Plumes for Royal Welsh Fusiliers - - - -	9	
Artillery Clerks clothed as Royal Garrison Artillery	69	
Badge for new pattern forage cap, Royal Engineers	16	
Crown and wreath Badge for Army Pay Corps -	2	
Plumes for Royal Scots Fusiliers - - - -	9	
Girdles for Royal Artillery Mounted Band - -	2	
New pattern badges for 12th Lancers - - -	3	
Change of facings, Durham Light Infantry - -	9	
Alteration of Badges for Notts and Derby Regiment consequent on change of title - - - -	40	
Carried forward - -	13,488	44,164

Subject.	Annual.	
	Increased Cost.	Saving.
	£	£
Brought forward—	13,488	44,164
Blue tartan suits for clerks in lieu of service dress	67	
Pea jackets for drivers mechanical transport	23	
Plumes for Royal Munster Fusiliers	9	
Improved pattern of Highland sporrans and making them public clothing	—	543
New pattern oiled dress jackets, Submarine Miners	8	
Silver granades instead of gold, Band Foot Guards	—	5
Helmets, West India Regiment in lieu of s.d. hats	—	265
New pattern caps, Staff and Band Foot Guards	—	92
Alteration to service dress jackets for kilted regiments	108	
Total	13,703	45,069

Officers.

Subject.	Annual.		Remarks.
	Increased Cost.	Saving.	
*Adoption of the Atholl grey great coat by Foot Guards.			
Adoption of the Atholl grey great coat by Field Marshals, General Officers, and Staff Officers not on the Cadre of a unit.	—	—	No expense, as old pattern coats may be worn out.
*Adoption of white drill jacket by Officers of Highland Regiments.			
Introduction of khaki Wolseley helmet in lieu of white helmet for wear in the Colonies.	—	—	No expense, as old helmets may be worn out.
*Alterations of badges of rank on sleeves of service dress jackets.			

* Cost cannot be computed as it varies according to the tailors employed.

Revenue and Expenditure of Transvaal and Inter-Colonial Council.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the latest figures in regard to the revenue and expenditure of the Transvaal and of the Inter-Colonial Council respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The information desired will be found, as regards the Inter-Colonial Council, in reply to a similar Question answered yesterday.† Corrected figures since received give the revenue and expenditure of the Transvaal up to 31st December as £1,860,400 and and £1,974,700 respectively.

Amount Paid for Purchase of South African Railways.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what has been the total amount paid for the purchase of the South African railways under the Loan Act of 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) Up to 30th November, 1904, the amount paid was £12,804,759. No later figures are available.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Obsolete War Vessels.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty can he state the number of ships to be broken up under the naval reorganisation scheme, together with their first cost, and the amount subsequently spent on them in repairs.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The hon. Member for Dundee is moving for a Return which substantially covers the information asked for, and which will be better given in that form than in answer to a Question, as the figures will take some time to prepare.

MR. WHITLEY: Will the hon. Member add to the Return the amount subsequently spent on these ships for repairs.

*MR. PRETYMAN: The Return of the hon. Member for Dundee does not ask for the total amount, but only for the sum spent on large substantial repairs, and it would entail great labour to get out the whole cost of repairs as some of the vessels are of great age.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Will the hon. Member add to the Return a statement of the dates at which these ships were found to be non-effective.

*MR. PRETYMAN: The date would be the date when they were ordered to be placed on the sale list.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): But without really increasing the labour could not the Return give the total amount spent on repairs? The ships are not of such very great age.

*MR. PRETYMAN: I will consider that.

MR. WHITLEY: If I can get the repairs for the last ten years I shall be satisfied. But the term "large substantial repairs" is too vague.

*MR. PRETYMAN: I will communicate with the hon. Member on the subject.

Military Convicts from the South African War.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can say how many military prisoners convicted of offences in connection with the late South African War are at present confined in Great Britain and Ireland respectively; whether he can state the names, the charges upon which they were convicted, the tribunals by which they were tried, and the sentences imposed in each case, of all such prisoners sent to prisons in Ireland; whether any such prisoner is now confined in Ireland; whether any such prisoners sent to Irish prisons since the South African War have been discharged; and whether he favours the release of any other such prisoner.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): Of the military prisoners convicted of offences in connection with the war in South Africa thirteen are confined in Great Britain and one in Ireland. The latter was convicted by Court-martial of desertion and treason and was condemned to penal servitude for life. Seven prisoners who were convicted by Court-martial of offences in connection with the South African War and were awarded varying sentences of penal servitude, were confined in Ireland and have since been discharged. The reply to the last sentence of the Question is in the negative.

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† See page 591.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Why keep one man in gaol while six or seven others convicted of the same offence have been discharged?

[No Answer was returned.]

Chinese Labour in South Africa.

Mr. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state the number of Chinese indentured labourers employed at the South African gold mines, up to 31st January last, together with the numbers in hospital, and the death rate prevailing among them each month for the six months ending on that date; and also the death rate prevailing among the natives employed at the South African gold mines during the same period.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington): I am not able to give the numbers in hospital, but the numbers employed at the end of each month are as follows:—July, 1,388; August, 4,945; September, 9,020; October, 12,965; November, 17,469; December, 20,885. For the months for which I am able to give the comparative death rate per 1,000, the figures show a much smaller mortality among the Chinese than among the natives.

1904.	Natives.	Chinese.
August	37	14
September	40	25
October	51	22
November	56	28
December	53	27

Transvaal Commissioner of Mines.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether a successor to Mr. Wybergh has been appointed as Commissioner of Mines in the Transvaal; and, if not, will he explain why.

Mr. LYTTELTON: No appointment has been made as yet, as I understand Lord Milner has experienced much difficulty in making a selection for this important appointment.

Labour Statistics for the Transvaal.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can say for the months of November and December, 1904, and for January, 1905, how many white men, Kaffirs, and Chinese coolies respectively were engaged in actual mining operations in the Transvaal.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The numbers are:—For November—Whites, 14,944; Coloured, 81,673; Chinese, 17,469. For December—Whites, 15,023; Coloured, 83,639; Chinese, 20,885. The official figures for January have not yet been received.

Proposed Changes in the Transvaal Government.

Mr. BUCHANAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the form under which the proposed changes in the existing form of government in the Transvaal will be made, whether by Bill, by Order in Council, or otherwise; and whether, before final assent is given to these changes, he will undertake that there will be an opportunity for discussion in this House.

Mr. LYTTELTON: (1) It is proposed to advise His Majesty to issue Letters Patent defining the broad features of the constitution of the new Legislature, leaving details for further local discussion and investigation to be settled hereafter. (2) It would not be in accordance with precedent to submit the Letters Patent to Parliament before they are issued; but I propose to lay Papers in due course so soon as I am in a position to do so. (3) Questions as to opportunities of discussion in the House should of course be addressed to the Prime Minister.

Cancer in India.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for

India whether the Government of India are yet in a position to provide statistics in regard to the prevalence of cancer in the respective provinces.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Medical officers in India are now required to record every case of cancer coming under their observation and to send a copy of the record to the Cancer Research Fund. The reports of the fund will show the prevalence of the disease in the different provinces, so far as this can be ascertained from the data thus collected.

Treatment of Egyptian Pilgrims at Suez.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that the Khedivial Mail Steamship Company, which posseses the monopoly of carrying Egyptian pilgrims, kept them waiting upwards of ten days at Suez without food or shelter before allowing them to embark; and will he consider the desirability of representing to the Government of Egypt the expediency of communicating with the steamship company on the subject, with a view to prevent a similar cause for complaint in future pilgrimages.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.); If the hon. Member will furnish me with full particulars inquiry will be made, but matters of this kind primarily concern the Egyptian authorities, and do not seem to call for the intervention of His Majesty's Government.

Income-Tax Collection.

MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether complete uniformity has now been established in the collection of income-tax in England and Scotland; and whether ten days notices for the recovery of income-tax under penalty have been issued simultaneously in England and Scotland.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): Complete uniformity as between England and Scotland is not possible, owing to divergences in certain respects between the systems of assessment and collection in the two parts of the Kingdom. But it may be said that, allowing for these, substantial uniformity now exists. The ten days notices have been issued simultaneously in England and Scotland.

MR. McCRAE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that since this Question has been put on the Paper seven days notices have been issued in Scotland to the effect that if the taxes are not paid then action will be taken by warrant of the sheriff officer, and cannot be received after that time by the collector of taxes; and whether, that being so, he will issue similar instructions to the Inland Revenue authorities in Edinburgh as those issued to Somerset House?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I do not know what has taken place within the last few days, but the hon. Member will see that I ought to have notice of so long a Question. If he will give me reasonable notice I shall be prepared to answer.

MR. McCRAE: Will the right hon. Gentleman issue to the Edinburgh authorities instructions similar to those given to Somerset House?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That has been done.

Cost of the Somaliland Campaign.

MR. BAYLEY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer when the Supplementary Estimates for the campaign in Somaliland will be presented to the House.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I understand that these will be presented towards the end of this week.

Income-Tax Exemption.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if, where an individual in response to a demand for income-tax submits through his solicitor a statement, the Commissioner of Inland Revenue is entitled to refuse to supply exemption forms; and if, in spite of the knowledge so conveyed as to the applicant's income, which is under the statutable amount, the Commissioner issues an order for distraint, he will state what action he will take in the matter if the papers in a case in which this has been done are laid before him.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: If the hon. Member will send me full particulars of the case he has in mind I shall be glad to have inquiry made and to send him a reply. At present I must confess that I am unable to understand the Question as it stands on the Notice Paper.

Customs Boatmens' Grievances.

MAJOR EVANS GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any decision has been arrived at in regard to the alleged grievances of the Customs boatmen which were brought to his notice last year, and as to which he promised that an inquiry would be made.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): I have made careful inquiries on this matter, but I am not yet in a position to make any statement.

Physical Deterioration—Children and Tobacco.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the recommendation of the Physical Deterioration (1904) Committee to the effect that a Bill should be brought before Parliament at an early date having for its object the prohibition of the sale of tobacco and cigarettes to children below a certain age; and whether he is now in a position to say that this recommendation will be acted upon in the present session.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I am aware of the recommendation in the Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee, and I have given the question very careful consideration; but I do not see my way to introduce any Bill on the subject during the present session. The public attention which has been called to the evils of juvenile smoking is likely, I think, to do good, by arousing parents to exercise more control over their children in this respect.

Physical Deterioration Committee's Report.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he has considered the various recommendations of the Physical Deterioration (1904) Committee; and whether, if so, he is in a position now to say how far the Board finds it expedient and possible, without further legislation, to carry out those recommendations.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): I have considered the recommendations referred to, some of which would need legislation to bring them into effect, while others might be carried out through the agency of local or central administration. But I think that the hon. Member will see how impossible it is for me to state in answer to a Question the view of the Board as to what is expedient or possible in respect of recommendations which are fifty-four in number, and which, in some cases, touch on topics of a highly controversial character.

Underfed School Children.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he has considered the recommendation of the Physical Deterioration (1904) Committee to the effect that definite provision should be made by the local education authorities for dealing with the question of underfed children; and whether he is in a position to say whether proposals embodying that recommendation will be laid before Parliament in the present session of Parliament.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: It is not intended to make any proposals for adding to the existing powers of local authorities in the matter referred to.

Electrification of Railways—Board of Trade Inspection.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Board of Trade inspectors will take steps to satisfy themselves that when railways are electrified proper arrangements are made for the protection of the lives of the surface men and other employees.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The Answer is in the affirmative.

Penalties for Illegal Trawling.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he will consider the expediency of introducing legislation at an early date such as will render the penalties for illegal trawling of a more deterrent nature than at present.

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): I am in general sympathy with the object the hon. Member has in view, and would give consideration to any Bill he may prepare, but I cannot at present undertake to introduce a Bill on behalf of the Government.

MR. WEIR: If I introduce a Bill will the right hon. Gentleman give facilities for passing it?

MR. SCOTT DICKSON: I am afraid I cannot make any promise as to that.

MR. WEIR: Then I give notice I will ask the Prime Minister.

Orpen Estate, Cork.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the action of the police in connection with recent arrests arising out of proceedings on the Orpen Estate, near Millstreet, county Cork, and to the fact that two young men, named Corcoran, were brought handcuffed into Millstreet, lodged in the local police barrack, and subjected to private magisterial inquiry at the barracks, from which every one was excluded, including the father of the accused; and, if so, whether the constabulary authorities sanctioned these proceedings in regard to untried prisoners.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): Under Section 9, Sub-section 2, of the Petty Sessions Act, 1851, the presiding magistrate, in all cases of proceedings for indictable offences, is empowered to exclude the public if he considers that the ends of justice will thereby be best served. The charge against the accused in the present case was an indictable one, and the magistrate was of opinion that in the interests of justice the public should not be admitted. The police had reasonable grounds for apprehending an attempted rescue or violence, and they considered it necessary, in consequence, to take the precaution of handcuffing the prisoners.

MR FLYNN: What right had the authorities to march these untried prisoners through the streets handcuffed?

[The Answer was inaudible.]

Cork District Lunatic Asylum.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a copy of a resolution from the managing committee of the Cork District Lunatic Asylum calling attention to the state of law which enables insane patients belonging to other counties to be committed and remain chargeable to the local rates if they become insane when about to embark at Queenstown, and to the grievance of patients being deported from England and Scotland after several years of residence in these countries; and, if so, whether the Irish Government will take any steps, by legislation or otherwise, to remedy the alleged grievance.

MR. WYNDHAM: The resolution has been received. Legislation would be necessary to remedy the grievances referred to, but I am unable at present to give an undertaking to introduce such legislation.

MR. FLYNN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that under the present system the Finance Committee of the Cork Asylum is losing £1,200 a year?

MR. WYNDHAM: I am not aware of that.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Is it not the fact that a large percentage of these insane people are a result of the South African War.

[No Answer was returned.]

Case of Daniel M'Goohan.

MR. WILLIAM McKILLOP (Sligo, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a man named Daniel M'Goohan, of county Leitrim, who was convicted on the evidence of Sergeant Sheridan, was released by the Irish Government after serving close on two years imprisonment with hard labour in Sligo Prison, and that the only compensation given to M'Goohan was £100; and will he, in view of the recent decision in the case of Adolf Beck, who has received £5,000 compensation, reconsider the case of M'Goohan, with a view to adequately compensating him for false imprisonment.

MR. WYNDHAM: The case of Daniel M'Goohan was very fully discussed in this House two years ago. The reply to the second inquiry is in the negative.

Drummeel Bog Turbary.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on signing his agreement to purchase his farm, James Archbold, of Soran, county Longford, was guaranteed a supply of turbary on the Drummeel Bog; whether there is any record of this guarantee on the original agreement form; and, if so, will the turbary be now ordered to be given him.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed by the Land Commission that the holding in question was vested in Archbold in the terms of the purchase agreement, which provided for the right of cutting turf on certain parts of the lands of Drummeel, county Longford.

Leitrim Magistracy—Mr. Youell's Appointment.

MR. P. A. McHUGH (Leitrim, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on whose recommendation Mr. Brearton J. Youell, an ex-constable of the Royal Irish Constabulary, has been appointed a justice of the peace for the county of Leitrim; is he aware that in the district of Ballinamore, in which Mr. Youell resides and adjudicates, there are at present eight magistrates, of whom only one is a Catholic, although Catholics constitute at least nine-tenths of the population, and although several Catholic gentlemen in the district have been recommended for appointment to the Commission of the Peace.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mr. Youell was recommended for the Commission of the Peace by the Lieutenant of the county. For many years he held the position of clerk of petty sessions. Four of the justices in the district are Catholics.

Ecclesiastical Disorders Commission.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, E. Toxteth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can state when the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Disorders will issue a Report.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): In answer to my hon. friend, I have to say that I have communicated with the chairman of the Commission, and he hopes that the Report will be in the hands of the public before the end of the year. There will be no interim Report.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: Will it be issued before the general election?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I neither know when the Report will be out nor when the general election will take place. It is therefore extremely difficult to give a specific Answer, and I am not in a position to give it.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (KING'S SPEECH, MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the proceedings on the Address in answer to His Majesty's Speech shall, until concluded, have precedence of all other Orders of the Day and of Notices of Motions at all Sittings for which they are set down."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) asked a little consideration on this matter from the Prime Minister. He pointed out that the consequence of the Motion would be to deprive private Members of several days of their time, and he asked the First Lord to give an assurance that opportunity would be found for the discussion of such subjects as the financial arrangements of the country and the Sugar Convention, if the Amendments relating to them were not reached during the debate on the Address. He wanted an undertaking that the right hon. Gentleman would not closure the debate until these subjects had been debated; and he would point out——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! It is irregular to debate the closure beforehand.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said that in his opinion there would be no opportunity for discussing these questions in the House except on the Address.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to argue the question of the closure.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Of course, Sir, I bow to your decision, but I do trust the right hon. Gentleman will exercise some discretion before bringing the debate to a conclusion, and I make this appeal to him.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) said he did not quarrel with the appeal of the hon. Member, but he must demur to the suggestion that the Government were taking private Members' time during the discussion of the Address. No doubt, in a formal sense, it was Government business; but the whole debate was a discussion by private Members of questions that interested private Members; and in every respect, from the private Members' point of view, it was a fuller and more convenient opportunity for discussing such matters than those which commonly presented themselves in the session. The Motion with regard to national expenditure would clearly be relevant to the Budget, and he sincerely hoped that, within proper limits, every question which hon. Members desired to discuss might be discussed before the termination of the Address.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 203; Noes, 145. (Division List No. 5.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. H. O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. JoscelineFitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour, RtHn Gerald W(Leeds
Barry, Sir Francis T.(Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T. Gibson (King'sLynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Campbell, Rt. Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M. (DublinUniv.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W (Derbyshire
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn.J A.(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir WilliamHart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J(Manc'r
Finlay, SirR. B.(Inv'rn'ssB'ghs)
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn. J. E.(Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans (TrH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir EW(B'ryS.Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Hamilton, Mar. of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh

Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, Sir James(StaffordsNW
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse,Rt. HnH(Somers'tE
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hn.SirJohn H.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn.Col.W.
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W. (Mile End
Lawson, John Grant Yorks.NR
Lee, ArthurH. (Hants.Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveseon-Gower, FrederickN.S
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. CharlesW(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn. Walter(Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Calmont, Colonel James
M‘Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Maxwell, RtHnSir H.E.(Wigt'n
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, Ed. (Fermanagh, N.)
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray, C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury
Pease, Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel, Hn. W. R. Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Ridley, S. Forde
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. T. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, RtHnJ Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M‘Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt-Col. A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R. (Bath
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dilke, Rt. Hon, Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Ellice, CaptEC(SAndrw's B'ghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, SirFrancisH.(Maidstone
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N.E.
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. Keir(Merthyr Tydvil
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk
Johnson, John
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir JosephF.(Accrington
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.

Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mooney, John J.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon,N
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R(Northants
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thompson, Dr. EC(Monagh'n,N
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills, Arthur Walters(N. Dorset
Wilson John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, Sir J T. (Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Charles Hobhouse and Mr. Soares.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [20th February] to Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people.'"—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir JAMES HASLETT (Belfast, N.) said that on the previous night, when his speech was interrupted by the rules of the House, he was drawing attention to the fact that though the Amendment stated that the government of Ireland had interfered with the material prosperity of the country, yet throughout the entire debate they had not heard a single word as to where or how that interference had taken place. In many districts of Ireland the Nationalists had had the practical management of local government; the administration of county affairs had fallen entirely into their hands and they had been omnipotent, yet it was not possible to point to a single industry they had improved and promoted the prosperity of. Their attention had been almost exclusively confined to farming and to the agitation connected with the land question Indissolubly connected with that was the question of emigration. But was the Government the cause of that emigration? Was it not due to the lack of employment and to the absence of industries in which the mass of the people could exercise their skill and brain power. It was the opportunity of earning a fairly reasonable wage that attracted the people to other countries. It should be borne in mind that at the time of the Union the population of Ireland stood at practically the same figure as it was to-day. After the Union it increased enormously, until by 1845–46 it had risen to nearly 9,000,000, and it was that increase which was responsible for the state of affairs that caused the emigration. A man who farmed twenty or thirty acres married and had sons for whose energy there was no outlet except in farming. Consequently the man divided his holding among them, thus lessening the chances of prosperity. Then came the famine which drove thousands of the people to seek a livelihood in other lands. In those lands they retained their Irish characteristics and their love for home, and he well remembered how, in his early business days, when he travelled the country, a very large portion of the money he collected consisted of American money orders. Surely, then, it could not be said that the Government were responsible for the people emigrating.

With regard to education he was bound to admit that in no department of the State was there a greater leakage, but, at the same time, there had been a strong and vigorous effort, largely moulded by the present Government, to promote technical instruction, to improve the handicrafts in the cities and towns, and to help the farming classes by awakening them to the commercial aspect of their undertaking. Now, the Amendment meant nothing more and nothing less than Home Rule for Ireland, and Home Rule entailed the complete separation for fiscal, domestic, and administrative purposes of Ireland from Great Britain. Geographically, Ireland would remain beside this country, but in all matters affecting her she would be absolutely separate from the sister kingdom. Were hon. Members prepared to vote for the Amendment, with the distinct knowledge that that would be its effect? Representing, as he was proud to do, the great city of Belfast, which had carved out its own course in life and built up its own industries, he offered the strongest possible opposition to the Amendment.

He must make a brief reference to one painful subject connected with the administration of the Chief Secretary and the action of the Under-Secretary. He was not prepared to join in the hounding down of that man, but he was bound to say in analysing the position that great mistakes had been made. In Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Chief Secretary had acquired the services of a very eminent man, but he seemed to have overlooked the fact that that eminence had been attained under totally different conditions to those which prevailed in Ireland. It was a mistake to give Sir Antony MacDonnell *carte blanche*. They could not have divided responsibility in connection with the Chief Secretaryship. But the mistakes which had been made dwindled into nothing compared with the importance of maintaining the Union. He accordingly opposed the Amendment and intended to give his support to the Government.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich on the preceding night told them with child-like innocence that all the facts in relation to the latest crisis in Irish affairs were before the House, and they had only now to make up their minds to arrive at a decision. But he thought he would be able to show that the House was not yet in possession of all the facts necessary to enable it to form a judgment. The whole matter was still to a large extent mysterious. He thought the House ought to be told on what terms Sir Antony MacDonnell accepted the office of Under-Secretary, and they ought to see the letters in which those terms were registered. Again, it appeared strange, and indeed incredible, that, in two years of constant consultation on the matters specified by the Chief Secretary, the right hon. Gentleman should have failed to make it clear to Sir Antony MacDonnell that he was opposed to a partly-elected financial board. The essence of the programme of the Reform Association was a financial board partly elected. They were told that throughout the two years after Sir Antony MacDonnell came to Ireland there were frequent consultations between him and the Chief Secretary on the question of financial control, and that Sir Antony MacDonnell referred to Indian precedents. Was it conceivable that the Chief Secretary never thought of inquiring what was the constitution of the Indian bodies referred to? The thing was almost past human credulity. Could any one in the House believe it? And if any one did, what was to be said of a Minister, responsible for so difficult and delicate a task as the government of Ireland who enlisted the services of a man of Sir Antony MacDonnell's high eminence in the work of reorganising the government, and who did not take the trouble to ask on what precedents he was basing his action. He for one could not accept that explanation. The Chief Secretary professed to be so guilelessly innocent that he never knew the councils in India were semi-elective, and he never asked about it. *Sancta Simplicitas*! What a guileless Chief Secretary they had. Why, was not the only object of setting up a financial board in Ireland to emancipate the Irish Government from Treasury control? That was the object of the Chief Secretary's own scheme, and he therefore could not accept the explanation now offered by the right hon. Gentleman.

The Chief Secretary urged that he was away on a well-earned holiday when the first document of the Reform Association was published on August 31st, 1904. He did not grudge the right hon. Gentleman his holiday, but it was a curious coincidence that this scheme should be launched during his first holiday for a period of five years. Why did not the right hon. Gentleman, before going on his holiday, tell Sir Antony MacDonnell not to have anything to do with the matter until he returned, seeing that he knew that Sir Antony MacDonnell had been in close consultation with Lord Dunraven for months before, and had, in fact, received a letter from him on the subject—a letter the disappearance of which was most remarkable? One would certainly have supposed that the right hon. Gentleman would give orders that things should be maintained *in statu quo* until he returned. And, again, when he read the announcement in *The Times*, as he said, in an otiose manner, why did he not telegraph to Sir Antony MacDonnell and tell him to stay his hand until he returned? Why did the right hon. Gentleman feel called upon to take the very unusual course of writing a letter to *The Times* to dissociate himself from proposals put forward by private gentlemen?

Let him turn for a moment to the explanation given by Lord Dunraven of these transactions with the Chief Secretary. Lord Dunraven said—

"The publication of the first report on August 31st led to a great clamour, in Ireland at any rate, for fuller particulars. He wrote to Sir Antony MacDonnell and asked him to draft out the heads of a more elaborate scheme on the lines of that first report. Sir Antony MacDonnell very kindly did so, and sent them down to him in Kerry. Shortly afterwards Sir Antony MacDonnell paid him a visit, on his way to stay with the Marquess of Lansdowne, and spent two days with him. They had plenty of time for going very thoroughly into the matter, and they drafted out a report."

Lord Dunraven went on—

"He was curious to know whether any communication passed between the Chief Secretary and Sir Antony MacDonnell on the subject of the first report. He could only say that he received a letter from Sir Antony MacDonnell on September 25th. He must have written to Sir Antony MacDonnell about the dead set that was being made against him in Ireland, because Sir Antony MacDonnell wrote to the effect that a friend had told him that the strongest and most persistent effort was being made to force the Government to get him to resign his place."

Now, it should be remembered that that letter was written by Sir Antony MacDonnell between the first and second reports.

"And," he added, "I am bound to say that my relations with Mr. Wyndham are such that I attach very little importance or credence to these rumours."

Really they were left to the very painful alternative either to conclude that Sir Antony MacDonnell was not only disloyal and dishonourable, and was deceiving Lord Dunraven as well as his chief, or were forced to maintain that in all those matters the Chief Secretary, as well as Lord Dudley, was thoroughly informed of all that was going on, and that the Chief Secretary's action was for the purpose of allowing a balloon to be floated and of seeing where it would turn.

Now, this was rather a painful story; but there was another matter on which he was bound to press for an explanation. He had asked the question before, and repeated it now—Why was Sir Antony MacDonnell censured by the Government? Never the slightest reason had been given why Sir Antony MacDonnell's action should have been censured. He could not imagine a more cruel, insulting, and painful blow to a man who had given forty years of illustrious service to the Crown than that he should be made the subject of the answer given out from that box on the second day of the session. And until the debate which took place in another place completely turned the tide, he thought the feeling of Sir Antony MacDonnell must have been one of very great bitterness indeed. Why did the Government not take steps in time to prevent the publication of these proposals, or if they did not why should they censure him? The Chief Secretary was for ever speaking of the loyalty of Sir Antony MacDonnell in the whole of these transactions. "I did defend him," the right hon. Gentleman exclaimed, and "I do defend him." Well, all he could say was that Sir Antony MacDonnell might surely say, "Defend me from my friends!" In the whole course of his life he had never heard such a defence made of a public servant.

What had been the history of the last few months? For nearly a year a campaign of unparalleled bitterness had been organised against Sir Antony MacDonnell in Ireland. The whole of that campaign was in full swing in the Unionist Press, inspired and conducted by the Unionist Members of Parliament, and not one word of defence of Sir Antony MacDonnell had been uttered by the Chief Secretary against the attacks of the Ulster men. Not only so, the Government kept absolutely secret from the people of Ireland the conditions under which Sir Antony MacDonnell had occupied his office, and allowed him to remain the target for every form of abuse without saying one word in his defence. He acknowledged, and he thought it was to the credit of the House of Commons, the handsome way in which the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim, when he found out the truth of the case, had come forward and as a gentleman had apologised. That was no humiliation but an honour to the hon. and learned Member, as every gentleman ought to know. But what were they to say of the Government and Sir Antony MacDonnell's political chief, who could by one single word have rescued him and protected him from abuse, but never uttered that word? That was not all. When one of his colleagues in the Government whose mouth was open when the right hon. Gentleman was silent—when the Solicitor-General went down to the country, and with unparalleled audacity and cruelty attacked a colleague in the Civil Service, who from his peculiar position was unable to reply, he must have attacked Sir Antony MacDonnell in the knowledge of the real facts, as it was almost inconceivable that the Solicitor-General did not know the terms of Sir Antony's appointment. But until Parliament met and the Government were compelled to speak, not one member on the Bench opposite said a word in defence of Sir Antony MacDonnell. They, on the Irish Benches, had been assailed and condemned over and over again because they had attacked permanent Civil servants in Ireland who had acted cruelly and unjustly to the people of Ireland. Ministers had sprung up at that box and denounced them for it. Very different was it in the case of Sir Antony MacDonnell. When a colleague of their own, and their own supporters in Ireland, acting, as they must have known, under a totally false conception of the facts, attacked Sir Antony MacDonnell, whose mouth was closed, they were silent.

But he came to the most extraordinary point in the whole treatment of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and it was one which he hoped the House of Commons would insist on being completely cleared up. A Cabinet Council was held, at which the insulting and offensive answer given last week with reference to Sir Antony MacDonnell was agreed upon.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): That is quite inaccurate. It never was dealt with in the Cabinet at all.

MR. DILLON: We were given to understand that it was. I think that is a splendid illustration of——

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is some confusion.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Where is the Chief Secretary?

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Away on another holiday.

MR. DILLON: There is some confusion, and my desire is that the confusion should be cleared up, and that we should know what happened. There cannot be the slightest doubt, no hon. Member in any part of the House will controvert, that the impression conveyed to the House was that this censure was settled in the Cabinet.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must be mistaken as to what the hon. Member said. I thought he said that the answer which the Chief Secretary gave on the second day of the session was discussed in the Cabinet. So far as my recollection goes that is not the fact. It is a fact that the censure upon the Under-Secretary which was referred to in that answer was discussed last autumn.

MR. DILLON: Here is the only part of the answer I am concerned with—

"The matter was considered by the Cabinet and the Government expressed, through me, their view that the action of Sir Antony MacDonnell was indefensible."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It may have been that I misheard the hon. Gentleman, but what I thought he said was that the answer given on the second day of the session was the answer which had been considered in the Cabinet. That is not so. What was considered, as is stated in the answer, was the censure passed by the Cabinet.

MR. DILLON said that that was rather a fine-drawn distinction, because if the answer were examined it would be found that the only part of it of any real interest was the expression of censure on Sir Antony MacDonnell, and that it was considered in the Cabinet. To return to his point. A Cabinet Council must have been held some time. When was it held? The Chief Secretary stated, when cross-examined on the point, that when the Cabinet passed that censure they were not aware that Lord Dudley was a party to this transaction. Was not that an amazing statement? Was the Chief Secretary aware that Lord Dudley was a party to it? If not, had he taken any means of ascertaining whether he was or not? Surely, if the Chief Secretary had any sense of loyalty to Sir Antony MacDonnell, or to any subordinate, the first question he would have asked before taking any steps, before he wrote to *The Times* or took any other step, much less bringing it before the Cabinet, would have been to inquire whether Sir Antony MacDonnell had had the assent and co-operation of Lord Dudley in all these transactions. Was Sir Antony MacDonnell asked for an explanation before the Cabinet censure? That was a pertinent question, and one which must be answered before the debate concluded. Was it conceivable that a Cabinet in this country would censure a great public officer without listening to his explanation; and was it conceivable that Sir Antony MacDonnell, when called upon for an explanation, would keep back the fact that he was acting under the authority and with the full knowledge and approval of the Chief Secretary and the Viceroy? How were the Government going to get out of that dilemma? Because—they were told that the Cabinet did not know—he could not for a moment admit the notion that the Cabinet proceeded to censure a great public servant, and insult him. It was not easy for any man who was a Member of that House to appreciate the agony suffered by a great public servant when he was censured by the Government of the country. The Irish Members cared little for censure, they could hit back when they were struck; but a great public officer who for forty years had served the Government loyally and whose whole life was bound up in the approval of his political superiors—to be censured in silence, to be brought face to face with the agony of having the whole record of his life wiped out by the Government, was a blow so cruel that it was hard for them to understand it. And it was inconceivable that any body of English gentlemen would inflict that blow without first hearing the man and asking for an explanation. He hoped that he had shown that the noble Lord opposite was a little previous when he said that the whole facts of the case were before the House. The facts were not before the House or the country, and this debate would not conclude the matter. When it was over it would not be Sir Antony MacDonnell who would be in the dock. There was something, after all, higher than the censure of the Cabinet, and that was the censure of public opinion, which those who were responsible would yet have to face.

There was another matter on which he desired information. It also had been treated evasively and mysteriously by the Chief Secretary. There was a mysterious dinner-party arranged in 1903 which never came off. What were the facts? According to the Chief Secretary, not in the year 1904, but in 1903, after the Land Act had been passed amidst general applause, at a time when Lord Dunraven received compliments which he had so well earned from all sections of public opinion, and at the time when the hon. Member for Cork City had converted an organ hostile to the Government into an organ for conciliation, it was then that Lord Dunraven came to him and discussed the chances and prospects of a Moderate Unionist Party in Ireland. Mark the introduction of the word "Unionist." There was a Unionist Party already. What was the idea of this new Party in Ireland. Was it to be composed of Unionists—that was the essence of the question—or was it to be composed of a section of Unionists and a section of Nationalists? They had one of the most innocent Chief Secretaries God ever created! Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that the subjects proposed to be discussed at that dinner-party were subjects on which all men in Ireland were agreed. That appeared to be a very lame explanation of that intended dinner-party. It was a matter which ought to be probed to the bottom. What was Lord Dunraven's description? He said that he had many long informal conversations with Mr. Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell on all kinds of subjects and topics connected with Ireland. That was another peculiarity of Irish government. They had not only the Chief Secretary and the Under-Secretary, but also Mr. Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell, who carried on operations which did not in the least commit the Chief Secretary. Lord Dunraven proceeds that, among other subjects, they had discussed the condition of what he might call moderate opinion in Ireland the possibility of, in any way, making that opinion articulate, and the possibility, in fact, of creating something like a Moderate Central Party. He thought it perfectly useless to start or to help to create a Moderate Party on a purely academic basis. He thought it absolutely essential to have a positive, constructive democratic policy—the policy which had been wrought out in their proposals for devolution. That was Lord Dunraven's description. It was a dinner to form a Moderate Party on a basis already discussed, and yet the Chief Secretary, in his extreme baptismal innocence, never heard anything of a new Unionist Party to discuss a subject on which everyone was agreed. Sir Antony MacDonnell's view was that the Chief Secretary saw no particular objection to a general scheme of administrative reform, proposed by perfectly independent and private individuals, being put forward for public criticism. That had reference to 1903, and yet they were told that the Chief Secretary knew nothing of devolution. Then in October, 1903, Sir Antony MacDonnell said—

> "I have been thinking over our conversation the other day."

He abandoned the idea of asking the gentlemen to meet him because, as he said—

> "The business would speedily become known, and it would be said that Lord Dunraven was forming a new Irish Party."

To that Sir Antony MacDonnell could not see any particular objection, but he went on to say—

> "If the first meeting were held in my house, or at my invitation, every one would say that Mr. Wyndham was a prime mover in the business."

He should like to know who were the gentlemen who were going to be invited to that dinner-party. Were they Nationalists or Nationalists and Unionists? In Lord Dunraven's statement there was not one single word about its being a Unionist Party. It was, on the contrary, a Moderate Central Party having for its basis the devolution proposals. Therefore, that dinner-party was indissolubly connected with all that took place afterwards. These questions were all exceedingly pertinent, and they ought all to be frankly answered if they were to form a really well-informed judgment of the present crisis in Ireland. Was the Chief Secretary aware of the advances and proposals that were being made to some of the Nationalists in the autumn of 1903? It would be a very interesting thing to know whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware of them. He was speaking only for himself, he was approached not at all on behalf of Sir Antony MacDonnell, but on behalf of the friends of Lord Dunraven with regard to this new policy, and he would say that for any man who had lived in Ireland to imagine that he was going to get out of this business by simply hiding his head in the sand was most absurd. There was no secrecy, it was known everywhere; it was the common talk in every room and in the streets. He said, therefore, that the evidence was overwhelming, that Sir Antony MacDonnell in all the negotiations he carried on, and the assistance he gave to Lord Dunraven, was acting with the full assent and under the supervision of Lord Dudley, and the evidence was overwhelming that he had the full approval of the Chief Secretary himself. He wished to read to the House a brief extract from the London *Globe*, which had made itself the semi-official organ in London of the anti-MacDonnell crusade. The correspondent of the *Globe* in Dublin, a very well informed gentleman, he had no doubt, said on Saturday last—

> "At an early date I propose to lay before the readers of the *Globe* some interesting details as to the manner in which the Chief Secretary set himself to bring about a settlement of the Irish question. For the moment I may say that it is useless for any Minister, short of buying a newspaper outright, to hope to influence its policy by the acquisition, through a third party, of such of its shares as may for the time being be on the market."

That was a very cryptic saying to people here, but they in Dublin understood it perfectly, and they looked forward with considerable interest to the details which might be published in the *Globe* in the next few days. This affair had assumed such proportions that it had obscured and overshadowed the Amendment. But if it had overshadowed it, it afforded such an argument for the Amendment that it was unnecessary for them to support it. After twenty years of resolute Unionist government in Ireland what had these gentlemen got to say? They stated that government in Ireland to-day was carried on in a maze of clerical intrigue. Very well, then what had they got to say for Unionist government? Where were they going to look for a Government? He would tell them what was the modest request of the Ulster Unionist Members. In order to maintain the Union and to look after the interests of loyalty in Ireland, they must clear out this Government and put those gentlemen from Ulster in control of the Empire. That was the only solution; there was no other way.

The point they brought to the attention of the House was that the present system of government in Ireland had broken down. No man, not even the hon. Member for Greenwich, had stood up to defend the miserable old system of Irish government. Nobody had or could defend it, and the hon. Gentlemen from Ulster who, for over twenty years, with the perfect loyalty that fed a great deal on hope, had battled for this Government, had now come forward to declare that it was impossible to conceive that any government of Ireland could be worse. Hon. Members opposite complained of broken pledges, and could not understand why the bluster of Ulster Members had had no effect. He could tell them why. It was simply because the Chief Secretary never believed in its reality. The hon. Member for North Antrim and his friends had been blustering as to what they would do for five years, but nothing had come of it. Let the hon. Member, and those who thought with him, take the advice of an old Parliamentary hand. Let them vote for the Amendment that day and then they would get something for themselves. What the Amendment said was that the present system of government in Ireland had broken down; no one would gainsay that. That it was ineffective and extravagantly costly; could anyone deny that? That it was productive of universal discontent and unrest; was there any single Irish Member who had a word to say in favour of it? And that it had proved incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people. On all those grounds they asked for the verdict of the House, and he felt confident that if every Member voted according to his conscience they would carry the entire House with them.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport) said that with regard to the incident now called the MacDonnell incident he was not competent to form an opinion, as he did not know enough of its inner history to offer judgment upon it either in one interest or the other, but he was sorry to hear the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken cast reflections, on three different occasions, on the honour and good faith of the Chief Secretary. He thought the speech of the hon. Gentleman would have been a better one if he had left those innuendoes out. He would take the liberty of reminding him that he was one of the last in the House who should make these insinuations, because he had himself made mistakes. He (Colonel Kenyon-Slaney) remembered the hon. Member recollecting an incident before it occurred.

MR. DILLON: I wish to say that on that occasion, when I was betrayed into an error, I came down to the House next day and apologised: will the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary do the same?

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY said he only meant to say that the hon. Member ought to have been careful how he spoke. The hon. Gentleman thought the Amendment was very moderate indeed and there was nothing in it that could not be supported by hon. Gentlemen on the Unionist side of the House, but should they not read into that Amendment the speech which had been made by the hon. Member for Waterford, and if they did, then they found the Irish Party demanding Home Rule which, in their view, consisted of an Irish Parliament supreme in international affairs and finance. That, he thought, was a fair definition of what the hon. and learned Member for Waterford meant, and it was consistent with the aims and aspirations of the Nationalist Party. That was a matter that did not concern the Unionist Party, but what did interest and concern them was the attitude of the Leader of the Opposition towards this question. The Leader of the Opposition had lately come out as the apostle of criticism and monosyllabic answers. Was the right hon. Gentleman now in favour of Home Rule as defined by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford? Was he or was he not entitled to speak for Lord Spencer? If he was, would he give a monosyllabic answer as to whether the noble Lord supported Home Rule in the way put forward that night. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Fife was not in his place, but would the right hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick give a monosyllabic answer to those questions.

MR. FLAVIN: Will you ask Mr. Horne's opinion?

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY said he was aware that he would never get a monosyllabic answer from any of the right hon. Gentlemen, and assumed, therefore, that this was a doctrine to be applied by the Opposition to the Government but never to themselves. If it were so applied, it would have the effect of detaching from their Party many Members whom they could ill afford to spare. There was one matter which perhaps would throw a little sidelight on this matter. He had noticed in the papers a telegram to the effect that the Irish American Party sent their best wishes to the Nationalist Party in Parliament and expressed the hope that they would smash the Tory Party in this country as the Irish in America had smashed the Arbitration Treaty with England in the Senate. It was a matter of universal knowledge that the Irish Nationalist Party drew a certain amount of supplies from the Irish American Party, and what he desired to ask hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite was how far their alliance with the Nationalist Party went? Was it to go only as far as smashing the Tory Party or further? Were they to bind themselves to the Party who were responsible for arbitration arrangements between this country and America being rejected by the Senate. The people of this country were deeply interested in the question of arbitration, and looked forward to a great development of the principle. Consequently if the Liberal Party, when they came into power, were to be largely dependent for support upon the Irish Nationalist Party, who in turn drew their supplies from the "Smash-Arbitration Party" in America, how could they help being smirched with the pitch of that alliance? His object in speaking was to make it perfectly clear to the country that the Leader of the Opposition could not give a candid and definite answer to the questions he had put, that the Liberal Party would be largely dependent on the support of the Irish Nationalists, and that they were not in a position to define their attitude towards Home Rule. Unless some leader, competent to speak for a fairly united section of the Liberal Party, distinctly and concisely repudiated Home Rule, the country would have to recognise that the granting of Home Rule on the lines laid down by the hon. Member for Waterford would dominate the policy of any future Liberal Administration of which right hon. Gentlemen opposite were prominent members.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) said he was glad to have an opportunity of explaining and justifying the position which he and his colleagues had taken up with regard to Sir Antony MacDonnell. It was totally untrue to say that Unionists objected to Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment on the ground that he was a Roman Catholic. At the time of his appointment Sir Antony MacDonnell was practically unknown in Ireland, having spent forty years in India, where he had won a great reputation as an able and devoted public servant. It soon became known that he had a brother in the ranks of the Nationalist Party, that he came of a Nationalist family, and that his views must be in sympathy with the policy of hon. Gentlemen opposite; but it was absolutely untrue that at the time of his appointment Unionists distrusted him on that account. Had they had any suspicions as to his uprightness they would have been removed by the remembrance of the fact that the Under-Secretaryship was a Civil Service appointment, the holder of which had to act under the instructions of his superior and was not allowed any initiative, and that Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed by a Government the basis of whose existence was the maintenance of the Union. About six months after the appointment, affairs in Ireland had come to such a pitch that everybody had made up their minds that the land question must be settled, and all other Irish questions were practically put on one side, so that few controversial matters came before the House. It was understood that Sir Antony MacDonnell had been appointed to his position partly for the purpose of lending his valuable assistance towards the passing of the Land Act, and a certain portion of the credit attaching to the passage of that Act belonged to him.

At the end of the session of 1903, it began to be rumoured that Sir Antony MacDonnell was usurping many of the functions of the Chief Secretary, interfering in matters which had hitherto been regarded as outside the province of the Under-Secretary, and disregarding the fundamental rule of the Civil Service which prohibited Civil servants from taking an active part in politics. The first cause of uneasiness was a speech at a large dinner-party in Dublin, in which the Under-Secretary made some highly controversial references to a Roman Catholic University, and Irish Unionists wondered how an Under-Secretary, responsible to the Chief Secretary, could make such statements. They were suspicious, however, of the attitude of the Chief Secretary himself on that question, and were inclined to believe that Sir Antony MacDonnell had some approval from the right hon. Gentleman in making that speech. The second occasion on which the Under-Secretary transgressed was at Belfast, when the question of University education was discussed. By this time the Unionists of the North of Ireland were suspicious of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and realised that he was a Nationalist, and rumour stated that when appointed he frankly avowed his agreement with the aspirations of the Nationalist Party. That being so, was it any surprise that Irish Unionists began to wonder what sort of person they had got in the position of Under-Secretary? Up to three days ago there was absolute silence on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. They were given no information. Had the Chief Secretary come forward and laid the whole case before them and told them he was trying a new experiment, he did not say that they would have acquiesced, but, at any rate, they would have known how things stood. Had that course been adopted the Chief Secretary would not have found himself in the position in which he found himself to-day, nor would the Unionists from Ireland have had to find fault with his conduct. As it was the feeling existed amongst Irish Unionist Members that the Chief Secretary had not played his part fairly with his fellow Unionists in Ireland. At the end of last session they had fully come to the conclusion that this matter must be pursued to the bitter end and that Sir Antony must be removed from his post in Ireland. He was glad to say that they had demonstrated that to several of their colleagues, and he was also glad that they had by that time by the justice of their cause enlisted the sympathies of a considerable portion of the London Press. He had no hesitation in saying that they owed a debt of gratitude to *The Times* [NATIONALIST cries of: "So did Pigott"], the *St. James's Gazette*, and the *Globe*, to each of which papers he returned their hearty thanks, because they had enabled them to bring the justice of their cause before the English people. He had said he thought Sir Antony MacDonnell was their worst enemy in Ireland. He was opposed to their ideas in every direction in Irish politics, and furthermore, he was placed in a position where he could be an injury to the cause of the Union, and that being so, they were justified in attacking him on that point. They had been charged with attacking him when he could not reply. His answer had always been that in considering him as everybody did, as an ordinary Under-Secretary, he was behaving in a way in which no Under-Secretary had ever done before. But it was absurd to say that he was attacking him without giving him the opportunity of replying, because the Chief Secretary was always in the House, and it was clearly his duty to stand by his subordinate officer. Indeed, it was the duty of the right hon. Gentleman to face these matters.

Now he came to the most important part of his speech, viz., the devolution scheme of Lord Dunraven. He had no intention of discussing either Lord Dunraven or the scheme with which he was connected farther than to say that Lord Dunraven was not in any way representative of Irish Unionist opinion. The whole coterie who agreed with him was not more than twenty or thirty souls out of 1,500,000 Unionists in Ireland. He thought hon. Gentlemen opposite would admit that that was a small proportion. Lord Dunraven had a perfect right to ramble into the region of Home Rule. In that respect they did not find fault with him. But they maintained that he had brought forward a proposal which, even looked at from the point of view of hon. Gentlemen opposite, was impracticable. From the Nationalist point of view it was a rotten scheme, and from the Unionist point of view it was nothing but a step towards Home Rule. If the Unionist Members had not taken that attitude and had kept silent, the Liberal Press would have said that they saw in the scheme an indication of a change of feeling on the part of the Unionists of Ireland, and so they felt it was their duty to make it clear that their opinions upon Home Rule had not changed one iota. Lord Dunraven's scheme was brought forward on September 26th last, and soon after that date they began to discover in it the handiwork of Sir Antony MacDonnell and the work of an Indian official. The Unionist papers criticised the scheme as adversely and harshly as the most advanced Orangemen could desire, but the Nationalist papers were careful to hide their light in regard to a scheme which meant such a long step in the direction of Home Rule. The Liberal papers in this country were delighted to see this scheme brought forward, because in it they saw a way out of their difficulty in regard to Home Rule.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: But the question they had now to consider was the action of Sir Antony MacDonnell and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and everybody soon became convinced that the former was not only connected with Lord Dunraven's scheme but was really the prime mover in it; and he was not quite sure, in spite of what had been said to the contrary, that that was not still the correct view of it. They asked for information, but a dead silence was maintained.

The rumours became more specific and the Attorney-General for Ireland made two very remarkable speeches in his constituency in which he challenged the authors of this scheme to come forward and reveal themselves. These rumours became so strong that when Parliament opened they determined to get as much information by Question and Answer as they could, and he put a Question on the first day upon which the House met, the Answer to which created a very great sensation. [A NATIONALIST: Was it inspired ?] Yes, it was, and it was concocted by his hon. friend the Member for North Antrim and himself. He did not think he was exaggerating when he asserted that the Answer given to that Question fell like a thunderbolt. The Answer was a frank avowal of the position the Under-Secretary held in the Irish Office. It also gave the specific information they had been asking for during the past six months, to the effect that Sir Antony MacDonnell did assist in formulating Lord Dunraven's proposals. The Chief Secretary had stated that he saw those proposals for the first time in *The Times* on September 26th. When the matter was placed before the Cabinet the right hon. Gentleman was instructed to inform Sir Antony MacDonnell that his action was indefensible, but that the Government were satisfied that his conduct was not open to the imputation of disloyalty. Those were very remarkable revelations. Up to that point, therefore, the campaign they had been conducting against the Under-Secretary was absolutely justified. A discussion took place in the House of Lords, and further facts were added to those they already possessed, which made the whole affair more remarkable still. They found that powers were given to this Under-Secretary such as were never given to an Under-Secretary before. What these powers were was a matter they had not got to the bottom of yet, but he fully believed that those powers justified him in giving what assistance he did to Lord Dunraven in formulating these proposals. He asked the House to consider whether it was constitutional for such powers to be given to an Under-Secretary, and whether those powers were given him by order of the Cabinet of the country or solely by the Chief Secretary. To his mind it was inconceivable that a Chief Secretary for Ireland should take upon himself to engage an Under-Secretary and to give to him such powers as would enable him to take part in these devolution proposals and to take a leading action in numerous other cases. That was utterly unconstitutional, and, what was more, there was practicallyn o reason why the Chief Secretary should give him these powers without consulting the Cabinet.

MR. FLAVIN: Why did not the Cabinet censure the Chief Secretary ?

MR. CHARLES CRAIG said there were numerous other points in reference to this question. Most of them had been thoroughly thrashed out, but there were one or two on which he desired to get some information from the Chief Secretary. In the matter of apologies to Sir Antony MacDonnell, he was sorry if he had said anything which, in the mistaken knowledge of the facts under which they had laboured, might have in any way hurt his feelings. But he still maintained that Sir Antony's position in Dublin was absolutely impossible. The fact that Sir Antony MacDonnell acted with the knowledge of a superior officer did not alter the fact that he was an avowed Nationalist. Sir Antony had been permitted to give vent to Nationalist feelings, and that was a position which no self-respecting Irish Unionist could tolerate for one moment. They had heard him described not as a subordinate, but as a colleague of the Chief Secretary. Such a state of affairs had never been known before, and could not be tolerated for a moment. He was quite sure that all Unionist Members in the House, if they had been in the position of Irish Unionists, would have experienced precisely the same feelings and taken exactly the same action as he and his colleagues had done. The Chief Secretary had said that he knew nothing about the specific proposals which appeared in the newspapers on September 26th, and that they came to him as a surprise, but it was admitted that the Lord-Lieutenant knew of these proposals. How was it that neither the Lord-Lieutenant nor Sir Antony MacDonnell enlightened the Chief Secretary on the subject. He would not say that these two Gentlemen were working behind the Chief Secretary's back, but it was remarkable that these two officers of the Government might discuss these important matters without thinking it necessary to take their chief into their confidence. It was absurd to say that this was a trifling matter. He was afraid there were signs of disloyalty there. The Chief Secretary said he knew nothing of the proposals, and he accepted the right hon. Gentleman's word, but they had the startling fact that the two other gentlemen knew about them. He wished more information on that subject.

There was another matter, and it was the most serious aspect of this most unfortunate affair. That was, that Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords on Friday made a speech which, from beginning to end, seemed to justify Sir Antony MacDonnell in what he did—and at the same time to justify all that the Chief Secretary had done. It was a very serious state of affairs that one of the most distinguished Ministers in the Government, the whole basis of whose existence, and the whole inception of whose being was the maintenance of the Union, should have openly given his approbation to a scheme such as that published on September 26th—a scheme which, the Cabinet had said was indefensible and which the whole Unionist Press in the country had scouted as absolutely impossible. He hoped he had approached this subject, which was the most important Irish Unionists could discuss in that House, with as impartial a mind as it was possible for Irish Unionists to have on that subject. He had not imported any undue heat into his remarks. [A NATIONALIST MEMBER—Because you have got such a bad case.] Hon. Gentlemen on the Nationalist Benches had invited them to go into the lobby with them in order to show their indignation against the Government at what had happened. Irish Unionists could not do that. They were Unionists, but they were so profoundly dissatisfied with the conduct of Irish affairs that it had been their intention to abstain from voting on this Amendment.

MR. FLAVIN: I will win my cigars if you are going to vote to-night.

Mr. Charles Craig

MR. CHARLES CRAIG said he sincerely hoped the hon. Gentleman would win his cigars, and if they could vote he would give the hon. Member a few more. He hoped that the First Lord of the Treasury, in the speech he was expected to make, would indicate to them a way out of their difficulty. He needed not to tell the House that Irish Unionists would feel the greatest pain in abstaining from voting if that course was unfortunately forced upon them. They claimed to be as loyal to the Government as any Unionist. If the Government would rectify the present state of affairs they would go into the lobby with them, but if not they must unfortunately abstain from voting. He appealed to the First Lord of the Treasury to make it possible to save them from the situation in which they found themselves.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had appealed to the First Lord of the Treasury to save the Ulster Unionists from the present situation, but he had not indicated what kind of salvation he desired. Would the hon. Gentleman kindly state which official of the Irish Government was to be jettisoned for his satisfaction? Would Sir Antony MacDonnell do? Would he rather the Lord-Lieutenant, or would he prefer the Chief Secretary? Was Lord Lansdowne to go, or were the whole four, the entire quartette, and not one Jonah, to be thrown to the waves for the satisfaction of Protestant Ulster? He could bring an impartial mind to bear on this subject. He had never read the devolution proposals before. He had never read Lord Dunraven's letters. He only read what he was obliged to read. He never read anything except it was practical. He confessed he was very much struck with the able speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo that afternoon, which had put an entirely new perspective on the present situation. He did not understand what was going on; he did not quite follow the Dunraven Treaty because he was not in a position of confidence in the Party, having been expelled from the Party at the instance of the hon. Member for Cork, whose absence he greatly regretted. When he heard in the debate an allusion to the case of Mr. Thomas Drummond and the fact that the Irish Secretary of to-day had not done what Lord John Russell and Lord Morpeth then did, he was curious enough to turn to the history of that period to see if he could find any explanation for the circumstance. He found in Leslie Stephen's Biographical Dictionary, at page 42 of the 16th Volume, a passage which perhaps might shed some light on the reason why the Irish Secretary of to-day was not in quite as strong a position to defend his subordinate as Lord Melbourne, in the face of the fiat of the House of Lords, was able to defend Mr. Thomas Drummond. He read—

> "After the general election of 1835 O'Connell held the balance between the two great English Parties, and finally threw his weight into the scale in favour of the Whigs. With his aid the Whigs, under Lord Melbourne, came into office, and a compact was practically made between the Government and the Irish leader. The basis of this compact—known as the Lichfield House compact—was that O'Connell should suspend the demand for repeal, and that the Government should pass remedial measures for Ireland and administer the affairs of the country on principles of justice and equality. The Irish administration was nominally entrusted to Lord Mulgrave the Lord-Lieutenant, and Lord Morpeth the Chief Secretary, but Drummond was really in command . . . Drummond had to grapple with political agitation as well as social disorders and religious feuds. O'Connell had long been the enemy of every Irish Administration. But Drummond conciliated the great agitator, and while he ruled the cry of repeal was silent. O'Connell felt that no ruler responsible to an Irish Parliament for the administration of the country could govern with more ability and justice than Drummond. Accordingly he lent the weight of his authority to the support of the Executive, and the extraordinary spectacle was for the first time seen of Irish agitators and English administrators working hand in hand to maintain order and uphold the law."

Well, that passage convinced him that the right hon. Gentleman the Irish Secretary could not, in the face of the attack made upon him from the Irish-Unionist side of the House, achieve anything satisfactory to the majority of the Irish people, unless he had from that side of the House support at least equal in vehemence and indignation to that given against him on the other side. Now, he did not approve of the attitude taken throughout by the hon. Member for Cork in reference to the Dunraven Treaty. He did not understand it, but he confessed he was beginning to understand it now; and he understood also the remarkable letter written by Mr. Davitt, whose name was entitled to be received with every respect, in which he declared that Sir Antony MacDonnell was the decoy-duck of the Tory Government, and that he hated him far more because his position and appointment were calculated and intended to reconcile Nationalists and to appease the minds of those who were in antagonism to the Government and the Tory Party. He certainly had been most anxious for many years to see whether they could not bring some measure of detachment to bear on their relations to English Parties. If they went back twenty years or so they would find that the circumstances of to-day remarkably resembled those connected with the Kilmainham Treaty. They all remembered the great scene in 1882. The Irish Members were then in greater antagonism to Mr. Gladstone's Government than to any Government since, and when Mr. Parnell's letter, in which he promised cordially to co-operate with the Liberal Party in advancing Liberal principles, was read to the House, it would be remembered what a shudder and gasp, almost of consternation, it created in Irish Nationalist circles. From that moment till 1885, when they put out Mr. Gladstone's Government, they had the same relations with the distinguished noble Lord, whose son he was glad to see was likely to achieve the same distinction as his great father. When they had these same relations with the noble Lord the same endeavour was made to bring about the appeasement and advancement of the country. They were taunted by the Liberals with the Maamtrasna Alliance. There had been some terrible murders in Ireland, and they demanded some inquiry in regard to certain convictions that had been obtained, and Sir William Harcourt said he would leave the Tory Party to stew in its Parnellite juice.

They did not succeed in returning the Tory Party in sufficient numbers in 1885, and the hon. Member for the Scotland Division issued a manifesto couched in magniloquent language, to which their names were signed without asking for their authority, in which they were made to attack the Tory Government with a bitterness and ferocity which could not be exceeded. Then came in Mr. Gladstone with his Home Rule scheme, and they supported him loyally and cordially. But in this, as in the long struggle and endeavour generation after generation, a small Party, self-concentrated, disinterested, and zealous, they were beaten and baffled by an Orange Party, backed by a few powerful newspapers and a few powerful families in Ulster. Mr. Gladstone's effort in 1886 was defeated, and then Lord Salisbury came into office with the promise of twenty years of resolute government. How absurd it all seemed now. Twenty years of resolute government! What was the first thing this resolute Government did? A whole number of gentlemen, including the hon. Members for Mayo and Cork, had been imprisoned and cruelly treated because they demanded that the leaseholders should be admitted to the benefits of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act. That was denounced by Lord Salisbury as a breach of contract and a revolution; but in the course of six months the leaders of this Party of resolute government came down to the House of Lords with a Bill breaking all those sacred contracts and throwing the Irish landlords to what he was pleased to call the sub-confiscators under Mr. Gladstone's measure. Then they had the Prime Minister, who was then Irish Secretary. They learned to respect him, if they did not love him, and he bore himself like a man in the debates. He wondered if the right hon. Gentleman now thought that he was always right and that the Irish Members were always wrong, for the first note of doubt that came into his character was after he had made his famous tour in the West of Ireland and saw for himself the misery of the inhabitants for whom the Irish Members had been combating so long. What then happened? They defeated the resolute Government and brought in Mr. Gladstone again in 1892, and he passed in the House with great difficulty his great Home Rule Bill, which, however, was rejected elsewhere.

Then the Tory Party, apparently for the first time, began to turn different eyes upon the affairs of Ireland, because they brought in in 1896, without pressure he was bound to say, a measure which he regarded as extremely valuable—the Irish Land Bill of 1896; and what was of still greater value, the Local Government Bill of 1898. Now, the chief charge against him was that he cheered Mr. Gerald Balfour when that right hon. Gentleman brought in the Local Government Bill. He did cheer Mr. Gerald Balfour, and the position he had taken up was that he would cheer either side of the House which brought in any Bill favourable to his native country. What happened to Mr. Gerald Balfour, who was then Irish Secretary? This was important, because they had here the genesis of the attack upon Sir Antony MacDonnell. Mr. Gerald Balfour had passed the Local Government Bill, the Irish Land Bill, and the Agricultural Board Bill, and had put Mr. Horace Plunkett and Mr. J. P. Gill into office to administer these two latter measures. No sooner had the general election of 1900 taken place than a dead set was made upon the brother of the present Prime Minister and the nephew of the late Prime Minister by the very gang who were attacking Sir Antony MacDonnell to-day. What was his crime? Who was then the scape-goat of the Orange Party? Sir Horace Plunkett. It was said that that right hon. Baronet had been put forward by the present Prime Minister as a decoy-duck, just as it was said to-day that Sir Antony MacDonnell had been. He was to woo the Irish Members from the paths of Nationality. What did the Orange gang do? Sir Horace Plunkett sat for South Dublin; he was a Unionist; his one crime, so far as he could see, was that the right hon. Baronet took an interest in milk and butter, and was striving, by improving the methods of the farmers of Ireland, to put more rent into the landlords' pockets. What happened? The Orange clique put up against Sir Horace Plunkett a gentleman of the name of Ball, and they preferred that a Nationalist should be returned for South Dublin rather than that the President of the Board of Trade should have the satisfaction, as the result of three or four years of honest and disinterested efforts, of having a single supporter throughout the length and breadth of the land. The faction who were now giving away the secrets of the Cabinet went to Hatfield and told Lord Salisbury that he must withdraw the Chief Secretary, Mr. Gerald Balfour, and the Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Cadogan, because they were hand in glove with the Nationalists! The then Chief Secretary had probably never had any relations whatever with the Nationalists, but such was the power of this faction that the great Prime Minister, the man of "twenty years of firm and resolute government"—as Abraham preferred to sacrifice Isaac—preferred to throw over his own nephew, and to put him into a subordinate position. Ought not that to have some lesson for both Englishmen and Irishmen? What did these men want? They were Loyalists, and they were continually advertising their loyalty. If the Monarch was a Catholic would they be loyal to him? They compelled the King to take an oath which declared the dearest beliefs of the Irish people to be blasphemy. The only man to whom they denied liberty of conscience was the King himself. They complained that Irish Loyalists and Protestants were oppressed. By whom? Let hon. Members refer to "Thom's Directory" and see how these Loyalists, like worms under the harrow, were writhing in poverty and powerlessness, whilst the Nationalists dominated every sitation in Ireland, and the priests pulled the strings of Government in Dublin Castle!

The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich professed not to know what nationality was. He would tell him. Nationality was something one was willing to die for. Even the noble Lord would not die for the meridian of Greenwich. Let the House see what these Loyalists had to complain of, and then ask themselves what chance there was of anything like contentment in Ireland so long as this faction were allowed to ride on the necks of the people. The Loyalists failed to get the rate-collectorship of Cavan! The Protestant candidate offered to collect the rates at 2d. in the £, while the Catholic's price was 3d., and the Catholic received the appointment, the reason being that the appointing authority had been reading the speeches of the Member for Birmingham in which that right hon. Gentleman declared that cheapness was not everything. But what had they got instead of the rate-collectorship of Cavan? There were sixty Privy Councillors, four of whom were Catholics; thirteen Judges, three Catholics; sixty sub-Commissioners, eleven Catholics; twenty-one County-Court Judges, seven Papists; in the police, of which the head was a Protestant—there were thirty-six county inspectors, one Catholic; 170 district inspectors, ten Catholics; sixty-five resident magistrates, fifteen Catholics; and in every other public department the proportion of Protestants to Catholics was as four to one, although the Protestants were not one-fourth of the total population. In addition, the Irish Loyalists had sent a Solicitor-General to England, and two Judges to India. What more did they want the Chief Secretary to do? Was it a part of English policy that this miserable system should go on? The hon. Member for Newport had thrown in the teeth of the Nationalists the fact that their faithful countrymen in America had such influence that the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Arbitration Treaty with England. God bless the Irishmen in America! Faithful to their country, and regardful of her interests, they were determined that an abiding treaty of peace should be made with Ireland. The Chief Secretary could have no answer to the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo, but, at any rate, he had the consolation that if he had failed he had only gone the way of scores of others.

But the House should note the weapons the Tory Party were prepared to use. Long before the Dunraven devolution scheme was heard of, this House rang with the case of a constable who had been dismissed for a charge of immorality. Any stick was good enough to beat a dog with. Constable Anderson was good enough last year, and this year it would have been Bann Drainage if devolution had not come up. The whole object and aim of the policy of hon. Members opposite was to keep Ireland discontented in order that they might pose as the Government Loyalist faction who, in face of every temptation, and in spite of all the attraction that Nationalists could hold out to them, remained faithful to the Union and to the Government. The one charge against the right hon. Gentleman, the Chief Secretary, was that he had brought over one Irish Nationalist, a man of distinction, from India, which was a good thing to do, and the only thing in which the right hon. Gentleman had been wrong was that, in the face of the attacks upon him in the *St. James' Gazette* and from the Orange Party, he had not been able to stand up for his subject as he should have. That was the whole head and front of the right hon. Gentleman's offending. He (Mr. Healy) would rather that the right hon. Gentleman had stood up for Sir Antony MacDonnell; he would rather the Chief Secretary had acted as Lord Dudley had done. What would have happened then? He might have resigned, but whom would they have got in his place? Perhaps Mr. William Moore! There was an old proverb, "Never throw out the dirty water till you get in the clean." The hon. Member for North Antrim, in order to hold something *in terrorem* over the Government, in order that something should happen, said that on March 3rd he would call out his reserves. His reserves! They were all there in the House laagered behind the Mace. He (Mr. Healy) really did not know there were five Ulster men in the Government in this House, he did not count Lord Londonderry, who was in the other House. There was the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the English Solicitor-General, the Secretary of State for War, and the noble Lord who sat for Derry, the name of whose job he (Mr. Healy) was sorry to say he could not remember; and the hon. Member for North Antrim had only to blow the horn on March 3rd and they would all trip and dance to the tune of "Whistle and I'll come to ye, my lad." He had known all these gentlemen for a very long time, and the hon. Member for North Antrim might take it from him that they all preferred the atmosphere of Westminster to that of Sandy Row. The hon. Member might call spirits from the vasty deep, but they would not come. The Secretary of State for War would be thinking out the details of his short rifle, and so far as the other Gentlemen were concerned, he did not know what they would be doing, but he did not think any darksome awe would come over them on that great day.

Was it not time that this humbug was done away with, and that these Gentlemen from Ulster came down with their programme. What was their programme? They could not repeal Catholic Emancipation, the Church Act, the franchise, the Ballot Act, or the Land Act of 1881, and they did not want to repeal the Purchase Act of 1903. Let these Gentlemen tell the Government what they were to do. He put it to the Government, did they think it was part of the scheme of Toryism that there should be no measure of appeasement for Ireland? He granted to the full the great difficulty in which the Conservative Ministry found itself, but was that their scheme, and was Ireland to continue to wait? The present Government had been in office for practically nineteen years. Was Ireland to wait always for the Liberal Party to come into office in order to see every measure passed by the Liberal Party rejected by the House of Lords? The Liberal Party could not legislate for Ireland, and the Conservative Party would not legislate for Ireland, and therefore the country which needed legislation and attention more than any other portion of the three Kingdoms was by reason of the attitude of the same faction to be deprived of its due share of the government of the country.

He put it to the Ulster Members of that House, men who had gone through scenes like this before, and had seen each Administration attacked in turn because of some little thing which produced some little understanding with Irish feeling, whether they thought that in a century of time from now the position was to be the same? What became of Empire and statesmanship? British statesmanship had broken down in Ireland, the great business qualities which had shown themselves in every other department of life had been bent and broken in the sister island. Let them give Ireland liberty in this matter, the liberty granted to the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, and which was shortly to be given to the Boers, who were taken with arms in their hands, and who were now to be trusted with self-government in Johannesburg and Pretoria. Ireland was the one spot in the British Empire which had to battle with the Empire for its life, which had no hope in the centuries to come. The descendants of the men who now represented her were to be engaged in this eternal wrangle with English Ministers for what, from a comparative point of view, was of absolute unimportance to England; and would it not be something to the Empire in international affairs to insure that the British policy should not be lassoed, so to speak, by Ireland? Was it not rather a reproach to English statesmanship that the Irishmen in America were able to defeat the Arbitration Treaty in the Senate. Was the Tory Party, the Party of Empire and jingoism, the Party which boasted its alliance with Japan, prepared to sacrifice power and place rather than give a Catholic University to Ireland. Was the Government which had the control of the Army, of the Navy, of the international policy of the Empire, prepared to sacrifice the whole of that in order to force him to send his children to a Protestant college. If the whole thing was summed up, it came to this, that the Government, in the midst of most important international negotiations, might go out that night because they had appointed Sir Antony Macdonell, and the hon. Member for North Antrim would not have him. That was the great Imperialist Party! Let hon. Members go into the lobby with them if they liked. The Nationalists, until a peaceful compact was made with them, would offer an opposition equivalent to the miseries which had been inflicted upon Ireland.

*MR. GORDON (Londonderry, S.) said he was not surprised at the amount of abuse which had been heaped on the Irish Unionists by the hon. Member who had just sat down. The hon. Gentleman had great experience in giving and receiving abuse, but he could assure him that the Irish Unionists cared as little for his abuse as did the Members of the Party to which the hon. Gentleman formerly belonged. The Irish Unionists had always honestly and fearlessly made clear their position in that House both through their predecessors and those who, at present, sat in the House to defend their principles, and also through the Unionist Press of Ireland which voiced their views. The hon. Member came there, flung epithets across the floor of the House, and used arguments with all the power he had at his command, which he must have known to be unjust. As to any Roman Catholic because of his religion, or any Nationalist because of his political opinion, being excluded from appointments in the Royal Irish Constabulary, the hon. Member must have known that the entrance to those appointments was by examination. They knew and the hon. Gentleman knew that it was not because of any oppression that Roman Catholics were subjected to by the Unionist Government in Ireland that larger numbers of them did not hold the position of inspectors in the Royal Irish Constabulary. He must know that the entrance to these positions was by examination. The hon. Member pointed to the fact that eleven out of sixty were Roman Catholics. That showed and clearly demonstrated what they knew, that it was not a fair way to look on this question to count heads. They must count amongst other things education. If they found in any pursuit of life, the test of which was a competitive examination, that only one-sixth of the appointments were secured by Roman Catholics, apply it all round and it explained amply and clearly everything connected with the appointments in Ireland. It might be that the Protestant body in Ireland was smaller in numbers, but in proportion to its numbers it produced a far greater number of suitable candidates than the Nationalists or Roman Catholics. Nobody coming into power, whether it be the Opposition or even the Nationalists themselves, could alter that if they appointed men suitable for the posts.

He quite agreed that the real issue had been overshadowed by the question of Sir Antony MacDonnell. But let them see how it was dealt with by hon. Members opposite. One hon. Member put it forward as a reason why the Government were to be censured and abused, and because they were so blameworthy they were to be turned out of office. Another hon. Member put it forward as the greatest merit of the Government that they should send a man like Sir Antony MacDonnell to try to conciliate the people of Ireland, whom it was impossible to conciliate. Those were two opposite views. Which was right? Those divergent views ought to be taken into consideration by the Members of the House. What was the real thing they were discussing. The position the Unionists of Ireland took was this. They did not say that the existing system of government was perfect, but they were satisfied with the system of government if it was fairly carried out, the system of government to which the Unionists of England, Scotland, and Ireland had given their approval. What they asked for was—carry it out fairly. What they complained of in this matter was that it had not been carried out fairly. That was not the position laid down by the on. Member for Waterford, who moved the Amendment, and his friends the Nationalists. What they meant was this—and let there be no mistake about it—especially he hoped the Opposition would remember what they were voting for in voting for the Amendment—that the present system of government must be got rid of. It was not an Amendment saying, "It is a very good system of government, but you are not carrying it out well." No, they not only insisted that the present system should be got rid of but they went a step further and said they must substitute something in its place. What was that to be? Was it not clearly and unmistakably set forth in the Amendment, although the Amendment was carefully worded for the purpose of catching the votes of the Radical Members, who if they saw Home Rule mentioned in it would shy at it because their constituents would not tolerate their voting for Home Rule. It was carefully worded—not to catch Unionist votes —although it had succeeded in getting one Unionist Member who was returned by his constituency as a Unionist, the hon. Member for South Tyrone, to say without consulting his constituents that he would vote for the Amendment. The Home Rule question was the issue at every northern election, and without reference to those who returned him the hon. Member had announced his intention of voting for the Amendment. Let there be no mistake about it. It was Home Rule, and if the Opposition voted for that Amendment they would be reminded of what they had done if they came into power. Every hon. Member who voted for this Amendment pledged himself to substitute for the present system of government in Ireland that Home Rule which the hon. Member for Waterford had described in the House, and which Nationalists stated they would never rest satisfied until they got. Let the Opposition, official or unofficial, bear in mind what they were doing when they voted for this Amendment. One of the hon. Members who spoke yesterday pointed out as an instance of the inefficiency of the Government that they did not give a Roman Catholic University or College to Ireland. That was the interpretation Irish Home Rule Members placed on part of this Amendment—to get rid of an inefficient Government because it would not give them a Roman Catholic University or College, and get its place supplied by a Government that would give them.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): My charge was that the Government desired to give them, but that hon. Members on that side would not let them.

*MR. GORDON said his answer to that was that the Unionist Party as a whole would not have it. The Unionist Party had refused to set up a Roman Catholic University or any denominational University in Ireland which they knew would be a retrograde step. The hon. Member was perfectly willing to do that, but one of the pledges he had to give to his constituents was that he would take no steps in the matter. Were the Radical Members willing to pledge themselves to give a Roman Catholic University or College and maintain it by State aid? Were they prepared to vote for this simply for the purpose of dishing the Unionist Party. This was not an Orange question. Several of them were not Orangemen, and represented the views and opinions of a vast number of people who were not Orangemen. They represented a vast body of opinion that was not composed of members of the Orange Society, and those who were not members of that society were just as strong in their antagonism to Home Rule now as they were at any period since the question arose. They were opposed to that Amendment because they were opposed to anything approaching Home Rule, and the strongest proof of the position they took up was that they attacked the Government itself for having done anything that would lend colour to the idea that even the Lord-Lieutenant was going to a half-way house in the direction of Home Rule.

What was the position regarding the question of Sir Antony MacDonnell? Sir Antony MacDonnell was a great public servant who had worked well in India, but the methods he adopted there of necessity utterly unfitted him for dealing with matters in Ireland. They might govern 46,000,000 of people by finding out what was the opinion of 10,000 of them in India, but they could not do this in a country with free institutions like Ireland. He heard the Under-Secretary for Ireland make a statement at a public dinner last November twelve months which he was sure the Chief Secretary or the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland would never have made, for he said that there was only one thing that legislation could be expected then to do for Ireland, and that was to settle the University question, and he added, "that would be settled within the next twelve months." He thought the Chief Secretary would not have gone so far, but would probably have said, "The Government will endeavour, and hope to be able to settle it within the next twelve months." That showed the disposition and character of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and why should the Chief Secretary leave matters so much in his hands? Why should he treat the Under-Secretary as a colleague, and give him powers co-ordinate with his own, which he allowed to some extent to override his own? Why did not the Chief Secretary, when he knew of these matters, and at the earliest possible moment, make a clean breast of it, and not wait until they had been compelled to fish out this information by Questions in the House of Commons? Why did he not at once put forward the exact situation as he had put it forward now? He had heard a good deal about the loyalty of Sir Antony MacDonnell. The Chief Secretary said he did not hear of these matters until the 26th of September, and that he was not aware that Sir Antony MacDonnell's action had the approval of the Lord-Lieutenant. Why did the Under-Secretary not tell his immediate chief? Upon one occasion, at a public meeting, Lord Dunraven was asked who was the author of this scheme, and he replied, "Oh! that is a conundrum." Then his Lordship's youthful secretary made a speech in which he said it was only because of Lord Dunraven's modesty that he had not told them that he was the author of the scheme. He did not think it was a creditable position for a gentleman in the position of Lord Dunraven to be placed in. He first signed a document in reference to the education question, which was prepared, settled, and arranged in Dublin Castle with the knowledge of the Chief Secretary. He afterwards put his name to a document which had to be sent two or three times to Sir Antony MacDonnell, put in a more complete form, and type-written in the Castle. And he allowed that to appear as if it were his own unaided work. He disliked the idea of a Unionist Government, or of anyone connected with a Unionist Government, making themselves a party to such a discreditable transaction as that.

They had to thank their Unionist fellow-Members and the Unionist people of Great Britain for the support which they had always given them, and for the protection which they had always afforded them against what Unionists regarded as the greatest injustice which could be inflicted upon them or upon their country. They felt the greatest possible regret at being unable on an occasion of this kind to give their support to the Government. Under no circumstances would they associate themselves with an Amendment which embodied the principle of Home Rule. They would prefer to support a Government of which they were loyal supporters, but they were entitled to have an authoritative pronouncement that this sort of thing would not be repeated, that Home Rule would not be brought in by any back door, that they would not have an official at the Castle, directly or indirectly, meddling in a matter of this kind; and that if Sir Antony MacDonnell did not think right to remove himself from Dublin Castle, or was not relieved of his duties, that at all events from henceforth it should be clearly defined that he occupied a position which every other gentleman previously occupied when he held office as Assistant-Secretary. They had a right to those assurances. They asked for them, and he believed that their Unionist friends would see that they were not doing more than they were justified in doing when they asked that either the Prime Minister or some responsible member of the Government should give them those assurances before the division took place.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL said that anyone who summarised, with an unbiassed mind the conclusions with respect to Irish government which had been expressed in the debate upon this Motion would be entitled to say what he once heard the late Sir William Harcourt say, that Irish government was the very worst in the whole world. He recollected that Sir Donald M'Farlane once made a speech on the Irish Estimates, and Sir Charles Russell said to him at the end of his speech, "Well, M'Farlane, you have given us the best description of Castle government I ever heard." Sir Donald M'Farlane's illustration was that Lord-Lieutenants and Chief Secretaries were like making changes in the dial of a watch instead of the works—as long as the works remained the watch would remain as it was before; and as long as the present system of government remained in Ireland there would be maladministration and bad government. The introduction of Sir Antony MacDonnell was an alteration in the works, with the result that they now had those gentlemen, in whose interests Irish administration had been exploited ever since the time of the Union, in revolt or intended revolt against the Government. Throughout the debate there had been a great deal of animadversion and criticism of Castle boards. They now knew that these Castle boards were to be what was called "co-ordinated." He recollected that twenty years ago a Minister of the Crown delivered a speech which made a great impression at the time. That Minister stated that the system of government in Ireland was corrupt and despotic—that it was more despotic than the system pursued by Russia in Poland, and that pursued by Austria against Venice; that, however much they might disguise the fact, it was supported by 130,000 British bayonets, and that it was a scandal and a sham. This debate showed that the system still continued, but he supposed the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, who made the speech to which he had referred, would vote against the Amendment that night.

He would give a few statistics in reference to the position of the "loyal minority" from Ireland in the House of Commons. At the time of the Union those who voted for it were remunerated and rewarded, and the Union was maintained by giving remuneration and rewards. The support of the loyal minority was not obtained nowadays by means of bribes, but they were rewarded by honours and posts. Every third man in the Irish Parliament was a placeman, and what was true at the time of the Union was true now in regard to the Unionist Members from Ireland. Out of fifteen there were no fewer than five who held Government places. Everyone knew that there was in Ireland no loyalty unless it was measured by the cheque which the individual hoped to get from the Castle. Loyalty was an improper word to use in this connection. Burke had said that when loyalty did not mean patriotism it was only another word for corruption. Since 1885, irrespective of the present representatives from Ulster, and the Members for Trinity College, there had been twenty-two Members of the House representing Ulster constituencies, and only four of these had left the House without office or title. Of the four, one was expelled, two left on account of pecuniary circumstances, and one left on the death of his father, a Peer, who got his elevation as a reward of his adherence to the Union. It was said "Union is strength." It was strength to some of the Unionist Members, but it was not strength to their constituents. There had been some references of late to the necessity for the drainage of the Bann, but the Government had left that river undrained while some of the representatives of Ulster had been draining the pockets of the Government to their own advantage. When the Chief Secretary addressed the House yesterday and employed his rhetorical graces of style, his words fell on friends sitting in stony and desperate silence—a silence which was only accentuated by the mechanical "Hear, hear!" of the Prime Minister, which reminded him of the "Amen" of the clerk in a very small congregation.

.Everything went to show that Sir Antony MacDonnell had acted a straightforward, honourable part, but an attempt had been made to make him a decoy-duck, as had been done in times of old in the case of Lord Fitzwilliam. They knew what the game was; it was an attempt to capture weak-kneed Home Rulers and to crush out every enthusiasm and honest effort for the benefit of Ireland. Who was going to resign? Would the Chief Secretary stick to his post when there was not a single Member of the House who would get up to defend him? There was now no one so mean as to do him reverence, not even the Ulster Unionists. He believed the Lord-Lieutenant would stick to his post, and Sir Antony MacDonnell to his; but the gentleman who ought to go was the Chief Secretary. Whether the right hon. Gentleman went or remained was another matter. Of course public recollection was short, but this he knew, that an exposure of this kind could not be forgotten, and the right hon. Gentleman's name would be for ever associated with the Dunraven proposals, which, having been tried to see whether they would succeed, were denounced, and Sir Antony MacDonnell was left in the lurch; he was almost going to say betrayed.

He wished to give his humble adherence to the protest contained in the Amendment against the Union. Every word in that Amendment of his hon. friend was absolutely and perfectly correct. It was stated that the administration of Ireland was shockingly expensive, that the destitution of the people was great, that the administration of the country was hateful, and was there any doubt of any of those statements? He looked with horror at the terrible combination of perjury and wrong by which Irish affairs were conducted; he was horrified but not surprised at it. He knew everything about the Wyndham-Dudley-MacDonnell arrangement, and it was only a counterpart of three or four similar arrangements, beginning from 110 years ago, when Lord Fitzwilliam had been sent over to Ireland as a decoy-duck to promise Catholic Emancipation. The Chief Secretary was not a highly literary man, although he had a good taste in literature, but his speech the previous night was not one of his most artistic efforts, and was badly received even by his own friends. No speech of the right hon. Gentleman would be complete without a quotation, and towards the end of his somewhat elaborate prelection he made use of an observation employed by a statesman 110 years ago—"We must make the best of it." Where did the right hon. Gentleman get that quotation? It had been used 110 years ago by Mr. Edward Cook, Under-Secretary for Ireland, and chief agent for corrupting and polluting the Irish Members of that time. Among the reasons for carrying the Union, it was said that it was in order to protect the prosperity of Ireland which had been becoming too dangerous to England. That could not be said now, because the prosperity of Ireland had been destroyed, and everything had been done to rouse the religious prejudices of Ulster, while lavish emoluments had been heaped on the Ascendency Party in order to keep up the present rotten system. He thoroughly agreed with the right hon. Member for Montrose when he said that a free Government might be a strong Government, that a despotism might be a strong Government, but that a Government which assumed the form of a free Government with the methods of despotism was the worst of all Governments. He denounced the present Government in all its ways, and that had been a bad day for it. It would be found out before they were much older that the Chief Secretary had not done much for the advancement of the principles which he professed.

MR. COHEN (Islington, E.) said he was obliged to join issue with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, and to express his regret that throughout the debate there had been more personalities than argument. The personal arguments which had been used seemed to him to obscure, and not to illumine, the issue, and, in his opinion, the House was not discussing the propriety of the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell, though on that issue he might be of a different opinion to that of his right hon. friend the Chief Secretary. Sir Antony MacDonnell did not require from him any tribute as to his capacity; but he was bound to state that he thought the appointment was ill-judged, because there was an amount of control exercised over our Indian fellow-subjects by Civil officers which would not be possible or desirable in Ireland. He did not think that Ireland would stand that, and it would be indiscreet to attempt it. Therefore, to his mind, all the experience which Sir Antony MacDonnell had obtained in India was no qualification for the position to which he was appointed by his right hon. friend. The issue raised by the Amendment was not, however, the fitness of Sir Antony MacDonnell; it was a question of Home Rule or no Home Rule. It had been sought to introduce the side issue of devolution. Personally, he did not know what it meant. He had heard it described as a modified form of Home Rule, and that was another reason why, in his judgment, the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell was not a wise one. He himself was strongly opposed to Home Rule; and had, therefore, no sympathy with devolution. It would not be in the best interests of Ireland. Only two years ago the Irish Members had the advantage of British credit in connection with the Land Act, for which they were insufficiently grateful. He had always held that the Irish Land Bill would involve absolutely no charge on the British Exchequer, and if hon. Members on the Nationalist Benches were only acquainted with the resources which were placed at their disposal, though they would not be less ardent advocates of Home Rule, they would find they had an advantage they did not appreciate, and which, in his opinion, would meet their case. They had asked hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite whether they were prepared to give to Ireland that Home Rule upon which the hon. Member for Waterford insisted, but they had evaded answering that question. Those who sat on the Unionist side had decided that there should be no ambiguity so far as they were concerned; they would not have Home Rule or vote for anything which might be likely to bring it about. And because he thought the Amendment of the hon. Member might strengthen the agitation in favour of Home Rule, he should give an emphatic negative when the Question was put from the Chair.

MR. HARWOOD (Bolton) said that many who had been watching the debate from the position of outsiders must often during the last few days have thought of one fact—how curious it was that every thoughtful Englishman who went to Ireland began to move more or less in the direction of Home Rule. They might call it "devolution," but it was only a Latin word for Home Rule. Here was Lord Dudley. A more unlikely man to be taken with enthusiasm for an idea of this kind he could not imagine. But Lord Dudley went and had to take a part in the practical government of Ireland, and what was the result upon this English aristocrat's mind? They found him taking part in a conference, participating in proposals which were a move towards Home Rule. And there was the Chief Secretary himself. Many of them suspected that if they knew the truth—they probably never would—the Chief Secretary was really in his heart very much in sympathy with this devolution scheme. He who had most to do with the government of Ireland practically acknowledged by the attitude he had taken that the only way of dealing with the Irish problem was by moving in the direction of Home Rule. This debate must make Liberals think very seriously of a practical problem which was facing them in the near future. He spoke as an English Liberal, because he thought they ought to be very frank about this matter and look it in the face, for there had been a good deal of shilly-shally, and much said about their timidity towards Home Rule. Were they of the mind of Lord Dudley, of Lord Dunraven, and the Chief Secretary? Did they also believe in their hearts that the only solution must be some form of Home Rule? No one could deny the difficulty of the problem of Irish government. Every year during his Membership of the House there had been burnt deeper and deeper into his heart the fact of the misgovernment of Ireland—he did not say corrupt government, because he did not think it was corrupt, but it was clumsy, inefficient, and incapable. The failure to find a system of adequate government for Ireland was a great reproach to the English name and reputation.

It was not true to say that they were Home Rulers simply because they were blindly following a great leader. Long before Mr. Gladstone brought forward his Bill many Liberals had made up their mind that Home Rule was the only policy by which Ireland could be governed. Another alleged motive for their being Home Rulers was that they wanted the Irish vote. The time had gone by for this great question to be dealt with on any such platform as that. It was a question of principle, either one way or the other. It was a principle with them to support Home Rule quite regardless of Irish Members and Irish constituents. They supported it because they believed it was the only policy that could be followed for the good of England and of the Empire. Hon. Members opposite often spoke as though they had a monopoly of patriotism. Patriotism did not consist in singing "Rule Britannia" and waving the Union Jack. The truest patriot was the man who tried his utmost to have his country well governed, and was not afraid of facing any obloquy that might come upon him because he favoured some things which others might think a dangerous change. They were Home Rulers first of all because they were Englishmen and because they knew that the greatest reproach of Englishmen was the bad and incapable government of Ireland. It was not a question of nations. The time had come for this question to be looked at not as an abstract question but as a practical one. It was the question of the practical government of a certain island for which England was responsible, and would always remain responsible by the geographical position. All forms of government for Ireland had been tried and had failed; the only one which had given any ray of hope whatever, in Ireland, was that under Grattan's Parliament. Bad as it was, sectarian as it was, it threw on the Island a gleam of the sunshine of hope such as had never shone on it since. Lord Dunraven, Lord Dudley, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland all practically acknowledged that some movement must be made in the direction of devolution, and had practically acknowledged that the only hope for the good government of Ireland was to be found in some movement in the direction of Home Rule. How far that movement should go they were not committed to.

If he might give his leaders some advice, he would say that it was time they gave out no uncertain note on this matter. He had risen chiefly in order to urge upon those on his own side a little more frankness and a little more courage, even though it might seem at the moment to jeopardise Party success, because there was something even more important than Party success, and that was the success of the country and the Empire. The position of Ireland was a subject of reproach to this country in all parts of the world. While Englishmen boasted of their freedom and capacity, close to their own door was a country they could not govern, with a greatly diminished population, and which at this moment was seething, and he thought rightly seething, with disaffection, and which would never be placed on its proper footing except by a movement in the direction of Home Rule. Surely Liberals spoke somewhat timidly on this matter. The time had come for them to be quite frank and to say that they were convinced that the only hope of good government in Ireland lay in the direction of Home Rule. From the time of his first visit to the House of Commons, when he heard a remarkable speech by John Martin, he had studied as closely as he could Irish history and the problems connected with Irish government, and the conclusion he had come to was that a move would have to be made in the direction of national sentiment. They had always been proud of recognising national sentiment everywhere else, and why upon this matter should they go upon the order, "No Irish need apply." They must meet this national sentiment in the direction of Home Rule, never mind the word or the degree, but that was the direction, and the Liberal

Party would be unworthy of itself, its traditions, and its future if it did not take a bold and determined stand on this matter.

*Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) said he was glad that the hon. Member for Bolton had addressed the House in that strain, because he had brought the House back to the main line of argument, for they had been discussing, for the most part, a personal matter for the last two days. The result of this debate showed that a large proportion of what he might describe as the central Unionist opinion in Ireland was turning in the direction of Home Rule. The Nationalists were dissatisfied with the government of Ireland, and the Ulster Members were in revolt ["No, no!"], or at least in pretence they were. The moderate Unionists were also discontented. They had in Ireland nominally a constitutional government, but it was only the shadow not the substance, and it was evident that the first duty of the Unionist Government was to change the system. They were told that the Union meant an equality of government in the three kingdoms, but what were the facts? The people of Ireland were living under a perpetual Coercion Act, and were not allowed the right to bear arms. They were overtaxed by £3,000,000 per annum, and when they asked for equal treatment in regard to taxation the idea was scoffed at. The method of levying taxation in Ireland was entirely different from the English system. The whole machinery of taxation in Ireland was centred in one official, and there were no local assessment committees, as in England, for valuation. This one irresponsible individual had at the present moment almost absolute power in regard to valuations, and taxpayers had practically little chance of appeal from his decision. They had in the debate so far heard very little about the over-taxation of Ireland, whose population had been reduced by one-half within the last fifty years. It was most remarkable that just in proportion as the population decreased taxation had increased, and it was perfectly evident that if this financial oppression went on the result must inevitably be that the people would be taxed out of the country. They were supposed to have in Ireland constitutional government, but they all knew that the non-elected irresponsible Privy Council together with the three gentlemen now sitting on the Treasury Bench, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General, with the help of non-elected irresponsible boards ruled Ireland.

An American friend of his who had recently travelled all over Ireland observed the poverty, apathy, and want of employment generally in the cities, towns, and villages, and the lack of improvement in many urban districts owing to absence of security to town tenants. In his travel right through the agricultural parts he was astonished at the vast number of ruined homesteads, roofless cabins, and grass-grown farmyards, together with lack of population and employment, whilst the slums were over-crowded and the land divorced from labour.

He asked him (Mr. Field) if there had been an invasion in Ireland. He replied—

> "No, except by the crowbar brigade during the eviction campaign."

His American friend went through the West of Ireland and was astonished to find hundreds of thousands of acres there water-logged, and by way of a contrast he said that whilst in Holland he found the people engaged pumping the water out of lakes in order to bring more land under cultivation, in Ireland they turned good land into lakes.

He said—

> "I don't wonder at your people emigrating to a free country like America, where there is some encouragement and a chance of employment."

He reverted to the fact that under the Tzar the Russian birth-rate was the highest in Europe, whilst that in Ireland was the lowest, also that Poland and Finland had increased in population, whilst in Ireland the population had decreased by one-half under what was called constitutional government, and that the ratio of pauper-lunatics, very old and very young, exceeded that of any other country, perhaps, in the world. He went on to describe to hon. Members the extraordinary condition of affairs in the West and in other parts of the country, where there were no trees or forests. In America, and also in European countries forests were looked after, but in Ireland there was no such thing. The physical resources of the country were almost entirely neglected, and this was the result of the Unionist system of government in Ireland. The country was run for the benefit of the English Exchequer. Since the Union England had exacted from Ireland hundreds of thousands of pounds beyond her fair and equitable share of taxation. In the opinion of the financial experts who were appointed by the House to inquire into this question, Ireland was overtaxed to the extent of £2,750,000 per annum. Notwithstanding that verdict, no action had been taken by the House to restore the ill-gotten plunder or to give a readjustment or restitution with respect to the over-taxation of the country. Hon. Gentlemen opposite talked of the value to Ireland of British credit, and of the good it had done to Ireland. Let the Irish people manage their own affairs and they would manage the country at much less expense than the English Unionists could do. Everybody admitted that the country was run on the most expensive lines of any nation in Europe. The so-called constitutional government in Ireland was an infamous fraud. He challenged any of the Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench to deny that statement. Ireland had the shadow of constitutional government but not the substance. The people of Ireland had no power over the Executive. Everything almost was managed by nominated and non-elective boards. It was time for the House to realise that they were not going to submit to this much longer. The common sense of the communities of the world would not allow the misgovernment of the country to go on in this way. A great deal was heard at present about Russian bureaucrats, but he would remind the House that Ireland was governed in a great measure by a bureaucracy. He quite agreed that troops were not sent, as in '98, to shoot down the people, but the Government had other methods not less effective. The people were despairing throughout the land, they were poverty-stricken, and their industries were being destroyed. He trusted that the result of this debate would be to make those responsible for the government of Ireland seriously consider the condition of affairs. It would take something more than a Land Bill to remedy matters. The affairs of Ireland were managed by an alien Government which did not possess the affections of the people. Whether the struggle was to be long or short the people of Ireland were determined that this system should not last, and certainly it would not continue with their consent. This debate had shown that they were all agreed in condemning the present system. Surely it was time for those who were responsible for the government of Ireland to take into account the consensus of public opinion which condemned the union, and to take steps for reforming the Government so as to bring it into accordance with the aspirations of the Irish people.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [February 20th] to Main Question [February 14th], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign*,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly represent to Your Majesty that the present system of Government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people.'"—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added.

MR. PURVIS (Peterborough) said he did not propose to join in the wrangle which had taken place over Sir Antony MacDonnell. The two extreme Parties in Ireland were struggling to obtain and exploit the Administration of the day. The point for English Members was far more important than anything connected with either the Chief Secretary or Sir Antony MacDonnell. The essential words of the Amendment asserted that the present system of government in Ireland was in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and, by way of comment on that, the hon. Member for Waterford stated that the Amendment involved the whole question of the government of Ireland, and made clear the fact that hon. Gentlemen opposite were irrevocably committed to Home Rule, and sought to put into the hands of the Irish people the management of their own affairs. Hon. Members from Ireland declared themselves to be the exponents of Irish opinion; but did the hon. Gentlemen go as far as Irish opinion in Ireland itself did. Hon. Members had disclaimed, in the course of that debate, complete separation and spoke of devolution; he was not very sure that the majority of the people of Ireland did not go further than that. Let hon. Members suppose that the majority of the Irish people desired complete separation, would the exponents of Irish opinion in this House defer in such a case to the opinion of the Irish people in Ireland or not? If they did, what became of all this talk of devolution. If they did not, what became of their principles as the champions of the Irish people and the exponents of Irish opinion. If they did not defer to Irish opinion then they were not striving for what the Irish people themselves thought best, but what they thought best for the Irish people. The Unionist Party was in much the same position, they also were striving not for what they believed the Irish people thought best for themselves, but for what they thought was best for the Irish people. The principle of the Nationalist Members and the Unionist Members was the same, the only difference was in its application. Irish Nationalist Members opposite did not argue for complete separation which meant a separate Army, a separate Navy and separate diplomacy, but for separate legislation, and the Unionist Members were of opinion that separate legislation would be dangerous and would lead to all the rest. They believed that with regard to foreign diplomacy and other matters Ireland could not be prosperously separated from the United Kingdom; it was a case of common action for mutual advantage.

He did not wish to enter historically into this question, but he would just remind hon. Members opposite that a Parliament had been tried in Ireland, and that Grattan's Parliament was found to be absolutely intolerable. He could see no reason why the same argument for separation and Home Rule in Ireland should not be applied to England and to Wales. But supposing that were carried into effect the result would be that there would be first, a supreme Convention, next a Federal Parliament, then four subservient Executives, and in such a state of things as that what became of Ministerial responsibility? It would be a state of chaos come again. It seemed to him that devolution was only a device to induce this country to give a concession to Ireland which would necessarily involve further concessions. He was somewhat of an optimist in Irish matters; he believed that the Irish were not irreconcilable. Changes had been made with regard to Ireland which had amounted to a social revolution, and by the various Land Acts which had been passed much had been done to remedy the wrongs from which Ireland had suffered. He was a great admirer of the Irish people, and was not without hope that what had happened to Scotland would eventually happen to Ireland. Scotland for centuries had been a separate kingdom with a national life of its own. It became united to this country and the people of Scotland furbished up their claymores and matchlocks and invaded England, asserting their right to Home Rule *vi et armis*. Both in 1715 and 1745 they got as far as Derby and frightened the people of London out of their wits, but were then beaten back, and being a sensible people they thought better of the matter, shook hands, and had been prosperous ever since. The sea ran high for a long time after the storm had subsided, and he could not help hoping that after a lapse of time all this old Castle business would have been swept away. The improvements which had been made were not exhaustive, the Government had not reached perfection, nor yet was it in its dotage. It was hard to conceive anything more opposed to the best traditions of modern history than this. During the past fifty years there had been three great political works, Cavour's work of uniting Italy, Bismarck's work of unifying Germany and turning it into the mightiest of Continental countries, and the War of Secession in America, in which the patriotism of the Northerners prevented the dismemberment of the United States. Should Britain wreck an Empire so great that every fourth child born into the world is born a British subject, when she is at the present moment seeking by some system of common defence between herself and her Colonies to bind their young vigour to her ancient strength? Should she introduce the principle of dissolution at her very heart? It could never be, nor would Ireland herself ever wish it when she had her wrongs removed.

*MR. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.) said the hon. Member for South Derry had risen in his place to contradict the statements of fact by the hon. Member for North Louth as to the position in which the Catholics of Ireland were placed with regard to the Royal Irish Constabulary. He did not think the hon. Member for South Derry had attempted intentionally to mislead the House, but rather that he had spoken with an imperfect knowledge of the subject. As a matter of fact the statement that the district inspectorships were filled by competitive examination was only partly true, for, for every vacancy there were five nominations, and after the nominations there was examination. Where the mistake was made, however, was this, that four out of the five nominations went by right to the sons of existing district inspectors, and so the game went merrily on and Catholics were excluded from positions which they would win if they depended on success in competitive examinations. But to leave what was, after all, a small point compared with the larger issues which they had to consider, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had, in his opinion, in no way met the case which had been made out in the course of this debate. In spite of the right hon. Gentleman's declaration of his unaltered and unalterable objection to Home Rule, and in spite of his declaration that there was nothing between Home Rule and the present system, he had, no longer ago than the previous day, advocated in that House a radical change in the government of Ireland. The hon. Member for Waterford had given many instances of Englishmen who had gone over to Ireland to govern her according to English traditions, yet when they had a man of distinction attempting to govern Ireland on sympathetic lines they had the remarkable spectacle of the Unionists of Ulster in full revolt. He wondered if the Ulster Unionists had heard of another gentleman who at one time used to make just as fierce attacks on English Members in that House who were willing to do justice to Ireland as any ever made by the hon. and gallant Member for Armagh, or by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Antrim. Lord Rossmore was not a gentleman in the habit of mincing matters. He was the Grand Master of the Orangemen of Monaghan, and speaking to the Camla Orange Lodge in 1882, he compared Mr. Gladstone to a mad dog, and said that,

> "If a human mad dog came along and wilfully and wantonly destroyed thousands of people, what ought they to do with him? The mad dog ought to be done away with before it injured more people with its snapping and snarling of Home Rule rabies."

But the same Lord Rossmore, with a change of opinion brought about by a wider knowledge of the working of the Orange gang, and the Castle system, wrote a short time ago to his friends in Ulster that it was a source of deep regret to him that Orangemen did not think out matters for themselves. He wrote, and the hon. Member would like to call the attention of the Attorney-General for Ireland to this passage as it appeared to him to have a somewhat personal application—

> "To him they appeared to be following blindly a few professional politicians whose advice seemed to be the result of a contemplation of personal interests."

These were not the observations of a rabid Home Ruler, but of an Orange Grand Master, and when they saw such a change as that in a man of such pronounced views he wanted to know what had caused him to alter his opinion. Was it not that he had had a more intimate acquaintance with the working of Dublin Castle, and that even he had to admit that the system was rotten to the core. They could go on multiplying instances of Englishmen who had gone to Ireland, and who had satisfied themselves about the miserable character of Irish government. A good many Englishmen at the present moment believed that the Irish Members talked bunkum and nonsense, and that Ireland was as well governed as England, but those who had acquired a little experience of Castle government soon became satisfied as to its true character. The hon. Member for Shropshire had deprecated the introduction of personalities and innuendoes into the debates, but did they never do it on the other side, he had some recollection of the personalities indulged in by the Solicitor-General for England and also by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. But there was no question of innuendo here at all. Irish Members made a plain and definite statement and said that the right hon. Gentleman had deliberately sacrificed the permanent Under-Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman had come to give an explanation of what was called the MacDonnell incident, and he had been asked to produce the correspondence which had taken place between him and Sir Antony MacDonnell, and he had not done so. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman had done himself justice in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman was asked on Wednesday last to produce the correspondence alleged to have passed between Sir Antony MacDonnell and himself. He had never answered the request to that moment. He did not wish to do the right hon. Gentleman an injustice, but one fact in connection with the letters struck him. The right hon. Gentleman was challenged in the House as to the extent of his knowledge as to how far Sir Antony MacDonnell was going, and in support of that the charge was made against him that he knew all about the letter which Sir Antony MacDonnell wrote to Lord Dunraven in October, 1903, in which Sir Antony MacDonnell said any help he could give he should be happy to afford by supplying him with facts and information, "but I think, and Mr. Wyndham agrees with me, I had better not appear prominently." The Chief Secretary said that that letter had no reference to the proceedings now under discussion in the House, but the sooner the whole correspondence was produced the better, because if that letter was not written when the negotiations for devolution were going on, it was a very curious thing that the person to whom the letter was sent said, in another place, that it referred to devolution, and that the person to whom it was not written said in this House that it had nothing to do with devolution. The right hon. Gentleman had been asked the previous night if Lord Dudley had been censured by the Cabinet, and his answer was that the Cabinet at that time were not aware that Lord Dudley knew of the negotiations with Sir Antony MacDonnell. What was the position now? There had been a Cabinet meeting that day, he understood, and they were now in full possession of the facts. He wanted to know if the censure of the Cabinet had been now extended to Lord Dudley. The right hon. Gentleman would have appeared in a much better light if he had given a straightforward answer to a straightforward question, instead of having had statement after statement dragged out of him as from a reluctant witness.

The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich had delivered a gratuitous lecture on nationalities, and had said that the Home Rule question was dead and buried. It seemed to him, from the choruses sung on the Benches opposite and on those Benches, that Home Rule, instead of being dead, was very much alive, and that they were assisting at the demise of the Unionist Party, and of the Castle government policy in Ireland. It was not often they wished a speedy death to anyone, or anything, but certainly every Irishmen desired a speedy death to the Castle system of government in Ireland.

The hon. and learned Member for North Antrim had, in a speech which almost everyone listened to, enthusiastically delivered a great indictment against the Government, but it looked as if his courage was evaporating as the division hour approached, and that after all his professions of dissatisfaction with the Government, he would not be found in the Opposition lobby. The colleagues of the hon. Member—the reserves as he called them—were not showing much alacrity in obeying the summons addressed to them, and when the 3rd of March came they would probably be as hard to mobilise anywhere outside the Treasury Bench, as would the paper Army Corps of the Member for West Belfast. As long as the Ulster Members had five of their number in the Government, the Unionists of Ireland would come there and make most violent assaults against the Government, but they would never have the courage of their convictions to vote against it if they thought they might find a chance of a sixth, seventh, or eighth place in the Government of the day.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.) said that the hon. Member who had just sat down would hardly expect him to follow him into his disquisitions on the MacDonnell affair, which were really addressed to the Chief Secretary. In one portion of his speech the hon. Gentleman had referred to some observations made by Lord Rossmore, and rather inferred that that noble Lord had changed his mind and become a Home Ruler.

MR. MOONEY said he had simply stated that Lord Rossmore had receded from the position which he had taken up in 1882, and was now of opinion that the present system of government in Ireland was impossible.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON said that he had gathered from the hon. Member that Lord Rossmore had changed his mind to a greater extent than his Lordship had really done. The hon. Member had given three reasons why Home Rule should be granted—the bad housing in Ireland, the want of drainage, and the fact that there were no forests on the hill territory in that country. He admitted that, to a certain extent, all these things were evils, but only minor evils. They were all agreed that there were bad houses in Ireland, but he did not see how the grant of Home Rule would improve the houses. As to the land being water-logged, he admitted that large schemes of drainage were wanted for some parts of the country which would be of benefit to the Irish people; but for the execution of these works British credit was necessary, and as soon as the British people were assured that Ireland was quiet and governed in an ordinary manner in accordance with those ideas which found favour with the English people who lent the money, it would be discovered that money would flow into the country as it had done in the past. He acknowledged that the re-afforestation of the hills was important, and it was a question in which he had taken a great deal of interest. But his neighbour, Dr. Cooper, an authority on the subject, had never been able to persuade him that the re-afforestation of Ireland would be a profitable matter. No doubt it would improve the beauty of the hills, but it was desirable that that should be left to be done by wealthy people.

The hon. Member for St. Patrick's Division asked whether constitutional government in Ireland was not a fraud? Before that question could be answered they had to explain a number of words. The phrase in itself had no meaning whatever. Taking the words in their ordinary acceptation, Ireland was part of the two islands which formed the United Kingdom, and at the present moment it had a certain amount of constitutional representation as perfect as that of the Isle of Wight. The hon. Member must state what views he held of constitutional government. If he said that Ireland was in itself a nation, and that everything that was a nation ought to have a separate Parliament, then he would establish his proposition. But then the hon. Gentleman must remember that his proposition was not admitted. He did not think that anyone in the House had a right to say that the Chief Secretary had sympathy with the system of devolution promulgated by Lord Dunraven, when that right hon. Gentleman had stated distinctly that he was not, and never had been, in favour of it.

The hon. Member for Bolton, who said he was in favour of Home Rule, had appealed to the Leader of the Opposition to make an authoritative declaration on the question. They on that side of the House naturally sympathised with that wish. They wanted to know exactly what kind of Home Rule it was which the right hon. Gentleman and his followers supported. They might apply the words "Home Rule" to hundreds of different schemes, varying in details and principles. The hon. Member for Bolton had stated that when he was abroad he was always reproached with the British government of Ireland. He did not dispute that entirely, but believed it was absolutely due to ignorance of the real state of that country. People, even on his own side of the House, who lived outside Ireland believed that it was almost a dangerous country to reside in. They thought it was an uncivilised place, and that was the opinion of a very large number of people in England who conceived that there was a certain amount of danger in going about. Of course that view was partly derived from the lurid pictures of the state of Ireland drawn by hon. Gentlemen opposite. It was certainly true that their pictures, drawn from the very worst and most unfortunate districts of the country, were applied to the whole of Ireland, and he was sure that the hon. Member for Bolton had not drawn his gloomy picture from personal experience. He, himself, had always found that there was no pleasanter part of the United Kingdom to live in. It was a misfortune that money was kept from investment in the country by these pictures; for what was wanted more than anything else was that money should be spent in that country. Speaking in the capacity of an Irishman for the moment, although he was not one—hon. Members knew perfectly well what he meant—speaking on the ground of having married an Irish wife, he insisted that what was wanted in Ireland was capital.

He did not wish to enter into the details of the case of Sir Antony MacDonnell. The hon. Member for Donegal had said that Sir Antony MacDonnell had been selected as Under-Secretary to play the part of a decoy-duck. He believed that the Chief Secretary had selected Sir Antony MacDonnell for the post of Under-Secretary because he thought that gentleman would be useful to him in the administration of Ireland, and that the idea that he was to be a decoy-duck had never entered into the mind of the right hon. Gentleman. It was impossible that anyone who had sat in that House for any time could believe for a moment that the Chief Secretary intended to make a decoy-duck of Sir Antony MacDonnell. The reason for his appointment was that that gentleman's experience, obtained in India, might be useful in Ireland. An hon. Member on that side of the House had objected to Sir Antony MacDonnell, had objected to him on that very ground, because he thought his Indian experience, instead of being a benefit, would be a hindrance, as Sir Antony would be inclined to follow lines of administration not applicable to Ireland. He would not enter into that question. The objections of himself and those who agreed with him, who were connected with Ireland, to the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell were taken on entirely different grounds. In the first place they had absolutely nothing at all to do with that gentleman's religion. Hon. Gentlemen knew that in Ireland itself Unionists usually had the support of wealthy neighbours who happened to be Roman Catholics. Their objections were based on the fact that Sir Antony MacDonnell apparently held—it was not disputed—views which were irreconcilable with those of hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House—views which were diametrically opposed to those which the Chief Secretary had been placed in Ireland to carry out. It was on that account that they believed the appointment was unwise. The Chief Secretary necessarily could not look into every detail of administration, and these had to be put into the hands of the responsible Under-Secretary. What had occurred had justified the Unionist opinion as to the unwisdom of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment. They, however, repudiated the idea that the Chief Secretary was blameworthy in the matter of the Dunraven devolution agreement.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): What about the desertion of Sir Antony MacDonnell?

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTSON said that there was no question of the desertion of Sir Antony MacDonnell. The Chief Secretary did not know what was happening, and how could they expect a man to know everything that was occurring behind his back? Suddenly, however, the Chief Secretary discovered that Sir Antony MacDonnell had been going further than he would have authorised had he been consulted. Was it to be said that the Chief Secretary, who merely did not know what was being done, had approved of what had been done? The Chief Secretary had absolutely no option, as soon as he heard of what Sir Antony MacDonnell had done, than to say that he disapproved of it, and that it had not been done with his consent. Without destroying the whole system of government he did not see how anyone could blame the Chief Secretary for having done what he did. As to a Catholic University, that was not thoroughly germane to the Amendment, but was one of the grievances brought in by a side wind.

Mr. DILLON said that the question had been specially mentioned in the Amendment.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTSON said he had always had the very greatest sympathy with the views expressed many times by the First Lord in regard to Catholic University education. It had been shown that the chief cause of complaint in regard to education in Ireland was the ignorance which existed there among the Roman Catholic population. The Prime Minister felt that that was an evil, and believed that the dispelling of that ignorance would be the very greatest benefit to Ireland and therefore to the United Kingdom. Personally he had always held that any University which could be started in Ireland to enable the Catholic youths of the country to be educated would be of paramount importance. He did not care under what influences it was established. His experience was that the influence exercised over youths in a University after the very impressionable age of, say, thirteen, had very little effect upon them in after life. Indeed, the tendency rather was for a Radical professor to bring up Tory pupils. Therefore he did not place very much stress on the colour of the University; but he felt that the Roman Catholic population of Ireland were in an awkward position. They were told that Trinity College, Dublin, was open to them. That was a perfectly good piece of advice, but——

Mr. SPEAKER said he did not think that a discussion on the kind of education to be given in a Catholic University in Ireland was in order.

Mr. DILLON, on a point of order, said that the Amendment set forth that the Irish Government had proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the nation, and it seemed to him that the discussion of the provision of University education, acceptable to the majority of the population, was in order.

Mr. SPEAKER said it was quite open to the hon. Member to say that there was a want of a University in Ireland, but to proceed to deal with the kind of education to be given in a Catholic University was a different thing.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTSON said he apologised for entering into these details and hoped that the final result of this discussion would be the rejection of the Amendment before the House.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Mr. Speaker, this debate has been very properly and naturally conducted for the most part by Irish Members, and from my particular section of the House there has been a very scanty contribution to the debate; but I think it will be expected and desired that I should say something in the course of the discussion. A few weeks ago there would probably have been—even among those who, like myself, have supported and still continue to support a policy of thorough and fundamental alteration in the whole system of Irish government—a feeling that this Amendment might be regarded almost as inopportune and uncalled for. They might have said that, as during the last two years two great remedial measures have, under the auspices of the Unionist Government, and with the entire and cordial concurrence of all Parties in the House, been carried for Ireland, it would be well to leave the matter of the Irish government until we had a little further experience of those measures, and of the beneficial working of the extension of popular rights in the Irish counties—and I believe that hitherto that system has been most successful—and, on the other hand, of the further operation of that great revolution in the land question which is of more recent origin. There is a great deal to be said for that view, though I do not know that I should have taken it myself. But now the revelations and disclosures of the last week have completely altered the case, and no one can doubt the extraordinary opportuneness of an Amendment calling attention to the character and condition of the present government of Ireland. This has been a most instructive debate, and has thrown a flood of light upon the question. What puzzles me is, who can vote against the Amendment? Of course, there is the barrier we always encounter at this period of the session—the fact that, according to our rules or conceptions of the matter, a vote for an Amendment to the Address must be resisted by the Government and their followers as if it involved a vote of want of confidence in the Government. But, putting that technical rule aside, has any one remarked the extraordinary fact that, to the best of my observation, not a single Member—not a single Irish Member at any rate—has said a word in favour of the present system of government in Ireland?

The Amendment declares that the present system of government is inefficient, costly, and restrictive of the progress of the country, is estranged from the people, and finds no support from that general confidence of the governed which is the rock upon which any good system of government must be based. What reason have the Government on the merits for disputing this declaration? Consider the question in the light of this MacDonnell episode. When Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed Under-Secretary he was not an ordinary candidate. He did not rise by promotion in the office. He was taken from the outside; but even there he was not the first man in the street. He had had a distinguished career and had achieved a great position. Yet he takes what in itself was a subordinate position with narrow powers. He was selected by the Government with full knowledge of his views and sympathies. It was not that they took an eminent Indian statesman who had done great service to the Empire in his career, and then, when they had appointed him, discovered that he sympathised with the desires of the mass of the Irish people. They knew all that before they appointed him; so that they must have selected him either because they desired to give him an opportunity of doing something, and of taking some serious steps to improve the government of Ireland, or else they must have appointed him with a view of inducing other people to think that that was what they intended that he should do. The former is the more creditable supposition, and I am quite willing to give them the benefit of the doubt. He was appointed, as we know, on special conditions, of which the Government were completely aware, and to which they were parties in every respect. Not only so. He was given freedom of action of a breadth and scope far beyond that of ordinary officials. He was invited and expected to assist them on certain subjects, among others the organisation of the Government departments and the co-ordination of authorities. The Chief Secretary speaks of him as having been taken into his counsels as a colleague rather than as a clerical assistant. The Cabinet, then, must have felt dissatisfied with the system of government in Ireland, or they never would have attached their sanction to such conditions to the appointment. They must have felt that Sir Antony MacDonnell was

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

peculiarly marked out for the work or they would never have entrusted him with such large powers and freedom of initiative. Here we have the Government gravely dissatisfied with the present condition of things, feeling that something must be done, and that he was the man to do it. In my opinion, looking back upon these facts, and considering the present condition of affairs, we are entitled to have a full disclosure from the Government of the policy they intended and intend to pursue in this matter—not only what they objected to in Sir Antony MacDonnell's conduct, but what they themselves had and have now in their minds with respect to the management of Irish affairs. Unless we are in possession of that information, how can we properly appreciate the force and necessity of the censure which has been placed upon him? We want to know their view of what Lord Lansdowne called "the old-fashioned and complicated organisation," how it was to be dealt with, and what was to take its place. Without that how can we judge how Sir Antony MacDonnell deserved the blame put upon him? His action was censured as indefensible, not because he went beyond the functions of an ordinary Civil servant in his high position. He had his commission to act with extraordinary authority. At what point, then, did his proceedings become reprehensible and blameworthy? What was it he did? He proceeded to confer with those likely to assist him in this matter. With whom did he confer? Not with Nationalists. If he had, he would have had the sanction of previous Conservative statesmen. He went to pillars of Unionism, to unimpeachable Unionists, to men of the landlord class in Ireland—to the very men who had been mainly instrumental, or, at any rate, had largely helped, in passing the Land Purchase Bill, the great achievement of the present Irish Government. But his conduct is said to be indefensible. "Indefensible" is a strong and, as I think, a fatal word. "Irregular" I could understand. The whole thing was irregular, and improper much of it. But "indefensible," capable of no defence! That is the word which is applied to a man who was acting, as we know, with the knowledge and consent of his superiors in Ireland. Apparently his offence lay in getting these Unionist gentlemen to take soundings on behalf of the Government in order to see how far the governing classes in Ireland and their friends in England could be got to go in enlisting the confidence of the people of Ireland in the government of the country. That is Sir Antony MacDonnell's real offence. What a terrible offence it is! Did the policy of the Government, as communicated to him, forbid him to consider and examine the bearings of any suggested changes on the wider question of bringing the Government into a new relation with the people? That is not alleged. And yet his conduct is said to be indefensible. What, then, of the conduct of the Viceroy and the Chief Secretary? How and at what point had that which was patriotic in them become indefensible in Sir Antony MacDonnell? If such matters as an elective financial board or statutory authority with delegated legislative powers were forbidden ground, why was he not told so and warned off? He was allowed to range at large. In censuring Sir Antony MacDonnell, as I say, the Government have in effect censured also the Chief Secretary and certainly the Viceroy.

The Chief Secretary has explained his relations in the matter, and undoubtedly the right hon. Gentleman was largely cognisant of what was going on. We have no reason to know the particular point at which his cognisance ceased. He has quoted some parts of the correspondence. Let us have the whole of this correspondence. For the information of the House, for the satisfaction of the country, for the vindication of the Government, and also to give Sir Antony MacDonnell a chance of vindicating himself against the reprimand to which he has been subjected, I think the whole of that correspondence ought to be made public. The Chief Secretary said that he was aware of—and I think I gathered that he rather liked the idea of—financial independence in Ireland. He has said and done things in the course of the last two or three years which show that that would not be inconsistent with his general view. But he was brought up sharp by the fact that it turned out that, however desirable the Indian financial system for securing local control over financial expenditure might be, however excellent, it was elective. That was quite enough for the Chief Secretary, anything but what was elective! A system which would do very well in India he first of all thought must be very well applicable to Ireland, two countries governed more or less on arbitrary principles; but when he found it was elective, that was another story. Whether that was the only thing that altered the Chief Secretary's mind I do not know. I make an appeal, and, I hope, a temperate, as it is a serious appeal, to moderate men of all Parties in this House, and of course especially to members of the Party opposite. I regret that the appeal should be received with some small suspicion. I appeal to them not to maintain and carry further old prejudices and old antipathies. Can they support the system of government in Ireland of which this Amendment speaks, and for which apparently no word can be said, at any rate has been said, in this House or any other quarter? Have they considered how singular it is that on one occasion after another capable men, some of them distinguished men, have gone over to Ireland full of prejudices against the ideas prevalent in Ireland, and, after examining for themselves the circumstances of the case, have thrown away their prejudices, and have admitted the whole case? Lord Carnarvon, I think, was an instance some years ago. But the other day we had a declaration by Sir West Ridgeway, which, I think, the hon. and learned Member for Waterford referred to. Sir West Ridgeway was not prejudiced one way or the other, he was chosen on accounts of his merits and experience. He was the right hand of the present Prime Minister while he was ruling Ireland by the system which we, on this side at all events, call coercion; he was with him through all that time and did not flinch in the duties imposed upon him. But he tells us now that in 1889 he wrote a Memorandum, he being then in the position of the Under-Secretary. He says—

> "I advocated in that Memorandum the concession of a liberal measure of local government in provincial as well as county councils; the administration of the education grant and other funds raised for that purpose by a local body at least partially elected, with safeguards for the minorities in the various localities; the decentralisation of finance, and consequently the loosening of rigid Treasury control; the reorganisation of Dublin Castle, and especially the abolition of that chaotic anachronism—administration by semi-independent boards whereby three men do the work of one; and the erection of a council to advise the Chief Secretary, such as that of the Secretary of State for India, and comprising the representatives of all Parties."

Now, I do not say at all that the system, the alterations Sir West Ridgeway sketches out, would be sufficient to meet the desires of many of us, or that they would form an ultimate solution of the question. But it shows at all events that Sir West Ridgeway, from his observation and experience, was satisfied of the truth of this Amendment, and that is the point I wish to make, and that he had not a word to say in defence of the system as it was then exercised.

What is the main cause, after all, of the evils of Irish government? Why is it so inefficient and costly, falling in with no one's wishes, so that even Ulster does not love it? One main reason is that it does not rest on the consent and sympathy of the people. If an official be suspected of being Irish in feeling, as well as perhaps in blood and residence, if he is suspected of sharing the views of the great majority of his countrymen, it is quite enough to bring him the opposition and suspicion of the ruling dominant class in Ireland. Look back, as an instance, to the case of Sir Horace Plunkett and Mr. Gill. Such a system would never be tolerated here. And after all something is due to the feeling of nationality. The noble Lord the Member for Greenwich has disputed whether there was any nationality in Ireland, and has even extended that view to Scotland, Wales, and England. I do not know that there is the same individual feeling of nationality in an Englishman as in a Scotsman—he feels that he is a citizen of the Empire, but I mean as a separate entity. It is natural that feeling in the larger country should not be so keen as in the smaller ones. I can quite understand that the noble Lord does not appreciate the feeling of nationality which pervades the other three countries, but when he said that they had no right to claim any nationality, and gave as his reason that there was such a mixture of blood amongst them, I would put it to the noble Lord whether that argument might not carry him a little too far? There is such a thing as race and family. A man may be very proud of belonging to a family that has held a distinguished place in the country for a good many generations; but why should he have that pride seeing that all the wives that have come into the family have brought an admixture of other blood? There is just as much force in that with regard to family descent as in the noble Lord's argument as to nationality. The fact is, the noble Lord is carried away by a certain love of paradox which appears to run in his family. The truth is that where there is confidence between the Government and the governed there is a healthy circulation of blood, as it were, in the political system; there is progress and activity. In Ireland we have that stagnation and want of enterprise which an arbitrary Government fosters. Is it the fault of the Irish? That is what we used to be told in the early years of this long controversy. They have faults, no doubt, as we have, but if they have why did you give them the control of their local county affairs, and, above all, why did you risk £100,000,000 of your credit upon them? It will not do to talk like that. It cannot be maintained for a moment. Therefore I come to this conclusion, if you realise how you stand after the measures that have been passed, that no dispassionate observer of events can dispute the proposition in this Amendment. They deserve a better government, and a government different in character and of a different order—a government springing from and controlled by the people themselves. Of the existing government in Ireland no defence can be found that I know of. Not even His Majesty's Government can dispute, on its merits, this Amendment, although they must, of course, oppose its formal expression here, because by their action in this very matter, which has come so opportunely to enlighten us, they have admitted as much. Holding these strong convictions, we, at least, will cordially support the Amendment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The speech of the right hon. Gentleman has been studiously moderate in tone, but I think, nevertheless, that among all the speeches I have heard from him in recent years it is probably the most important, in view of the issues which are to be put before the country — [OPPOSITION cries of "When?"]—I have heard for a long time. The right hon. Gentleman was bold enough to say that not even one of His Majesty's Ministers had the courage to defend the existing methods of government in Ireland. If he meant by that that none of His Majesty's Ministers was prepared to assert that no part of the fabric of State was absolutely perfect, of course nobody states that. Nobody states that reforms may not be introduced both into the sphere of government in England and into the sphere of government in Ireland. We have given notice in the Speech from the Throne this year of a change we propose to make with regard to the official arrangements of the departments in England. But if the right hon. Gentleman meant that none of His Majesty's Ministers was prepared to say that the broad lines now existing as to the government of Ireland are the lines which should be observed, I tell him that there is not one of His Majesty's Ministers who for a moment doubts the fact. It is quite true that my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland did not deal with these issues, or, if he did, not at any length in the speech he made earlier in the debate. And why? Because it is only by the right hon. Gentleman, and perhaps by one or two of his predecessors, that the Amendment has been discussed at all. My right hon. friend was not discussing the broad question of Home Rule. He was compelled by the course the debate had taken to deal with questions of a relatively narrow and wholly personal character—[dissent]—well, of a personal character, and in my opinion he dealt with them adequately. ["Oh!"] In my opinion he dealt with them adequately; and I think that in these two nights debate far too large a portion of time has been devoted to discussing personal questions, and far too little to the greater issues which the right hon. Gentleman has, with such commendable courage, raised almost at the last moment.

I do not propose to detain the House long, but I must say a word upon both the personal aspect and the general aspect of the question which has occupied us through all these hours of debate. Let me say, first, that there is one aspect which has, I think, not been touched upon in any offensive sense, except by one speaker. But one man in the course of the two days debate has cast a doubt upon the word of my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary. The hon. Member for Mayo, and the hon. Member for Mayo alone, in a long and elaborate speech, endeavoured to show that my right hon. friend was concealing the truth.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): We all associate ourselves with that speech.

An IRISH MEMBER: We believe it.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am ready to extend to hon. Gentlemen opposite the courtesy they have not extended to my right hon. friend. I accept their statement. I know they believe it, and I say it is not a creditable belief to entertain. The allegation must mean, if it means anything, that my right hon. friend in reality was cognisant of this particular scheme of devolution now known as Lord Dunraven's scheme, that he kept the knowledge of it from the world at large, from the Irish Members, from his supporters in Ireland, from his colleagues in England, from all those who might either agree with him or disagree with him. It must further be held that my right hon. friend was not only betraying the Unionist cause—for that is what it comes to—not only betraying the convictions that through his whole political life he has championed without change, without wavering, without hesitation, but that, having set to work to make this insidious breach in the Unionist cause, he went abroad and left the poison to work, and, on the very first day of his return, publicly repudiated his own handiwork. That is not merely accusing my right hon. friend of deception; it is accusing him of something on the verge of absolute idiocy. Some hypothesis of this sort might be constructed by the morbid ingenuity of hon. Gentlemen opposite. They might, perhaps, say that no doubt the Chief Secretary did intend this scheme to be thrown before the public for discussion and acceptance, but that when it became known his colleagues or his friends pointed out the dangers of the course, and he hastily withdrew from his position, and repudiated his own handiwork. But my right hon. friend made his repudiation, as it were, at the very hour of landing, without communication with any human being, without consulting his colleagues or his friends, merely because he saw how much mischief this unfortunate declaration was calculated to convey. Conscious that it was in absolute antagonism to all his own views, he did what the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mayo said was an unusual thing for a Cabinet Minister to do, he sat down at once and wrote to *The Times* a full repudiation of the essential elements of the project. That, Sir, ought to be, and I believe is, conclusive, to every candid man, and I do not think that I shall do my right hon. friend the disservice of thinking that it is worth while arguing further to this House, who know him, or ought to know him, upon the absolute candour and directness of his character.

Then, Sir, I have been asked by the right hon. Gentleman whether Sir Antony MacDonnell had not been given such a latitude at the time when he became Under-Secretary as would justify him in starting these projects on his own account without consulting my right hon. friend, and in support of that theory the right hon. Gentleman quoted a phrase, I think, from Lord Lansdowne, or at all events alluded to the debate in the House of Lords and to the debate here. I think that view is based upon a profound misconception.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: It is the view of the Viceroy.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: With all respect to the Viceroy, I think if the Viceroy has made that statement, which I do not remember at the moment——

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Lord Lansdowne read a letter to that effect in the House of Lords.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member knows perfectly well, having sat in this House as a Member of the Irish Party for a number of years, that the person primarily responsible for the government of Ireland is the member of the Irish Government who is in the Cabinet and, after him, the Cabinet itself. I say, therefore, that that view is founded upon a misconception. The misconception appears to be this, and I do not believe that Lord Dudley ever gave his countenance to the theory which I think I may justly attribute to hon. Gentlemen opposite—the theory, namely, that Sir Antony MacDonnell, at the time when he became Under-Secretary, was given authority outside his office and irrespective of the Chief Secretary to initiate projects of legislation, or projects which he might consider to be projects of reform. That is the belief, apparently, in which this case has been argued. That, clearly, is entirely inaccurate. After all, what is the *status*, and what must be the *status*, of a Civil servant in this country? The person responsible primarily is the Parliamentary head of the office. It depends, no doubt, upon his character and upon the character of the permanent official at the head of his department what shall be the relations between them. In certain cases it may have happened in the administrative history of this country that, either through the fault of the Parliamentary head or through the fault of the permanent head of the department, the relations between them were little more than the relations of a public servant who submitted minutes and recommendations, and a Parliamentary head of the department who considered, commented on, and decided upon those minutes. I do not think that is the best way of conducting an office. I am glad to think it is not the way in which I personally ever conducted an office. But it is a way in which offices have sometimes been conducted, and it is perfectly consistent with the scheme of government in this country. You may go from that extreme case at one end of the scale up through the whole gamut, and you will reach a condition of things, far more satisfactory in my view and according to my experience, in which the Parliamentary head of the department discusses in the freest and most open manner every aspect of the policy connected with his department, in which the permanent head of the department feels that he is on such terms with his chief that he can give advice, make suggestions, and initiate policies for the consideration of his chief. That, I think, is the method, if it can be practised, by which most is got out of that admirable body of men, the Civil Service, and by which the Parliamentary and responsible head is most likely to be well served.

In the case of this great and distinguished Indian official, the Government went outside the ordinary Civil Service, and Sir Antony MacDonnell had the right, as others in a similar condition have had the right—and he was justified in exercising that right, as others have exercised the right—of insisting that if he were temporarily to leave the main line of his career he should, at all events, be in a position of absolute confidence with the man under whom he was to serve. But it has never been suggested that Sir Antony MacDonnell had powers outside the ordinary office of the Chief Secretary. It has never been suggested that those were the terms on which he was asked to serve. They manifestly could not be the terms. It is an impossibility, because what do they amount to? Let the House consider. You have a government of Ireland for which the Chief Secretary is responsible to the Cabinet, and the Cabinet is responsible to this House. But if any Civil servant were placed in the position in which hon. Members have fondly supposed Sir Antony MacDonnell was placed, is it not plain that you would have—or you might have—the Chief Secretary and the Cabinet committed to a policy of which they had never heard, and for which they could not be responsible. And I do not believe that in the wildest dreams of Constitution-mongers it would be suggested that even in the worst form of government—which I suppose in the view of hon. Members opposite would be the government of Ireland—there should be an official not directly responsible to the House, not a member of the Cabinet, not a member of the Government, and nevertheless having the power and the right to initiate great schemes and policies about which the Cabinet had never been consulted.

Mr. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman publish the letter containing the terms of the appointment ?

Mr. A J. BALFOUR: I am stating what I believe to be the fact. [" Oh, oh!"] I am stating what obviously must be the fact. [" Oh!"] Does anybody—can anybody believe after the description I have given of the inevitable relations between the officials and the Government—[" Oh, oh!"]—does anybody believe that a Government would be so insane as to allow policies to be initiated in their name on which they had never been consulted ? [" Oh, oh!"] The proposition has only to be stated for its absurdity to appear.

Mr. DILLON: I am sorry to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman, but the Chief Secretary said he would be desirous that the letter should see the light.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Then let the hon. Gentleman ask the Chief Secretary. [" Oh, oh!"] I see no reason why the letter should be published. [" Oh, oh!"] I can assure hon. Gentlemen that the Government never would be responsible for so wild a project as that I have described. I suppose I have not taken pains to make myself clear, because otherwise so plain a truth could hardly remain obscure. If there is any hon. Gentleman opposite who has had any converse with the practices of government, or if he has ever thought of the way government is carried on, he will not believe for a moment there could be such a position. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose would never, under any circumstances, not even if the Archangel Gabriel offered his services as permanent Under-Secretary for Irish affairs, allow even that angelic Minister to initiate a policy of which he was not to be informed and for which he was to be responsible.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY (Montrose Burghs): I never would have allowed the Archangel Gabriel or any other candidate to hold a position in an office of which I was the head on any special terms at all—it is unconstitutional, novel, and mischievous. I only wish to ask, is not the Lord-Lieutenant part of the Government ?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman has travelled by his question to another part of the subject, and I am willing to follow him. He asks whether the Lord-Lieutenant is not part of the Government. Of course the Lord-Lieutenant is a portion of the Government, but when the Chief Secretary is in the Cabinet, and the Lord-Lieutenant is not, the Lord-Lieutenant is not, in any true sense of the word, the head of the Irish Administration. The very last man in the world to deny that proposition would be the right hon. Gentleman himself. That, I think, disposes of the allegation that permission or consent, not given by the Chief Secretary, could be given by the Lord-Lieutenant.

Mr. DILLON: It was given.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It could not be.

Mr. DILLON: It really was.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member is mistaken; it was not. It is true that the Lord-Lieutenant did discuss the matter with Sir Antony MacDonnell, and he understood from Sir Antony MacDonnell that the Chief Secretary did know what was going on. [" Oh, oh!"]

Mr. DILLON: Does the right hon. Gentleman call Sir Antony MacDonnell a liar ?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Sir Antony MacDonnell was mistaken. [" Oh, oh!"] Is that an impossibility ? No man in the House has greater admiration than I have for Sir Antony MacDonnell's administrative achievements; but he is not infallible, and in this instance he made a mistake, and in consequence the Lord-Lieutenant believed erroneously [" Oh, oh!"]—erroneously that my right hon. friend did know of this Home Rule project. [" Oh, oh ! " and " Produce the letter."] I am not criticising either Sir Antony MacDonnell or Lord Dudley in this matter, but I am stating what occurred. One hon. Member asks if I call Sir Antony MacDonnell a liar. He is very fond of making suggestions of that sort, and occupied an hour and a-half this afternoon in making them. [" Oh, oh ! "] I have the profoundest confidence in Sir Antony MacDonnell's ability, and I have the profoundest confidence in his honour ; but have hon. Members never heard of misunderstanding between two men of absolutely unblemished and untarnished honour ? Is that outside their experience ? Has there never been misunderstanding in that happy family ? No, Sir ; I profoundly regret a misunderstanding like that which has occurred, but I refuse for one instant to entertain the suggestion that it touches the honour even in the smallest degree of any one of the persons concerned. I think it will be admitted by all who have listened to this debate that this personal aspect of the affair would not have excited the vehement passion of which we have seen evidence both yesterday and to-day had it not been associated with a cause which is itself calculated to excite, and has excited in our recent political history, the most vehement passions between different Parties, different individuals, and different sections of society. My noble friend the Member for Greenwich, in a very interesting speech made yesterday, told the House that in his judgment Home Rule was dead or swooning.

MR. FLAVIN : It is more alive than himself.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : He recommended my hon. friends from Ulster to do nothing by their speech or their action to suggest to the British public that this question was still a living one. I agree with a great deal that my noble friend said in his speech, but I do not agree with that particular statement. I think that if he had listened to the debate as it progressed to-night he would have come to the conclusion that Home Rule is not dead, that Home Rule is not even swooning, but that it is in a high state of activity, and, at all events on that Bench, it has a considerable measure of activity still left to it. My memory goes back to the election of 1880 and to the controversies which preceded that election. There was hardly a man in the country carried away by the vehemence of the controversy which Mr. Gladstone had raised on the question of the Near East, there was not an elector whose vote was changed by that mighty storm of impassioned eloquence, who even dreamt that the problem of Ireland was coming upon them in the acutest stage within the next few months. Mr. Gladstone was returned to power ; the Near East was absolutely forgotten as if it had never existed ; and we found ourselves in the middle of an Irish controversy which for its bitterness has never been exceeded even in some of the bitterest years which have succeeded. What happened in 1885 ? In 1885 there was an appeal to the country, and after the controversy on which that appeal was made — an appeal of an electoral kind connected with a Reform Bill—no one dreamt that Home Rule was upon them. It never crossed their imaginations, or those of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues, that he would propose within a few months to attempt to carry a great scheme of Home Rule. I remind my noble friend of these facts, and he has only to listen to what comes from the Benches opposite to know that Home Rule is one of the most living and burning questions that we have got to deal with.

The hon. Member for North Louth in a brilliant speech this afternoon described himself, his Party, and his country as being trodden under the heel of an alien tyranny. In the rest of his speech he explained how they had turned out Mr. Gladstone in 1885, how they had turned out the Tories in 1892—I forget how many other Governments they had turned in. It seems to me that these Government-makers can hardly complain of being trodden under the heel of British tyranny and at the same time boast that they are the makers of British Administrations. The two things are hardly consistent. I believe that of the two statements, neither of which is absolutely accurate, the second is much more accurate than the first. I believe that the political power which these gentlemen wield and boast of using——

Mr. T. M. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman is quite mistaken in saying that I boasted of it. I did nothing of the kind.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. and learned Member will look at the report of his speech he will see that he spoke of the Irish Party turning out Mr. Gladstone here and the Tory Party there; and he quoted a document in which the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool requested all Nationalists to vote for the Tory candidates, which, by the way, they did not do.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The right hon. Gentleman is quite wrong. They did, and we expelled from the organisation every Irishman that did not.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: This is an appalling revelation as to the secrecy of the ballot.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: You said the same thing.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR dissented.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The right hon. Gentleman said that though the Irish electors were advised to vote for the Tory candidates they did not do so.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman will know, if he takes any trouble, that the fact whether the Irish vote goes with you or against you is tolerably obvious from the canvassers. [Cries of "Oh!"] But what I want the House, and not least hon. Gentlemen on this side, to realise is that to-night not a new departure, but a new reaffirmation of an old principle, is in the act of being made by the whole of the Party opposite. The hon. Member for Bolton in his speech earlier in the evening adjured his leaders to take a plain, open, and candid course on Home Rule. He said he was a Home Ruler, and that the sympathies of the Party opposite were all for Home Rule, and what they wanted was a lead. I imagine that I am to take the utterances of the right hon. Gentleman this evening as a lead. They were not given in the triumphant tones of a leader assured of his followers; but at all events did state with adequate lucidity that he had been a Home Ruler, that he was a Home Ruler, and that he thought that Home Rule was an impending and immediate question.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: As a matter of fact, I do not think I used a single one of the words attributed to me by the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not profess to be quoting the right hon. Gentleman. Am I, then, to understand that the right hon. Gentleman does not consider Home Rule to be an impending and immediate question? [Cries of "Oh!"] Does he belong to the academic school of the right hon. Gentleman near him?

AN HON. MEMBER: He belongs to the school of MacDonnell."

MR. SPEAKER: This continual running commentary makes it impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to continue his speech.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I make no complaint; but the House will recognise that I have not been treated with the consideration and courtesy extended to the Leader of the Opposition. I do not think that the House has failed to follow the trend of my argument, and my argument is this, that, whereas last night the more sanguine of us might perhaps have taken the view of my noble friend the Member for Greenwich—we might have taken the view that the only object of hon. Gentlemen opposite was decently to bury Home Rule—no man can take that view to-night. No man after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman and after the speeches of other Members below the gangway can doubt that the power of which the hon. Member for Louth spoke is going to be exercised in the future as they have endeavoured to exercise it in the past for driving the not unwilling flock in front of them. [AN HON. MEMBER: What about Wyndham?] Now, Sir, if that be, as I think it is, the situation in which we stand, I would ask my hon. friends from Ulster, who have naturally taken so anxious an interest in this question, whether they think that in this, perhaps the first of the skirmishes in the new combats that are going to take place around this great central and perennial problem, whether they think that in that skirmish they should be found lagging behind. They have made boast not untruly, of the courageous loyalty with which they have served the Unionist Party. We cannot flatter ourselves that the battle in which they have taken so creditable a part is a battle which is over. But I look forward to its consummation without anxiety and without fear if, and if only, the great Party which has ranged itself in favour of the Union remains undivided and undisturbed. [OPPOSITION laughter.] Hon. Gentlemen laugh when I describe it as a great Party. It has hurled them to defeat in the past; it will hurl them yet again to defeat in the future. [Cries of "Try it then."] I trust—and this is the only piece of advice which I shall offer to my hon. friends—I think it absolutely vital, if this contest is to be fought out with success, to sink all smaller causes, and, as we are firmly united to attain the end which we have in view, we should not imperil it by any of these smaller controversies, which sink into absolute insignificance beside the great national and Imperial issues which are before us.

MR. BLAKE (Longford, S.) said that although he agreed that the personal question of Sir Antony MacDonnell had taken too large a part in the debate, yet it had an important bearing upon the vital and main question which was now commanding the attention of the House, because the whole of that fresh and novel incident was a striking exemplification of the truth of the proposition stated in the Amendment. It was also an exemplification and demonstration of the fact that the present system of governing Ireland was intolerable, and not in accordance with constitutional principles. Every one of the propositions contained in the Amendment they had defended and were prepared to defend, and to each of those propositions the assent of a very large body of Members of the House of Commons was about to be given. The Amendment proposed to—

"Represent to Your Majesty that the present system of government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people."

Who could deny that? The truth of that proposition had been demonstrated by returns to Parliament at election after election almost without variation, and four-fifths of the representatives of the Irish people had, session after session, and Parliament after Parliament affirmed its truth. The next proposition in the Amendment was that it

"Gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs."

It was true that the present system gave them a voice in the sense of enabling them to register their protest against the mismanagement of their affairs, but it gave them, in the spirit in which that voice was accepted and regarded by the majority in this House, no effective voice in the management of their own affairs at all. They often protested, but their protests were disregarded. Quite a different spirit was manifested with reference to the affairs of Scotland. Scotland might find progress slower than she desired in regard to her reforms, but there was no attempt made in the House of Commons to legislate for her in opposition to the will of the people, and Scotch legislation was in accordance with the views of the majority of the representatives for Scotland. Why was Ireland treated differently? The fact that any proposal had the support of the Nationalists generally caused it to be regarded with suspicion. The Amendment further suggested —

"That the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population."

Was that disputed? If so, he would refer hon. Members to the words of Lord Lansdowne, himself an Irish landlord, in his speech in another place, in which he spoke of the condition of Irish government and its defects. That the Irish Government did not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population had been abundantly proved by the speeches which had been made during the debate. The Amendment concluded by affirming that the present system of government in Ireland

"Is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people."

In his opinion Irishmen would be unworthy of their name and fame if they were otherwise than unrestful under such a system of government. With regard to the material and intellectual progress of the people, did any one contend that the present Government was even capable of satisfactorily promoting the material progress of Ireland? If they contrasted the population of Ireland and its resources, its wealth and its poverty in the scale of all things material, with that of their more fortunate neighbours on this side of the Channel; if they contrasted the position of the rulers with those they ruled, he ventured to say that in all these respects they would find that the Irish Government had proved itself incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material progress of the Irish people. The Prime Minister had told them years ago that the Unionist Party would not be doing its duty by the country which it was professing to rule if it did not meet the demand for a Catholic University, which was demanded by fourth-fifths of the population. Although the right hon. Gentleman in his individual capacity held these views and expressed them in the House, he now declared that it was impossible to give effect to them, or to give Ireland that opportunity of promoting her intellectual progress which he admitted was her due.

Why was that? It was because the North-east corner of Ireland was represented by hon. Members opposite, who were opposed to intellectual progress being carried on in accordance with the views of the great majority of their fellow-countrymen. Had it not been proved by the action of the Chief Secretary for Ireland? The right hon. Gentleman participated in the Prime Minister's views, but he declared that it was hopeless to attempt to give effect to these views unless there was the consent of that small minority to which he had alluded. Their veto interposed and prevented for all time, or until their hearts changed, the intellectual progress of the Irish people according to the views professed by the first Minister of the country, and also by the Minister who was mainly responsible for the government of the Irish people. The same statement was true of any of the propositions affirmed by the Amendment.

Those who voted against the Amendment had the responsibility imposed on them to find a remedy for the miseries, the injustice, and the distressing conditions which existed in the government of Ireland. The Nationalist Members had not disguised now or at any time what they believed to be the only effective remedy. He ventured to close the debate by repeating the statement that it was by the acceptance of the view that the Irish people should be free to conduct their own internal affairs according to their own views, suffering for their misconceptions if they did misconceive, profiting by their experiments if they did make them successfully, and undertaking the responsibility for the conduct of their own affairs—in that way and in that alone would they find an effective remedy. The feelings and *status* of the people must necessarily be degraded so long as they were governed from this House in domestic affairs practically irrespective of their own will, and that degradation would be confirmed and deepened, and the conditions of difficulty and despondency would be made greater, if they were compelled to continue, as they would do, the sacred struggle for the rights of the people. They did not profess absolute wisdom and omniscience as to the remedy. Experiments had been suggested of one kind and another. Half-way houses had been talked of by various politicians, but no definition had ever been given at any time, except the definition given in the Dunraven programme, of what these steps should be. The Nationalists did not enter into them; they were not their proposals. Their views were in favour of self-government, but it was the bounden duty of those who acknowledged the intolerable condition of the present system, and who conceived that amelioration could be found by some minor change, some progressive change, to produce plans, and when such plans were produced they would, no doubt, receive the respectful and attentive consideration of Irishmen, who, in all the heat of this struggle, had pressed for those material ameliorations, which might be made much more effectively by an Irish Parliament. If any honest plan could be devised for ameliorating the condition of the Irish people, in God's name produce it, and they would consider it, and if it was a scheme which showed signs of amelioration, and which was not proposed to them as a finality or as more than a progressive step, why, of course, it would be considered. But if they proposed to give something which substantially did not accord with that which they believed to be vital and essential, it should be understood by anticipation that they, as a self-respecting people having the national instinct of freedom, must meet the proposal with deserved rejection.

He did not agree that the discussion of the question which had been mainly discussed in the debate was irrelevant. On the contrary, he thought it furnished fresh demonstration of the fact that in these days, after all that had been done, the government of Ireland was condemned by those who were attempting the task of governing. Incidentally, personal questions and political questions, all of a constitutional nature of no mean importance, had been raised. He did not think that the experiment which admittedly had been tried on this occasion had met with such results as to be likely to induce a repetition. He did not himself understand, after all that had been said on the subject, what precisely was the novel position which had arisen. He did not understand the precise terms and arrangements with reference to Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment, nor did he understand the view which was taken of the objects, the attainment of which was to be attempted by his action and the action of the Chief Secretary, without seeing the letters which formulated those views. The Chief Secretary said yesterday—

> "I had talked over Ireland with him before I suggested he should become Under-Secretary, and it was because we were both deeply interested in the possibility of doing something for the good of Ireland that, after a fortnight's consideration, he decided he could undertake the task, and we embodied in our letters the conversations in which we had been engaged; and these letters make it perfectly plain and clear that Sir Antony MacDonnell was invited by me rather as a colleague than as a mere Under-Secretary to register my will. And I was glad to have his advice, to welcome any suggestions from him, and it was made clear, subject, of course, to my control, that he was to enjoy a certain freedom of administrative action. Let me be blamed for that if my hon. friends think I made a mistake in the appointment. I do not think I did. But I made clear to Sir Antony MacDonnell all the subjects which I thought within the conceivable bounds of legislative action. It has been suggested, not here this afternoon, but elsewhere, that when I invited Sir Antony MacDonnell to help me in Ireland I had in my mind, and that I imparted to him, some desire to carry out what is called devolution. That is certainly not the case. Nothing of the kind was ever mentioned by either of us. The letters are extant—they are in Sir Antony MacDonnell's possession—and they show that no such problem was contemplated by me at the time of his appointment. We had proposed to deal, in the first place, with the maintenance of order."

The Chief Secretary had given his version of what the letters contained and did not contain. He had made a statement with reference to documents in writing affecting this political question, and the hon. Member conceived that under the Rules of the House on that subject they ought to be laid on the Table. These letters were now in the possession of the Under-Secretary. Let the letters be produced and they would speak for themselves, and their speech and their silence would be alike eloquent in the elucidation of this subject. What did the right hon. Gentleman say that the subjects mentioned in these letters were? The right hon. Gentleman in his speech yesterday said—

> "Here are the problems we hoped to deal with then, and the order in which they were placed—(1) The maintenance of order; (2) a Land Bill on the lines of voluntary purchase, or, where that was impossible, an automatic and cheap system of fixing rents instead of the existing litigious system; (3) education in the spirit of the Prime Minister's views; (4) the co-ordination, direction, and control of detached boards. The co-ordination, or correlation, as I used to call it, of the various boards in Ireland does not suggest to me, and never will suggest to me, the introducing of another board which is to be of an elective character."

They knew how the suggestion as to education was acted upon, and that there was a communication with the authorities at Belfast on the subject, by Sir Antony MacDonnell; they knew that an effort was made to carry out the Prime Minister's views. But the curious thing was that they were not the Prime Minister's views; they were the views of Mr. Balfour, and he did not entertain those views as Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman had declared that he could only speak in his private capacity and in his capacity as a Member of Parliament, but that, as Prime Minister he could not bring forward those views at all. The Prime Minister being debarred from taking legislative action on this question, what did the Chief Secretary do? He made education part of the programme which he and his Under-Secretary were to advance, in accordance with the Prime Minister's views. Sir Antony MacDonnell was therefore encouraged and authorised to go on in the formulation of a programme and a propaganda on education in the sense of the Prime Minister's views. Nothing could more clearly indicate the extraordinary degree of power imparted to Sir Antony MacDonnell, and nothing could better demonstate the absolutely unique and unexampled character of the arrangement between the Chief Secretary and that gentleman. The proposal to co-ordinate the forty-two or forty-three detached boards in Ireland involved an immense problem, and it went to the root of the whole question of administrative reform. It seemed to him that the gravest injustice had been done by the Chief Secretary to Sir Antony MacDonnell. The right hon. Gentleman used these words—

> "I had spoken on these lines to Sir Antony MacDonnell, and he, with his Indian experience, found analogies between my ideas and the views which he had formed in India. But here comes the first source of serious misunderstanding. When Sir Antony MacDonnell has spoken to me of the Indian Budget and of provincial contracts I, who am colossally ignorant about Indian affairs, did not know that in India there is a semi-elective council with a voice in these matters; and therefore it never occurred to me during the conversations I had with Sir Antony MacDonnell that, in pointing out the analogy between Indian finances and some of the ideas I had in my mind, he had in his mind, unexpressed, or at any rate not clear to me, the idea that another board would come into existence partially elective, a board to which I should have to submit my Estimates, in addition to the Treasury and this House."

In view of the arrangement made between the Chief Secretary and Sir Antony MacDonnell and the action of Sir Antony, one could well understand that misunderstanding might arise, but what one could not understand in the face of the conditions disclosed was how such a harsh censure should have been passed upon him as had been when he was told that his conduct was indefensible. He agreed with the noble Lord the Member for Greenwich that the nearer they got to the truth in this matter the better it would be. It was essential to secure efficiency in the public service, but how could they get the best men if they were to be treated as Sir Antony MacDonnell had been in this matter. His conduct was not indefensible. There was a misunderstanding, but that misunderstanding ought to have been stated. He was reasonably justified in believing that he had authority for proposing the scheme which was proposed. The discussion of this question had shown the abnormal character of the Irish Government, and the only way to get out of the situation which existed in Ireland was to let the Irish attend to their own domestic concerns.

Question put.

The House divided—Ayes, 236; Noes, 286. (Division List, No. 6).

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brand, Hon. Arthur G.
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E C (S. Andrw'sB'ghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir Francis H (Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander (Lanark NE
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Johnson, John
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.)
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.

MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mitchell,Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Mooney, John J.
Morley,Rt.Hn.John(Montrose)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien,Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, William
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, SirR.Threshie(Dumfries)
Richards, Thos. (W. Monm'th)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson William Snowdon,
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott. Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R. (N'thants)
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel(Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,DavidAlfred (Merthyr)
Thompson,Dr E.C.(Monagh'nN
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills,Arthur Walters(NDorset)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir JT(Huddersf'd)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Thomas Esmonde and Captain Donelan,

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen,Augustus HenryEden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J.(Manchr')
Balfour,RtHn GeraldW(Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R.(Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach,RtHn.Sir Michael Hicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles,Lt.-Col.HF (Middlesex)
Bowles,T.Gibson (King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, Willaim James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.JA(Worc.)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb,Rt.Hn.Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A, Cameron (Glasgow)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies,Sir HoratioD(Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale,Rt.Hn.Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke,Rt.Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,RtHn SirJ.(Manc'r.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay,Sir RB.(Inv'rn'ssB'ghs.)
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, SirAugustusFrederick
Gordon, Hn J.E. (Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon,Maj Evans-(T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim

Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D.(Wednesbury
Greene, Sir EW(B'rySEdm'nds)
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
Hamilton, Rt. Hn. Ld G(M'd'sex)
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tyne'mth)
Halsam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, Sir Jas. (Staffords. N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (Som's't, E.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield Brightside)
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hon. Col. W
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks, NR
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir HE(Wigt'n
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, HC (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, RtHn JParker (Lanarks.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sh'ffi'd)
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Col. William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (T'n'ton)
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Main Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at twelve minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 22nd February, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.

Petition from Dumbartonshire, for continuance; to lie upon the Table.

SUGAR TAX.

Petitions for repeal; from Ashton-under-Lyne (two); and Nelson; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Paper [presented 21st February]; to be printed. [No. 54.]

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account [presented 21st February]; to be printed. [No. 55.]

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Copy presented, of Judicial Statistics for England and Wales, 1903, Part II. (Civil Judicial Statistics), edited by Sir John MacDonnell, C.B., LL.D., Master of the Supreme Court [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1904–5).

Estimate presented, of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 56.]

COLONIES (GENERAL).

Copy presented, of Further Papers relating to the proposed adoption of a Metric System of Weights and Measures for use within the Empire [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of a General Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland entitled the Union Accounts Order, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

HOUSE OF COMMONS (VENTILATION).

Copy presented, of Report of an Investigation of the Ventilation of the Debating Chamber of the House of Commons, and Recommendations for its Improvement, by Dr. M. H. Gordon [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CONTRACTS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES (WAGES).

Address for "Return showing—(1) for England and Wales, as regards each County Council, Town Council, Metropolitan Borough Council, Urban and Rural District Council, and Board of Guardians; (2) for Scotland, as regards each County Council, Town Council, Parish Council, and District Committee; and (3) for Ireland, as regards each County Council, Town Council, Urban District Council (not being a Town Council), Rural District Council, and Board of Guardians; whether the Contracts entered into by the Authority for the execution of works specify any conditions as to the Wages to be paid by the Contractor, or other conditions with regard to the persons employed by him; and, if so, what are the conditions so specified."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

NAVY (VESSELS STRUCK OFF EFFECTIVE LIST).

Return ordered, "of the Vessels struck off the list of Effective Ships of War, showing the name, date of completion, cost of hull, machinery, and armament, cost of repairs during the last ten years, date and cost of the last substantial repair with a view to commission, and the aggregate complement of officers and men."—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*)

NAVY (CRUISERS NOT STRUCK OFF EFFECTIVE LIST).

Return ordered, "of Protected and Unprotected Cruisers included in the Return presented to Parliament in 1904 (No. 136) which have not been struck off the list of Effective Ships, showing date of completion, cost, and aggregate complement of officers and men."—(*Mr Edmund Robertson.*)

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Ventilation of the House of Commons.

MR. WYLIE (Dumbartonshire): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, what has been done during the recess for improving the ventilation and sanitary arrangements of the House of Commons' Buildings; and what, if anything, still remains to be done to fulfil the recommendations of the Committee's Report on this subject.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) During the recess the recommendations of the Select Committee of the House of Commons with reference to the ventilation have been carried into effect, with the exception of the completion of the extract fan. This has been delayed by reason of structural difficulties incidental to the floor of the Commons Lobby Chamber, but it is expected that this fan will be running within a month from date. The principal improvements already effected are: (1) The complete washing of the air by means of a new type of water screen; (2) The erection of a much more powerful intake fan; (3) The more effective isolation of passages joining the main airways. This will be followed by experimental tests having in view the better distribution of air to the Chamber, and also by tests of the air so distributed. It is hoped that the works already completed will result in a very considerable improvement in the quantity and quality of the air supply.

Mail Delays at Portree.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that, in consequence of the steamer "Lochiel" being frequently late in her arrival at Portree, the mails for Dunvegan and Uig are delayed; and will he communicate with the contractors for this service in order that a larger and faster steamer may be provided.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I will make inquiry respecting the circumstances under which the steamer "Lochiel" has been late in arrival at Portree, and the result shall be communicated to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

Post Office and Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association.

MR. BELL (Derby): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that an officer attached to the Controller's staff has been visiting the post offices in the Eastern Central district, London, which are staffed by women, for the purpose of persuading them from joining the Postal Telegraphs Clerks' Association; and, if so, will he state if such action was taken with his sanction, and whether the women counter clerks and telegraphists suffer any disabilities from joining this organisation.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am informed that there is no foundation for the suggestion conveyed by the hon. Member's Question. If his allegation is based on any definite facts, perhaps he will communicate them to me.

Pay for Extra Duty in Excise and Inland Revenue Departments.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the fact that officers of Excise, performing duty for absent officers for whom no substitute can be provided, receive special remuneration for such duty, while clerks in the offices of the collectors of Inland Revenue under similar circumstances are expected to perform the extra duty without any remuneration, he will take steps to place the two branches on an equality in this respect.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) I am unable to undertake to do what the hon. Member suggests, as the two branches of the Inland Revenue service to which he refers do not stand on the same footing. A clerk in a collector's office is one of several, and the duties of the office as a whole have to be discharged by the staff as a whole. An officer of Excise, on the other hand, occupies an isolated position with specified duties, and any addition thereto, caused by his discharging similar duties in an adjoining station, increases his work in a distinct and definite manner.

Local Authorities' Accounts in Ireland.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in view of the protests which are being made by the public bodies of Ireland against the new Orders of the Local Government Board for the keeping of accounts, and of the statement made by officials of the Local Government Board as to the submission of draft Orders to the county councils previous to their issue, he will state the names of the county councils which considered these Orders, and also the names of the public officials who approved of them previous to their issue, and say whether the boards of guardians and rural district councils were asked for their opinions prior to their issue.

MR. WILLIAM McKILLOP (Sligo, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the names of the county councils, rural district councils, and boards of guardians in Ireland in which the accounts were presented for audit in an unsatisfactory manner owing to the deficiency of the system prescribed in 1899; and if he will point out the cause which led to the superseding of that system.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Public Bodies Order was sent to every county council and county borough council, with all of whom the Board was in correspondence prior to the issue of the Order. It was also sent to a number of the councils of the larger urban districts. Many valuable suggestions were received from the local authorities, and these have been adopted by the Board. The communications received from public officials on the subject are confidential, and it would be contrary to practice to publish their names. The Union Accounts Order was not sent in draft to boards of guardians since it contained no material alterations upon the old Order. The Board's experience of the accounts of the local authorities mentioned in the Question of the hon. Member for North Sligo pointed to the necessity of the amendments which have been made in the new Order. The accounts of these authorities were, as a rule, presented for audit as satisfactorily as the Board could have wished or expected, having regard to the fact that the old Order, made prior to the coming into operation of the Local Government Act of 1898, admittedly contained many imperfections. At various times during the past five years some of the most experienced accounting officers of the local authorities have directed the Board's attention to matters in respect of which the original Order required modifications and improvements, and there are no provisions in the new Order which are not the result of the experience gained since 1899.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that a new system of accounts was prescribed for the Poor Law Unions of Ireland in the year 1899, and acted on by all the Poor Law Boards, he will say whether there was any complaint made by any of the boards of guardians as to the insufficiency of these accounts for public requirements; and whether, seeing that some of the forms prescribed in that Order were copyrighted by a Local Government Board auditor, and that a number of the boards of guardians and district councils have protested against any departure being made in the accounts, they having gone to considerable expense by the previous Order, and being satisfied with the present system, he will, in the case of small unions whose guardians have declared in favour of an amalgamation scheme, recommend to the Local Government Board the deference of the operation of the new Orders until the question of amalgamation is settled.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The forms of the Union Accounts Order are almost identical with the old forms, and where any alterations to the headings are necessary they can be made by the clerk of the union in the existing books with very little trouble. No copyright in the forms exists and it is open to any printer to prepare books in accordance with the prescribed forms for use by Poor Law Unions. The forms of accounts could not be affected by amalgamation of unions and no advantage would be gained by suspending the operation of the Order pending the Report of the Commission.

Qualifications of Manual Instructresses and Others in Needlework.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what method is adopted by the Commissioners of Education in testing the qualifications of a manual instructress and others in needlework, and if the manager of a school is at liberty to appeal elsewhere in case he considers the decision of the Directress of Needlework unfair.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Candidates for the position of manual instructress and others who do not hold certificates of competency in needlework, are tested in needlework in the presence of one of the Board's inspectors. The worked specimens are forwarded to the Directress of Needlework for examination, and she decides whether the candidates have passed the tests and are qualified for certificates in the subjects. The manager of a school may appeal to the Commissioners should he not be satisfied with the decision of the Directress in any case.

Directress of Needlework.

Mr. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state what are the precise duties and salary attached to the position of Directress of Needlework under the Commissioners of National Education.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Directress of Needlework is charged with the general supervision of needlework instruction in national schools. She also examines and judges the specimens of needlework done by King's scholars from the training colleges at the annual examinations of candidates for the position of national teacher and manual instructress, and of pupil teachers, monitors, etc. The salary attached to the position is £150, rising by annual increments of £10 to a maximum of £200 per annum, with travelling and subsistence allowances.

Volunteer Mounted Infantry.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that in 1900 and 1901 several corps of Volunteers formed, at the direct invitation of the War Office and at considerable expense to the country for equipment, companies of mounted infantry, some of which are now at full strength and highly efficient, and if, having regard to these facts, the special capitation grant which is essential for the provision of horses and has been in force until the close of the last Volunteer year may be continued.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The Army Council have decided that the grant should be continued during the coming year, but I propose to make a further statement in regard to this matter when a suitable occasion arises in debate.

Pay of the Army.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that the United States of America find no difficulty, despite the higher pay and greater prospects of civil life therein compared to Great Britain, in obtaining annually 100,000 white candidates, between twenty-one and thirty-five years of age, from which to select 30,000 recruits, at 1s. 9d. *per diem* pay, for their regular army, and that this is attributable to the clear conditions of military service placed before the public; and if he will consider the desirability, with like object in view, of simplifying the various rates of pay in His Majesty's Service and making it clear to every youth thinking of adopting the Army as a profession what salaries it offers in the various grades, arms, and climates, clear of all stoppages and deductions for messing, clothing, equipment, sickness, or hair-cutting.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The conditions prevailing in the United States are somewhat different from those which exist in this country; but I am in full agreement with my hon. friend in thinking that it is most desirable to simplify the various rates of pay, and to make the terms and conditions of service perfectly clear to all young men who wish to join the Army. The matter is now under the consideration of the Army Council, and I am most anxious to give effect to the views of the hon. Member. The terms and conditions of service are now so advantageous that it is very important they should be fully understood.

Militia Officers.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the present difficulty in obtaining officers for the Militia, in consequence of existing doubts as to the future of the force, he can give any assurance that officers now incurring the expense incidental to joining will be permitted to retain the right to wear the uniform in the event of the abolition of their battalions.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) I am afraid that I cannot undertake to give any such pledge as that suggested in the Question, in anticipation of any measures for the re-organisation of the Militia which might involve the abolition of any battalion.

Federated Malay States.

MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Federated Malay States have ever been formally annexed by the Crown so as to officially form part of the British Empire; and, if not, whether the portion of the State revenue that is allotted to the Sultans of those States for the maintenance of their dignity can be officially designated by colonial officers as fixed salaries settled by the High Commissioner, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The Federated Malay States have not been annexed. Their relations with His Majesty's Government are determined by treaties in which the Sultans have undertaken to follow the advice of the British Residents and Resident-General in all matters of administration other than those touching the Mohammedan religion. The allowances paid to the Sultans are fixed by the High Commissioner, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and have been frequently described as "Salaries," both in official correspondence and in the Annual Estimates of the Malay States.

Protection of Trawlers on the Dogger Bank.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether arrangements have been made to afford full protection to the fishing fleet on the Dogger Bank during the passage of the Russian third Baltic Fleet through the North Sea.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) His Majesty's Government place implicit reliance on the assurance given by the Russian Government that they have taken every precaution to guard against the recurrence of such incidents as that of 21st–22nd October, and that special instructions have been issued to the whole Russian Fleet with that object.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Admiralty Yacht "Enchantress."

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the new Admiralty yacht "Enchantress" is to be remodelled and partly reconstructed by work affecting the whole interior of the ship; what is the total estimated cost of the alterations to be made in the ship and from what source is their cost to be defrayed; and what will be the total cost of the ship, including the alterations.

* THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The reply to the first part of the hon. Member's Question is No. The reply to the second part is £412, to be met from the sum provided for Repairs and Alterations to Ships in Commission and Reserve, Portsmouth Programme. The total cost of the ship, including approved alterations, is £126,753.

MR, GIBSON BOWLES: Has the last instalment been paid for the ship and has she been taken over?

* MR. PRETYMAN asked for notice of that Question.

Indian Cavalry—The Patterson Equipment.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Patterson equipment has been adopted for the Indian cavalry; and whether it will be applied to the British cavalry, seeing that the bucket appliance weighs 4 lbs. and the Patterson arrangement 12 ozs. only.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): I understand that the Patterson equipment is used by a portion of the Indian cavalry. I believe that recent reports show that there is some doubt as to whether the pattern adopted is satisfactory from the point of view of durability. As regards cavalry on the British Establishment, it has been decided not to adopt this equipment at present, as the advantages derived from its use are considered to be more than balanced by its disadvantages. I must point out that the weight of the new bucket is only 2½ lbs., and not 4 lbs. as stated in the Question. It is probable that further information with regard to the value of this equipment will shortly be received from India.

The Transvaal Loan.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has communicated with Lord Milner as to the advisability of issuing at an early date the first instalment of £10,000,000 of the Transvaal Loan; and, if so, whether he can state Lord Milner's views as to the most suitable date of issue.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I am not at present prepared to make any statement on this subject.

*MR. McCRAE: When shall we have an opportunity of getting an Answer from some member of the Government?

[No Answer was returned.]

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.): May I ask whether, apart from any reference to Lord Milner, it is intended to issue this loan?

MR. LYTTELTON: That depends upon what the Chancellor of the Exchequer says.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Will the right hon. Gentleman lay Papers dealing with the subject on the Table of the House?

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the right hon. Gentleman remember that we were promised this instalment at the beginning of 1904, and that on the faith of that assurance the House was prepared to guarantee the loan of £35,000,000.

MR. LYTTELTON: I do not admit the accuracy of that statement.

*MR. McCRAE: Can the right hon. Gentleman tell us whether the state of the revenues of the Transvaal admits of their making the annual contribution necessary?

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): Will the right hon. Gentleman lay Papers on the Table before the Budget is introduced?

MR. LYTTELTON: I cannot give a pledge on that subject.

South African Inter-Colonial Council—Railway Government.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what alterations have been made in the Railway Department of the Inter-Colonial Council in consequence of the resolutions carried at the meeting of the Council last summer; and will Papers be laid on the Table on the subject.

MR. LYTTELTON: Lord Milner informed the Inter-Colonial Council on 15th November last that of the two definite recommendations contained in the resolutions referred to, the first, namely, the appointment of an auditor with wider powers, had already been carried out, and that the second, namely, the appointment of a treasurer, had also been virtually carried out. He also stated that the main object of the recommendations as a whole, which was the establishment of an efficient system of financial control, had already in the main been effected, executive authority being centralised in the general manager subject to the Railway Committee as a Board of Control. I have recently received from Lord Milner his formal recommendations and proposals for changes as a result of the experience of the last half year, and the matter is now under my consideration. I hope to lay Papers later on.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): Who are the members of this Committee ?

MR. LYTTELTON: I cannot give the names off-hand.

MR. BUCHANAN imtimated that he would put a further Question on the subject.

Aden Frontier Force.

SIR CARNE RASCH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he can state the number of casualties in the Aden frontier force; and whether it is proposed to give a medal for the services there rendered.

MR. BRODRICK: The number of casualties among the troops employed since the beginning of 1903 in the protection of the Aden Boundary Commission is as follows:—ten killed, twenty-one wounded. It is not proposed to give a medal as the military authorities do not recommend it.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): Has the frontier force now been withdrawn ?

MR. BRODRICK: I think practically so.

Mecca Pilgrims.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, having regard to the fact that out of the 16,000 pilgrims of Egyptian nationality who have started on the pilgrimage to Mecca only 1,600 have availed themselves of Government protection by travelling with the Mahmal, will he, in view of the ill-treatment suffered by pilgrims last year when passing through Turkish Arabia, consider the expediency of communicating with the Turkish Government in order to secure some kind of protection for the pilgrims who are not accompanying the Mahmal.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): As I informed the hon. Member yesterday† matters of this kind primarily concern the Egyptian Goverment. Representations have been made to the Turkish Government, and it is hoped that there may be no further cause of complaint.

Income-Tax Appeals.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in cases of assessment for income-tax in which the persons assessed have not been notified of the sitting of the Commissioners to hear appeals, and so have become liable to levy, any machinery is available whereby the claim of the collector can be suspended pending the appeal being disposed of at next sitting.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): I am not sure that I fully understand the hon. Member's Question, and in matters of income-tax so much depends upon the precise facts of each particular case that Answers to general Questions are very apt to be misleading. But, as I read the terms of the Question, I should say that the law provides no machinery to meet the circumstances described. In practice, however, if any taxpayer finds himself in such a position, he should explain matters to the surveyor of his district. If the circumstances appear to him to warrant it, that officer will endeavour to arrange with the Commissioners that they should afford to the taxpayer an opportunity of stating his case to them. In the meantime the collector's claim would be allowed to stand over.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: In the case of a collector of taxes refusing to do this, is there any appeal against him ?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: If the hon. Member is referring to a particular case, the facts of which are not known to me, perhaps he will let me have the facts, and I will investigate them. I cannot give a general Answer upon individual cases with the circumstances of which I am not acquainted.

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† See page 773.

Volunteer Notices outside Country Post Offices.

MR. CHARLES ALLEN (Gloucestershire, Stroud): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the convenience such a concession would be, especially in country districts, he will permit the exhibition of notices of Volunteer parades and other similar orders affecting Volunteers outside post offices in Great Britain.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): In country districts the post office is, as a rule, provided by a shopkeeper and not by the Crown. In such cases I have no power to require the exhibition of notices of the kind suggested, but I should be prepared to consider any case in which the sub-postmaster is willing to exhibit them, provided that space necessary for departmental notices is not occupied. In regard to the comparatively few offices which are used solely for post office purposes, and are provided by the Department it has, on account of the demand for space, been found necessary to limit very strictly the exhibition of notices, and I regret, therefore, that I am unable to accede to the hon. Member's request. I understand, however, that these are not the cases in which the concession is required. I may add that I very much agree with the object of the hon. Member, and as far as possible I will endeavour to meet it.

Telegraphic Appointments.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a man named Soundy, after having served with the Army in South Africa and serving as a telegraphist on the temporary staff, passed the examinations and medical tests necessary for qualifying for the permanent staff in February, 1904, but has not yet received an appointment owing to a dearth of vacancies; and, if so, whether, in view of the fact that another examination for learners is announced, he will direct that Soundy, having been out of regular employment for several months, should be given an appointment before other persons are brought into the service.

LORD STANLEY: I regret that, owing to the dearth of vacancies, it has not yet been possible to appoint Mr. Soundy to the permanent staff, but I hope that temporary employment may be found for him in the meantime. The forthcoming competition for learners is intended to meet the future requirements of the Department and will in no way interfere with Mr. Soundy's appointment at as early a date as possible.

London Unemployed Relief Fund.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the resources at the disposal of the Central (Unemployed) Committee in London have become practically exhausted before they have been able to deal with more than a certain number of the cases of the genuine unemployed; and that, unless further funds are forthcoming, they will be unable to keep in employment for the full term the men already at work under their auspices; and what steps he proposes to take in order that sufficient funds may be placed at the disposal of the Central Committee with a view to tide over the present period of distress, and the interval which must necessarily elapse before the proposed statutory Central Committees can be brought into existence.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): Representations on behalf of the Central Committee have been made to me with respect to this matter, and I am giving the subject careful consideration. I cannot say more at the present moment.

Criminal Aliens in the United States.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, W.R., Cleveland); I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state what was the number of aliens in the United States sentenced for crime in each of the last five years for which the figures are available, together with the number of alien immigrants prohibited from landing in the United States, on the ground that they were criminals, in each of the same years.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I am unable to give the particulars asked for in the first part of the Question, but in 1903–4 the number of alien inmates of penal and reformatory institutions in the United States is stated to have been 9,825. The number of persons debarred from landing in the United States on the ground that they were convicts in each of the last five years were as follows:—1899–1900, 4; 1900–1901, 7; 1901–1902, 9; 1902–1903, 51; 1903–1904, 35.

Tank Engines on Passenger Trains.

MR. BELL (Derby): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will consider the advisability of appoint a Royal Commission or Departmental Committee to inquire into the question of railway companies using tank engines to run passenger trains above a certain limited speed.

MR. BELL: I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state how many cases of derailment of tank engines running passenger trains have occurred during the twenty years ending 1904; and if he will give a Return of these showing date, place of accident and railway, class of tank engine (saddle or side tanks), and the conclusions of the Board of Trade inspectors relative thereto.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I would direct the attention of the hon. Member to the report to the Board of Trade made by the Senior Inspecting Officer of Railways with reference to the accident on the Great Western Railway which occurred between Llanelly and Loughor on the 3rd ot October last. This report has recently been published, and I shall be happy to supply the hon. Member with a copy. In the concluding paragraph of the report Colonel Yorke suggests that the Associated Railway Companies should be invited to appoint an expert committee for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon the behaviour of tank engines of all types and classes under different conditions of speed. I have specially directed the attention of the Railway Association to Colonel Yorke's recommendation and have asked them to express their approval of it. I propose to await the result of any inquiry made by the railway companies themselves before considering the necessity for further action. In the meantime I will cause a Return to be prepared of the cases of derailment of tank engines drawing passenger trains that have occurred during the past twenty years and have formed the subject of inquiry by the Railway Inspecting Officers of the Board of Trade. This Return will include the particulars mentioned by the hon. Member, together with other material information so far as available. To give the total number of derailments without these particulars would not, I am advised, be useful, and might be misleading.

Exclusion of Canadian Cattle from the United Kingdom.

MR. BUCHANAN I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether he can now state whether a reply has been sent by the Government to the recent despatch of the Dominion Government on the exclusion of Canadian cattle; and whether, in view of the importance of the subject and the official statement just issued by the Agent-General for the Dominion, he will lay the correspondence upon the Table of the House.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to refer him to the written Answers which were given to the similar Questions addressed to me by the hon. Member for Dundee on Monday last,† with a copy of which I shall be glad to supply him. In the opinion of my noble friend the Papers are not of sufficient importance to justify their being laid upon the Table of the House, but I shall be glad to show them to the hon. Member that he may assure himself that they contain nothing which has not already appeared in the Press.

MR. BUCHANAN: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that this misunderstanding on the part of the Canadian Government was due to a speech delivered by the President of the Board of Agriculture, and is it not right that their disclaimer as well as the letter of the President of the Board should be published?

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† See page 591.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: It is perfectly true it has arisen from some misunderstanding, and I will consult the President and see if he is willing the Papers should be laid.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.); Will the hon. Gentleman give an undertaking that Canadian cattle shall be kept out for the next seventy years.

[No Answer was returned.]

The Green Park.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, what is the estimated cost of the construction of the road or path sixty-five feet wide now being made across the Green Park from the Victoria Memorial to Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, and from what source will that cost be defrayed; is this path required for traffic across the park, and, if not, for what other object is it being constructed; has any public body been consulted as to the necessity for the path; and will this House have any opportunity, either on the Estimates or otherwise, of expressing an opinion on the removal, from the smallest of the parks, of nearly one acre of grass and the substitution for it of either gravel or pavement.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): The estimated cost is £4,000. The cost of construction is being met by the Mansion House Committee for the Unemployed and by a contribution by the Queen Victoria Memorial Committee. There will be no charge on public funds. The path is an essential part of the scheme sanctioned by the First Commissioner and by the Queen Victoria Memorial Committee for the approaches to the Memorial. It is proposed to turf over several existing paths and restore the space occupied by them to the grass surface of the park. The possibility of a discussion of the matter in the House of Commons is a question rather for the Leader of the House than for the Department.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: There will be no Estimate?

LORD BALCARRES replied in the affirmative.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON asked whether the enormous amount of brick-work under the path was necessary for the drainage of a pathway.

LORD BALCARRES: I have made no further inquiry into the matter. My Answer that it is for drainage purposes holds good.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES asked whether there was not a danger that in process of time the path would be turned into a roadway.

[No Answer was returned.]

Teaching of Domestic Economy in Schools.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate, having regard to the fact that the Committee on Physical Deterioration, in their Report issued last year, express the opinion that instruction in cookery, hygiene, and domestic economy should, as far as possible, be made compulsory on the elder girls at school, will the Secretary for Scotland consider the expediency of giving effect to this recommendation by the issue of an amendment to the present Education Code.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): I am in reply to refer the hon. Member to the Answers given to his Questions of 16th March, 1904, † and 25th April, 1904, ‡ addressed to the Secretary for Scotland. I have nothing to add to these replies.

Irish Evicted Tenants.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will grant a Return giving the following particulars as to evicted tenants reinstated by the Estates Commissioners under the Act of 1903; total number of evicted tenants reinstated up to 31st, December 1904; name of each tenant; name of estate from which he had been evicted; area, former rent, and valuation of farm; county and townland where farm is situated; whether tenant was reinstated in farm from which he had been evicted or provided with new farm; full particulars in either case of the terms under which the tenant was reinstated, showing amount of annuity; and whether reinstatement was carried out in connection with or independently of sale of estate from which tenant had been evicted.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxi., 1257.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxxiii., 1053.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): I am consulting with the Commissioners as to the desirability of furnishing the information in the form suggested.

Galbraith Estate, North Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any application has yet been made to the Estates Commissioners for the purchase, as a congested estate, of the Galbraith property, in North Longford.

MR. WYNDHAM: No such application has yet been made.

Longford Evicted Tenants.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many applications from evicted tenants for restoration under the Land Purchase Act, 1903, have been received from county Longford; and whether any steps have been taken, or are being taken, by the Estates Commissioners to acquire grazing lands in that county for the purpose of providing homes for these tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM: Eighty-six, of whom eight were outside the provisions of Section 2 of the Act. Four evicted tenants have been reinstated, and the Commissioners are now making inquiries in respect of the acquisition of untenanted lands in the county.

Kingston Estate, Mitchelstown.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have under consideration certain agreements to purchase their holdings obtained from the tenants on the Kingston Estate, Mitchelstown, and if, before a final sanction is given to those agreements, an inquiry will be made into the circumstances under which they were entered into; and if he will state whether any application to divide the estate into sections has been made; and, if so, what decision have the Estates Commissioners arrived at in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: Four hundred and twenty-five agreements have been lodged with the Commissioners. The vendor has also lodged originating applications to have the lands declared five separate estates for the purposes of sale. No decision has been arrived at by the Commissioners. I see no necessity for suggesting any special course to them in respect of this estate.

Limerick Rural Postman's Dismissal.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General, is he aware that a man named Edmond Keane was employed from October, 1890, to May, 1904, as rural postman between Knockling and Herbertstown, county Limerick; and that he was dismissed or suspended; if so, will he say on what charge or charges did such dismissal take place, seeing that he was not formally charged; will he explain why he did not receive wages from 28th May, 1904, to 7th August following; and will he get any compensation for his services during that period, or will his fourteen years service entitle him to any compensation, as he was not found guilty of any misdeed.

LORD STANLEY: Edmond Keane, late a rural postman between Knockling and Herbertstown, county Limerick, was dismissed in August last, as I considered that he was not a fit person to be retained in the service. Keane was appointed a rural postman in April, 1891, after he had been an acting rural postman since July, 1890. He was suspended from duty on the 28th of May last, and, following the general rule in such cases, no payment on account of wages after the date of suspension has been made.

The circumstances in which his connection with the Post Office terminated preclude the possibility of obtaining for him any award under the Superannuation Acts.

Irish National School Plans.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the Estimates, under Plan VI. A, for the erection of national schools in Ireland have yet been altered; and, if not, when action will be taken on this matter.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY of the TREASURY (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.): No decision has yet been arrived at, but I will endeavour to expedite the settlement of the question.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: May I point out that this matter has now been under consideration for six years.

Sir Antony MacDonnell.

Mr. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if it is intended to continue in Sir Antony MacDonnell, as Under-Secretary, special and extraordinary powers beyond the usual rights of Civil servants.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): In my view it would be unconstitutional in the highest degree to give any Under-Secretary extraordinary powers such as could not be exercised by other Civil servants. But it is quite constitutional for a Minister, when inviting some one outside the Civil Service to become an Under-Secretary, to assure him that he will be treated on terms of the utmost confidence and be given full licence to lay before his chief schemes which he conceives to be for the advantage of the interests committed to the Department. My hon. friend may rest assured that there is no chance of these powers being again exceeded owing to misunderstandings such as those which were dealt with in recent debates.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): If my memory serves me rightly, the right hon. Gentleman said last night that he had no objection to lay on the Table the conditions of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment, and the Chief Secretary on another occasion said the same thing. But the two positives appear now to make a negative.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman is misrepresenting me, unintentionally.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Seeing that so much turns on it, will the right hon. Gentleman lay on the Table the Papers which passed when Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: There is a Question on the subject, addressed to my right hon. friend, standing on the Paper for to-morrow. I have not had time yet to consult with him in connection with the subject of the interruptions in last night's debate. I have made myself acquainted with the fact that there were letters which did pass between the Chief Secretary and Sir Antony MacDonnell; but they were private letters, and I am not sure that anything would be gained by laying them on the Table.

Mr. LONSDALE: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether Sir Antony MacDonnell's position is still a transitory one.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that when Sir Antony MacDonnell took the place his view distinctly was that he took it as a temporary appointment. He is an Indian Civil servant primarily, and he did not intend to devote the remainder of his official career to Ireland. It was understood to be a temporary appointment both by Sir Antony MacDonnell and by the Government; and I have no reason to believe that he, any more than the Government, has changed his mind.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Has he been asked to give up his appointment?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir.

MR. WHITLEY: Is it not a Rule of the House that when a Minister quotes from a document that document should be laid before the House?

*MR. SPEAKER: Yes, unless the Minister is in a position to state that it is not to the advantage of the public service that the document should be produced. Unless he states that, he can be called upon to produce the document which he quotes. I am answering the Question generally. I do not remember precisely what passed on the occasion referred to.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Is the Chief Secretary prepared to state that the production of these documents would be prejudicial to the public service? And, if not, will he produce them?

MR. WYNDHAM: I did not quote from them. [Cries of "Oh."] I did not. I had not the documents in my possession.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: They will not listen to the explanations which they ask for.

MR. WYNDHAM: Two letters passed. I had not copies of those letters; and Sir Antony MacDonnell was kind enough to furnish me with the points on which we had agreed.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: May I ask, Sir, whether the technical point taken by the right hon. Gentleman—that he did not quote the exact words—satisfies the Rule of the House? May I ask whether, when the right hon. Gentleman, without giving the words, professes to give the substance of a document, he is not making a quotation which necessitates the production of the document?

MR. SPEAKER: I must decline to answer a general Question of that kind in general terms. My attention ought to have been called at the moment to the circumstances and to the language used by the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): As to the temporary character of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment, is it not the fact that within the last month he has resigned his appointment on the India Council? In view of that fact, will the right hon. Gentleman state what the character of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment as Under-Secretary now is, as it is an appointment independent of the Government?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Under-Secretary for Ireland is not independent of the Government.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: He is independent of Party Government. He does not go out with the Government.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): Does the Under-Secretary hold his appointment under the Treasury Minutes?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, certainly.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): Are we to understand from the right hon. Gentleman's answer that the terms of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment have been altered?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware that the legal terms [Cries of "Oh"] have been altered, unless an alteration is implied in the general statement that Sir Antony MacDonnell is subject to the ordinary Civil Service regulations.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the conditions on which Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed have been modified or varied?

After some conference with Mr. A. J. BALFOUR,

Mr. WYNDHAM rose to reply.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: You might as well tell the truth at once.

Mr. WYNDHAM resumed his seat.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I rise to order, Sir. I wish to know whether such expressions are to be permitted in this House.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member may have intended only to ask for the whole facts, but he has put his Question in language which conveyed an offensive imputation, and which ought to be withdrawn.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: I hope the House will allow me to apologise for putting the Question in that form. I did not mean it in that sense. What I meant was that the Government might as well tell the whole truth at once, instead of having it dragged from them piecemeal.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I accept the hon. and learned Member's retraction of what I considered to be an offensive insinuation. But the Question is not clear to me. Are the terms of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment altered? No, I do not think they are.

Mr. DALZIEL: May I ask whether the statement of Lord Lansdowne that the ordinary rules do not apply to Sir Antony MacDonnell still holds?

*Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman can answer that if he wishes, but I may point out that this is becoming a general debate.

Mr. BLAKE (Longford, S.): Inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman said that the Question was not clear to him, would it be permissible to ask whether those conditions which were stipulated between Sir Antony MacDonnell and the right hon. Gentleman, as explained by him in the House the other day, have been in any way modified or varied?

Mr. WYNDHAM: It is not possible for me to divest myself of any shred of responsibility by this appointment. When I exchanged private letters with Sir Antony MacDonnell I had been a Cabinet Minister for a fortnight; and I was not as well aware as I am now as to how far the responsibility to this House may carry a Minister. He may have to answer twenty or thirty Questions a day on minute facts which are not before him. I have pointed out to Sir Antony MacDonnell, and he has quite agreed with me, that, in view of the criticisms to which my Department has been subjected during the last three or four weeks, it was necessary for me to see any matter which was likely to be the subject of debate in this House. If that is a modification of the appointment, then it is one in conformity with my constitutional responsibility to the House of Commons.

Alleged Shooting of Workmen's Leaders at Warsaw.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government has any official information concerning the shooting, without trial, of 120 workmen's leaders by Russian troops in Warsaw; and whether His Majesty's Government has made, or intend making, representations to the Russian Government upon the methods by which the authorities have met the workpeople's claims for improved conditions of employment and for the concession of political reforms.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It is obviously impossible for His Majesty's Government to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: Have the Government received any official information of the kind I have mentioned?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: We have received no confirmation of the story. But the matter is evidently outside the province of the Government, and, if I may say so, outside the province of this House.

Underfed School Children.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been drawn to the exhaustion of the funds for the provision of free meals to destitute school children in Manchester and elsewhere; and whether, since the destitution is as great as ever, the Government proposes introducing on an early day a measure to enable the education authorities to provide the cost of such meals out of the rates.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Such information as I have received from Manchester does not show that these funds to which the hon. Member refers are exhausted. The Answer to the second part of the Question is in the negative.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): If we show that such conditions exist in London, will the Government arrange to give some temporary assistance?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is an entirely different Question from the one on the Paper.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): Has the right hon. Gentleman considered the Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee on this point?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not prepared to make any statement of policy in answer to supplementary Questions. If we have any measures to propose, they should be formally submitted.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: Are these starving children to be allowed to perish of hunger in their thousands because His Majesty's Government refuse to give the local authorities power to supply them with food?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: According to such information as I have been able to obtain that is not the case in Manchester. If His Majesty's Government were to bring forward a measure such as the hon. Member suggests it could not deal with the existing situation, or be operative for weeks and months.

THE HOME RULE AMENDMENT DIVISION.

*MR. C. R. SPENCER (Northamptonshire, Mid.) called the attention of the Speaker to a discrepancy in the record of the division which took place the previous night in the "Votes and Proceedings." On one page the Ayes were given as 236 and the Noes as 286; and on another page the Noes numbered only 285. Could that be rectified?

*MR. SPEAKER replied that unless some report was made to him by the Tellers, showing that there was an error, he must accept their report as it stood. In all cases where a discrepancy of this description occurred it was more probable that a Clerk in the division lobby had omitted to tick off the name of an hon. Member than that the Tellers had erred.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) asked leave to move the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, "The present conditions under which Sir Antony MacDonnell holds the office of Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland."

*MR. SPEAKER: Is not that the same question as the one debated yesterday?

MR. JOHN REDMOND: With great respect, Mr. Speaker, the question was incidentally mentioned in the debate yesterday, and also in Questions put to the House. I would not have attempted to move this Motion were it not that the Government have practically declined to produce the documents referred to by the Chief Secretary, documents which I understood him to say in his speech he personally had no objection to produce. In addition, I would not have moved it were not statements made at the Table to-day that there had been some variation in the terms and conditions of the appointment. I respectfully submit that I am quite in order in asking permission to move the adjournment.

*MR. SPEAKER: Although I have some doubts about it, I do not feel justified in taking the responsibility on myself of refusing the Motion.

The leave of the House not having been given, Mr. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen,

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, until the Evening Sitting this day.

NEW BILLS.

SMALL DWELLINGS (ACQUISITION) BILL.

"To amend the provisions of The Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899," presented by Sir Thomas Wrightson; supported by Mr. Claude Hay, Mr. Graham, Mr. Peel, Sir Alfred Hickman, Captain Jessel, Mr. Moon, Mr. Pike Pease, Mr.

Jesse Collings, and Mr. Griffith-Boscawen; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 5th April, and to be printed. [Bill 51.]

PURCHASE OF LAND (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

"To provide facilities for the sale of Land to occupying tenants and others in England and Wales," presented by Mr. Jesse Collings; supported by Sir John Dorington, Mr. Spear, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Sir Lewis Molesworth, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, Mr. William Mitchell, and Colonel Pryce-Jones; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 52.]

CHARTERED SOCIETIES BILL.

"To provide for the further protection of Chartered Societies," presented by Sir John Rolleston; supported by Sir Francis Evans, Mr. Alban Gibbs, Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Mr. Charles Seely, and Sir James Woodhouse; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd March, and to be printed. [Bill 53.]

SALMON FISHERIES (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts," presented by Sir Henry Seton-Karr; supported by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Sir Robert Penrose-Fitzgerald, Mr. Grenfell, Captain Bagot, and Colonel Nolan; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 54.]

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

*CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.), in bringing forward the Motion which stood in his name on the Paper expressed his firm belief that if it were not for the strength of Party ties a large proportion of hon. Members opposite would vote for it, and few, if any, of the Service Members would fail to give it their support. He made that statement because, for the last ten years, members of the Service Committee had year after year brought under the notice of the Government many shortcomings of the Army and many matters in which it was deficient as regarded its efficiency for the defence of the Empire. After these ten years the position of the Army was such that it had been described by the Secretary for War as being in a condition which constituted a grave danger to the Empire. It was in that condition, in his opinion, because professional advice had been disregarded in order to gain a Party advantage, and the result was chaos in the War Office and discontent in the ranks of His Majesty's land forces, and that in spite of the fact that they had had in succession as Secretaries for War three capable men, all of whom had had considerable experience in Army matters prior to accepting office. They also had been assisted by two of the most experienced and most distinguished of British officers, and the last Secretary for War had been aided and abetted by a Council of distinguished soldiers.

He had said that this condition of affairs had been produced because the well-being of the Army had been made subservient to political considerations, and he now desired to show the result of continuous and continuing changes with respect to the Army, coupled with negligence and mismanagement. For the first four of the ten years to which he had referred a certain military policy was pursued, and it was held that we should always have two Army Corps complete in every respect and ready for service beyond the seas and, in addition, sufficient seasoned and trained men to supply our garrisons in India and elsewhere, and to furnish forces in this country to defend it against raids during the temporary absence of, or during temporary mishaps to, our Navy. The present Government were responsible for the well-being of the Army for nearly four years, and when the war took place what occurred? He was told personally over and over again by the Secretary for War that these two Army Corps were ready in every detail, though he pointed out several details in which they were defective, and when the war broke out and one Army Corps had been mobilised and a fraction of another, the remaining portion of the two Army Corps was found to be deficient in almost every respect. In this matter hon. Members who had seen a little mote in the eye of the Liberal Government with reference to cordite failed to see the beam in their own eye with reference to the shortage of guns. He need only instance one item to illustrate that point. The Inspector-General of Ordnance said he found that there were 326 machine guns deficient in the authorised number. He hoped that no attempt would be made that day, as had been frequently done by politicians, to shelter themselves behind the soldiers, these unfortunate soldiers being absolutely under their thumb. What occurred in regard to that particular question? Lord Wolseley, a man who had done great service to the country in his time, for years prior to the South African War did all he could to induce the Government to bring the Army up to that standard which they themselves had laid down as necessary, and he had failed. In 1896 he pointed out the insufficiency of the garrison in South Africa, and his advice was ignored. In 1897 he proposed that the Army should be brought up to the standard which they themselves had laid down and he was refused. In 1899 he asked that some of the field artillery should be placed on the higher establishment, and again he was refused. A little later on in the same year he suggested that one Army Corps should be fully mobilised on Salisbury Plain in order that it might be completely ready for transport over the seas, and so that any defects found to exist might be supplied. No notice was taken of his advice for political reasons, because the foolish and despicable game of "bluff" was then being carried on, in order to suit political considerations. Then the Intelligence Department furnished the Government with very valuable and accurate advice with reference to the Boer Republics. That also was ignored, and, in fact, everything that could have placed the Army in a position to do its duty in the South African War was ignored. He would not refer to the humiliating period when disaster followed disaster and when many gallant young men went from this country like sheep to the slaughter because we had defective guns, because we were defective in material of all kinds. He would not refer to that period because, in his opinion, it was burnt into the hearts of all young men of this generation, and they would never forget the fact that the great Imperialist Party failed to think Imperially in reference to the Army, and left us in so sad a state that we had to put more than a quarter of a million of men into the field, and to spend nearly £300,000,000 of money, in order to fight 60,000 or 70,000 Boer farmers.

He would now proceed to deal with what followed after the South African War. They were then given to understand that they would have real Army reform, and they were told by the Secretary of State for War that two Army Corps had been found insufficient, and that in future we were to have three Army Corps completely ready, when mobilised, for service beyond the seas, and three other Army Corps to supplement them for home defence. That scheme was based upon the full and complete acknowledgment of the value and efficiency of the Auxiliary Forces. But before a very long period had elapsed the scheme vanished into thin air, and the same right hon. Gentleman came forward with a new scheme of Army reform based upon the destruction of our great constitutional force, the Militia, and the dismemberment and disorganisation of our great Volunteer force. This scheme was based upon the ignoring altogether of the Auxiliary Forces. It was a very extraordinary political somersault, and he would like to give one instance of that constant change which brought about both neglect and mismanagement He referred to the question of the arming of our artillery. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean stated in the House that we had no quick-firing guns, and pressed the necessity for those guns on the Government. The Service Members sent a special deputation to the Prime Minister urging upon him the importance of this matter, and reminding him of the fact that France was at that time armed, and most of the other European countries were arming themselves, with guns which would fire from eighteen to twenty rounds per minute, as compared with the two or three rounds which our guns could fire. In spite of that fact, and in spite of the fact that the Government were offered by the French at that time a quick-firing gun which was almost equal to their present magnificent quick-firing gun, nothing was done, and the offer of the French was declined, the result being realised in the South African campaign. It was also shown in the course of that war that we had only 108 field guns in this country, or, in other words, not sufficient to arm a force of 40,000 men. Therefore we were deficient, during a time of war, both in the number and in the character of the guns. The late Secretary of State for War, in the House of Commons on March 9th, 1901, said it was obvious that our artillery was insufficient, and yet no more guns were ordered, nor were any steps taken to order them. He said further that they proposed to give guns to the Militia and Volunteers, and intended to rely on the Volunteer batteries in each of three large Army Corps. The Committee which was appointed in 1901 decided very rightly on having 18½-pounder field guns and 12½-pounder horse artillery guns, but before making their Report they were allowed to delay its issue for the space of two-and-a-half years. He said advisedly they were "allowed" to do so. What took place on April 14th 1904, when it was shown that the guns were required? Were they ordered? No, nine months were allowed to elapse without their being ordered. Possibly some right hon. Gentleman would stand up on the Ministerial Benches and say they had ordered some guns. It was true that some horse artillery guns were ordered for India. Some twenty-one batteries were ordered, but they were for India, and had nothing to do with the gunning of our troops in this country and elsewhere. The Prime Minister had had the audacity to state that there had been no delay either in the designing or in the construction of the new gun. But, as against that, they had the fact that six years ago it was known that there was a great deficiency in the number of guns as well as in the quality, and four years were allowed to elapse before 160 batteries were ordered, and that was in face of the fact that the late Secretary of State for War had said that the Government would not shrink from their duty. But they had shrunk from ordering guns last year, because they knew perfectly well it would entail putting an extra £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 into the Budget, and because the great Imperialist Party shirked going to the constituencies. They were, in fact, afraid to face their constituents and let them understand that with our resources in coal and iron and skilled labour they had not only failed for four years to supply us with guns, but that for two years to come, as they acknowledged, we must remain in that degrading position. So it would take six years from the time they first acknowledged that we were short of guns before the Army was re-armed, whereas Germany was able to arm its entire army in two years. Was it to be wondered at, then, that the Commission reported they were not satisfied that enough had been done to place matters on a better footing in the event of any contingency?

As with the guns, so with the rifles — a subject which he hoped to find another opportunity of going into more fully. A Committee was appointed; but instead of the members receiving a free hand to produce the best rifle they could for the infantry, they were told to produce the best rifle they could, subject to its being five inches shorter in the barrel than the weapon used by the infantry of any other army in the world. It was something like telling a watchmaker to produce a watch that would be a good timekeeper under all climatic conditions, with the proviso it should lack a compensating balance. These rifles, in consequence of the variety of experiments made in connection with them, cost the country £14 apiece. The rifles which were knocked about in South Africa were being converted at a cost of £2 5s. They originally cost £2 12s., so that now the country was paying £4 17s. for a second-hand rifle, when a brand new one of the best quality could be obtained for about £3 10s. With all these extravagances, was it to be wondered at that the Army Expenditure amounted to £46,000,000? Yet the present state of the Army, as the Secretary of State for War said, constituted a danger to the country.

The same waste of money took place with regard to barracks. Close upon a million had been spent on barracks on Salisbury Plain, about another million would be required, and when they were finished we had no troops to go into them. Then, again, there was a shameful waste of money in connection with the Indian reliefs and with the silly and senseless system of recruiting. He hoped some hon. Member who knew more about finance would develop the argument as to our immense expenditure without value. For four years there had been great neglect on the part of the Government. That was followed by mess and muddle for two years, then came the Army Corps scheme, by which the Prime Minister said he would stand or fall, although, incidentally, he might mention that the right hon. Gentleman did neither. Following that was the "clean slate" policy in 1903, and now a further fifteen months had elapsed the Prime Minister, who was an expert juggler in these matters, had made the discovery that the problem of the British Army was the problem of the defence of Afghanistan. The Prime Minister stood convicted out of his own mouth of what he might call an unpatriotic neglect of duty with reference to the Army. Never in the history of the nation had the Army been in a worse position to defend Afghanistan. The Secretary of State for War once told them that troops required two years home training in order to fit them for India. But never was there a period when men were so difficult to obtain for Indian service, and last year 4,000 men were sent out under a three years term of engagement. The Indian military and civil authorities protested against that on account of the excessive expense, and the Home Exchequer agreed in consequence to pay a portion of the cost. The highest military authorities agreed that, in the event of war on the North-West Frontier, in addition to the 70,000 British troops already in India, we should require to send 150,000 men from this country; and while the war lasted we should have to send 200,000 men annually to meet the wastage of war. How did the Cabinet intend to meet this difficulty? Did their scheme provide for the necessary number of long-service men, matured and trained, to meet the requirements of the striking force and the Indian reliefs? They could not get the necessary recruits. In 1902 they obtained something like 51,000 recruits, and there were lost during the first year by death, desertion, discharge, and so forth, nearly 50 per cent. As 50 per cent. were lost, the payment per man, instead of £94, became in fact £188. That was an instance of direct wastage. What did the Government scheme propose to do to meet the difficulty? It proposed to reduce the Army Expenditure by about £1,000,000 sterling out of £46,000,000, and to reduce the Army by 140,000 men! That was how the Prime Minister was going to solve the question of the defence of Afghanistan!

Then there was the question of these huge barracks; the idea that they could not have discipline without barracks was a very fallacious one. In the Metropolitan Police they had a splendid force and the railway workers were a fine body of men, all well disciplined, and yet they did not live in barracks. The proposal now made meant the reduction of the Volunteer force by 50,000 men in order to save £300,000. It was proposed to practically destroy the Militia, and the Auxiliary Forces were to be almost wiped out under this scheme of Army reform, although their total cost was only £4,500,000. He did not know what hon. Members opposite thought of such a state of things. For ten years the Party opposite had had the management of the Army, and they had made two or three attempts at Army reform. Were they now prepared to give the Government another chance in this matter? He hoped the facts he was putting before the House were not unpleasant to the Secretary of State for War, for he noticed that he was covering up his ears. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"]

During the past ten years the expenditure upon the Army had been unprecedented, and even now they were to remain over two years longer with obsolete guns and defective rifles, and at the same time the Reserve and Auxiliary Forces were dwindling to such an extent that they were becoming the by-word of all the countries of Europe.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight) said that he seconded this Amendment in no Party spirit, because he believed that the state of the Army at the present moment was a danger to the country, and his only desire was to get this matter put right as soon as possible. The mover of this Motion had laid down three main propositions. In the first place, he said that the state of our artillery was a national danger, and therefore it behoved the House to express its condemnation of those who were responsible for this state of things. In this matter of the guns the responsibility rested with the Prime Minister and the Cabinet and not so much with the Secretary of State for War. The second proposition raised by his hon. and gallant friend was that nothing had been done to remedy the defects brought forward by the hon. and gallant Member for Whitby, namely, the fact that the chief danger was not the administration of the question of how many generals or Army Corps they should have, but the more important question of how they were going to get the best men of the nation to serve in the ranks of the Army instead of getting only that part of the population which was incapable of withstanding the hardships of a campaign. The third proposition put forward was that for lack of sympathetic treatment they had allowed the Volunteer force to dwindle away. The hon. and gallant Member also laid down the proposition that upon the Volunteers alone could they rely for the defence of this country in the event of war.

With regard to the guns, he contended that it was impossible for this country to go to war with any European Power at the present time without almost the certainty of defeat. A war involved a battle preceded by an artillery duel. During the next eighteen months, as far as our forces were concerned, a battle would not mean an artillery duel but a massacre, for it would end in our gunners being shot without the least possibility of their replying. It was no good the right hon. Gentleman saying that he was not responsible, because the crime that had been actually committed was one which was capable of very exact condemnation. The difference between quick-firing guns and the guns which this country had got was a difference not of degree, but of kind. The quick-firing gun was quite a new thing, and it was invented in 1897 by the French. By its use they could fire twenty shots a minute, whilst the guns this country possessed would only fire two or three shots a minute. Certain definite changes in artillery had come about with the introduction of the quick-firing gun, which had made as much difference in guns as the difference between a motor-car and a four-wheeled cab. They would have just about as much chance of winning an artillery duel with their present guns against the quick-firing guns of a Continental Power as a four-wheeled cab would have of winning the Gordon-Bennett Cup. This country alone, of all the nations in the world, allowed this matter to drift until December 29th last year. The Secretary of State for War would no doubt say that he had given the order for these guns, but this would not save him or the Cabinet from their responsibility. What they required was a reply to the question why, if they had gone to war the other day, or if they happened to go to war during the next year and a half, they were bound to be smashed and pulverised by the Artillery of every Continental Power. Was it not a fact that they could have obtained a quick-firing gun, firing twenty shots a minute, from private firms in this country or on the Continent so long ago as five and a half years. He defied contradiction of that statement. No, they had still eighteen months to wait during which they must submit to every insult from every foreign Power or risk defeat in every single battle It might be said that the guns having been ordered there was nothing more to do in the matter, but the House possessed the function of condemning those who had not done their duty in this matter.

The Prime Minister had landed them into this extraordinary position of unpreparedness, and if the House wished to retain its power and see that its money was well spent hon. Members should express their condemnation of those who had so grossly abused the power which had been given them in regard to this matter. He would like the right hon. Gentleman to tell them why they were defenceless and why every foreign Power, including such Powers as Roumania, Bulgaria, Norway, Sweden and Argentina, had armed themselves with quick-firing guns before they were adopted by this country.

With regard to the Regular Army nothing had been done to cure the grave mismanagement resulting from our present system of enlistment. Two years ago the Member for Whitby pointed out that there were two British armies, one which went to war and the other which stayed behind because it was inefficient, and he pointed out that they were almost equal in size. The reason was apparent, because if they enlisted men under the present system and in the present state of the labour market, all they were able to get was the residuum of the population and the unsuccessful. He had been told by recruiting officers that 50, 60, and 70 per cent. of the men who presented themselves did so because they were hungry. He had heard it said that it was desirable that an occupation should be found for the less efficient, but, after all, the worst thing to do was to take them into the Army, because they were not only a curse to the more efficient, but also a curse to the country. Disease and sorrow flowed from this method of enlistment, and until the elimination of this method took place those struggles and sorrows must continue. Nothing had been done to face the real problem of enlistment. What they ought to do was to devote their minds to the real problem of how to get the best men into the Army.

There was an indictment he wished to make, not only against the Government, but also against the present Secretary of State for War, who had done a great disservice to this country, because there had recently been a culmination of the follies perpetrated by them with regard to the Volunteers and the Auxiliary Forces. The Volunteers were dwindling away, and why was there shortage of officers and men in the Volunteer corps? Why was it that this shortage existed? Principally and mainly as the culmination of the folly of discouraging these people. The Secretary of State for War said he desired to reduce their numbers and that statement seemed to him to be a condemnation of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman. What did it amount to? Why were hon. and gallant Members Volunteer officers? It was not because they liked it, but because they conceived it to be their duty. If they were told that there were more Volunteers than were necessary, every officer would begin to wonder why he should take all this trouble in the matter. Every officer, since the moment the Secretary of State for War made that extraordinary statement, had found it difficult to recruit men. The Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition had laid down the principle that it was upon the Volunteers they had to look as the only school of arms they possessed, and that they must rely upon them in any war which was worthy of the name. In 1903 the Prime Minister pointed out that the Regular Army could do nothing but commence any campaign, and after that they had to rely upon the patriotism of the people. In the year 1894 or 1895 the Prime Minister said that the vigorous growth of Volunteers was one of the most encouraging signs of the times. They only needed to look back to the last time they went to war in order to see how true all this was. The South African War was the smallest war they were ever likely to be engaged in for it was a war against some 80,000 farmers. During that campaign he had to command men in the field who did not know one end of the rifle from the other, and there were other hon. Members of the House who had to command men who had never been taught to shoot. As a consequence of this they had to suffer the great humiliation of the loss of a British general and nearly all his men, who were captured by the enemy. They had to consider really whether in point of fact the Volunteers were really of any use. As to that point, he trusted that the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield, if he took part in the debate, would read one or two extracts from a pamphlet he prepared giving the opinion of the Regular officers who served in South Africa. The best way to test whether men were valuable soldiers or not was the actual test of war and the test of an actual battle. He had in his possession the first order of one of the divisions of the troops in South Africa, issued after many months of an arduous campaign in which many thousand men were engaged on both sides and many losses were sustained. There were in the division to which he alluded about 1,000 Auxiliaries, the total number of men being about 10,000. The Lieut.-General's order was issued in the Orange Free State after four months of hard labour in the field. The first two names appearing on the list were two Guards belonging to the Grenadiers and the Scots Guards. For Distinguished Service in the Field the order contained eleven names, and the first four out of those eleven belonged to this despised Auxiliary Force which they were now going to reduce, and which it was said were not fit to meet Continental troops. Those names were put down not for publication or with any idea that they were to be quoted in the House, but simply in the ordinary way of routine military business as recommendations for Distinguished Service in the Field. He happened to know those four men, and he knew how they got their training, and if the Secretary of State for War had his way and was allowed to reduce the redundant units, two out of those four names would have been abolished as being redundant. If they looked facts squarely in the face they would see that what they wanted was to be able to obtain vast numbers of men. It was possible that they might require 500,000 men, and how were they going to get them under the present system? In an Answer which the right hon. Gentleman gave to a Question two days ago he said that he did not now propose to reduce the Vote for the Volunteers. He had, however, already achieved this result, and the numbers continued to dwindle. The Volunteer service was a very delicate thing, and if this force was told that their services were not required, or that they only wanted a smaller number, the whole force might vanish like a dream. The true function of the Secretary of State for War was to take from every man what he could give in the way of military service, encourage every man to give something, and pay as much as they could afford to the men for their loss of time. Above everything they ought to encourage every man to give something, however little. He commended that principle to the Secretary of State for War, who, by his action, had ignored this principle. The Prime Minister stated that he relied upon the skill and patriotism of the people in the last resource, but the action of the War Office and the Secretary of State for War tended to reduce the military skill in the country, to sap their patriotism and discourage their military endeavours by telling them that they were not wanted. In the matter of guns they had undoubtedly left the country defenceless for another eighteen months. He hoped the House would look this matter fairly in the face and realise how great were the evils which might arise from this negligence. He hoped the House would assert its power and take away from the Government in this matter the power which they had so grossly abused.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly to represent to Your Majesty that the continuous and continuing changes in the War Office are destructive of the best interests of Your Majesty's Army, have gravely disordered the system upon which the regular forces at Home and Abroad are raised and trained, have discouraged the Militia and Volunteers, and disclose negligence and mismanagement on the part of Your Majesty's Ministers, more particularly as to the armament of the Artillery, whereby, in spite of the increased cost of the Army, its efficiency for the defence of the Empire has been diminished.'"—*Captain Norton*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) said there was a great deal in the speech of the hon. Member for the Isle of Wight with which he cordially agreed, especially with regard to the Volunteer force, to which branch of the service he intended to confine his remarks. It would be difficult to put the matter better than it had been put by the seconder of the Amendment. Everybody knew the difficulties with which the Volunteer force had had to contend since its re-establishment in 1859—difficulties which had been put in its way, not by one Government more than another, or by one set of military advisers more than another—and it was entirely by the perseverance and determination of the Volunteers themselves that the force was still alive and had been able to render to the country services which had been recognised by every Commander-in-Chief and by all the generals who had Volunteers under them in the recent campaign in South Africa. That war entirely dispelled any illusions which might have prevailed as to whether or not Volunteers would be fit for service in the field should the necessity arise, as over 36,000 came forward in one capacity or another, and, so far as he had been able to ascertain, not a single unfavourable report was made upon their conduct in the field. That they rendered considerable service in a time of great necessity could not be disputed.

CAPTAIN JESSEL (St. Pancras, S.) asked whether the hon. and gallant Member was referring to Volunteers pure and simple, or included also the Yeomanry.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT said he was speaking more especially of the Volunteer force, and, if desired, would place at the disposal of the hon. and gallant Member for St. Pancras a number of extracts from General Orders on the subject. What had been their reward for all these services? First of all, there were the new regulations of 1901, issued without the knowledge of or consultation with General Turner, the Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces, who saw them for the first time when published in *The Times*. Those regulations, which were very offensively worded and naturally created great consternation in the force, were so impracticable in their character that they had to be at once suspended, and were, after inquiry, materially modified. The fact that such regulations could be drawn up and thus issued showed the confusion of mind which existed at the War Office with regard to the Volunteer and Auxiliary Forces. That the officer mainly responsible for those regulations was still retained in his position at the War Office was very extraordinary in view of the regulation that officers on the Headquarters Staff must return to regimental duty on the expiration of a certain period. Then came the advent of the present Secretary of State for War, whose great industry and desire to discharge his duties to the utmost of his ability none could deny, and who undoubtedly had been an earnest student of military affairs. The first speech of the right hon. Gentleman after his appointment, delivered at Liverpool on January 21st, 1904, gave the greatest hope and encouragement to every member of the Volunteer force. On that occasion the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "There are some men, not necessarily the best, who can give a great deal of time to their military duties; there are others who, because of their serious and constant occupation, can only give a certain amount of time. Do not for a moment think that the Volunteer who cannot give a large amount of time to Volunteer work is the less valuable Volunteer of the two. Whether I am in this office a short or a long time, the Volunteers will find in me a most sympathetic person. I cannot believe that among the 250,000, more or less, young Englishmen and Scotchmen anxious to give their service, to the country in time of war we cannot get a force of enormous value. I do not think the problem is solved yet; but, believe me, it requires a great deal of sympathy and a considerable dose of common sense."

That speech gave rise to the hope that as soon as the right hon. Gentleman got fairly into the saddle he would do his best to encourage and develop the Volunteer force. A Royal Commission appointed shortly before to inquire into the question held a large number of sittings and examined over 130 witnesses, and the fact that the Secretary of State repeatedly pressed for their Report gave colour to the assumption that he was anxious to deal with the problem as soon as possible. The Report, when issued, contained the following paragraph—

> "The Volunteer force owes its origin and continuance mainly to the energy and goodwill of its officers and men, and the fact that it is not maintained at war conditions is in no way attributable to them."

It was attributable to the War Office, and therefore it was for the War Office to set to work to remedy the defects as rapidly as possible. Unfortunately the

Report contained recommendations of compulsory service——

MR. LEWELLYN (Somersetshire, N.) said the Report recommended, not compulsory service, but compulsory training—a very different thing.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT accepted the correction, seeing that the hon. Member was a member of the Commission. The Report, at any rate, recommended compulsory training, and that recommendation attracted the attention of the country and gave the idea that the Commissioners were in favour of compulsory service, with the result that many excellent recommendations in other directions had been practically lost sight of. The Commission made valuable suggestions with regard to both Militia and Volunteers, but although several months had elapsed nothing whatever had been done. The Volunteers did not know where they were, and he appealed to the Secretary of State not to keep them longer than was absolutely necessary in the present condition of uncertainty and suspense. A Director of Auxiliary Forces was appointed, but on the re-organisation of the War Office he was made a mere officer of the Adjutant-General's Department. It was not proper that the head of the Auxiliary Forces should be a mere adjunct of the Adjutant-General; only by having a separate department could satisfaction be given. His right hon. friend had now assured them that the Director of Auxiliary Forces should have direct access to himself. He thought the Director of Auxiliary Forces had done all that was expected of him, for he had attended an enormous number of prize distributions, where he had stated that he wished something could be done to solve the mystery which existed in regard to the future of the Volunteer forces. He had told the Volunteers as lately as last night the same thing, and under those circumstances no wonder that there was great uncertainty, suspense, and apprehension prevailing in the mind of every deserving member of the Volunteer force.

What was the reason for all this? The Secretary of State for War met a large number of Members of both Houses of Parliament last summer connected with the Volunteer force. His right hon. friend was exceedingly accessible, but he was very anxious to impress his views upon those he received, and not quite so anxious to hear the views of those he honoured by an interview. That was somewhat the case upon this occasion. They all liked to read the right hon. Gentleman's speeches, but when they met him in this way they liked to have an opportunity of expressing their views instead of listening so much to his orations. So far as he was able to form an opinion he thought there was no subject upon which all hon. Members were agreed that no parsimony should be shown as that of the support granted to the Volunteer forces. His right hon. friend took a different view and was bent upon cutting down the cost, which amounted only to £6 per man, of the Volunteer force. He hoped hon. Members connected with the Volunteer force would impress upon the right hon. Gentleman that it was necessary to have generous treatment in this matter. What had been the result of this extraordinary action as regarded the Volunteer force. Only the day before yesterday his right hon. friend said there were 2,700 officers short. But this was explained by a statement that it was due simply to decline after the war fever. He would give an instance when there was no war fever. In the year 1898 nobody had any idea that the Volunteer force would be wanted for active service. At that time there were 1,300 officers deficient. At the present time, seven years after that, the deficiency was more than double, for they were 2,700 officers deficient at the present moment. His right hon. friend knew that the one great lesson which ought to have been learned in South Africa was that men were forthcoming in large numbers provided they opened the door wide enough, and by doing that they could get any number of men. There was, nevertheless, the greatest difficulty in getting competent and thoroughly efficient soldiers. With regard to the United States, the American Government had very closely followed this question of the great want of officers experienced by us in South Africa, and since the war they had adopted legislation providing for the establishment of a large corps of officers for the Volunteers. This country had done nothing whatever of that kind, and they had allowed the Volunteer officers to dwindle away simply because they had received no encouragement. They did not want flattering words or after-dinner speeches, but he thought they were entitled to be treated fairly and justly and encouraged. Why were they 2,700 officers short? Simply because in the present condition of affairs it was impossible to tell what shape the force might take. They did not know what the new regulations would be. They knew nothing as to the time of camping, and they did not know whether it would be inconvenient or not. He was aware that in some parts of the country this matter operated differently. In some districts there was a regular suspension of work at Whitsuntide, and then the men could manage to leave their employment without loss. If the time was well chosen in country districts there was not much difficulty about arranging for the camps after the harvest. But in cases like the Metropolitan Volunteer Corps, which consisted largely of clerks in banks, insurance officers, and other commercial institutions, the question of the camp operated in a much more difficult way. The system of making the man undertake that he would go to camp debarred from the service a very large number of men who might otherwise be very useful. He was not arguing that class corps were better than the others, but he thought it was desirable that they should get men of intelligence and education into their Volunteer Army, because they were the men, when they wanted a large number of officers for the Regular Forces, who were likely to prove exceedingly valuable and useful in that direction. Therefore, it was a very great pity to do anything which prevented this class of men from coming forward.

He had in his possession a return of the Metropolitan Volunteer Corps for January, 1902, and they represented 8,000 in that year. Now, in February this year they only numbered 5,000, or a falling-off of no less than 3,000 men in three years. Altogether they were seventy-one officers and 5,000 men short of their establishment. In the middle of October last year he wrote a letter to his right hon. friend, impressing upon him the necessity of letting the Volunteer force know what was going to be done. He pointed out to him that this was the time that the men made up their minds whether to leave the force or to remain in it. Now they found themselves at the end of February and still nothing whatever had been done. The consequence was that the force was thoroughly discouraged, and he could not conceive why something had not been done. They had been in possession for some time of the recommendations of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission, and many of those recommendations were of a very simple character and were not very costly, in fact, the whole of them would not cost more than about £200,000. He believed in economy, but not at any price, and if for £200,000 they could put the Volunteer force in the state recommended by that Commission, then he thought it would be money well expended. His right hon. friend proposed to reduce this force from 250,000 to 180,000. The reason why so many Volunteers were leaving was because naturally they would not stay on in order to be turned out. He called upon the right hon. Gentleman that afternoon to make a clean breast of it, and to solve this mystery and let the Director of Auxiliary Forces know what the future of the Volunteer force was going to be.

His right hon. friend, speaking at a dinner on February 1st, said—

> "It was his opinion that money could only be got by reducing the total of the Volunteer force and applying the savings to the perfection of the remainder. Until the Volunteer force accepted that view of the situation what they all desired would not be done."

He was sure his right hon. friend did not intend to threaten the Volunteer force, but that statement could only be read as a most deliberate threat. "Unless you accept my scheme you shall have nothing at all," If that was a view which his right hon. friend allowed to escape him in the heat of the moment he was sure it would not commend itself to his earnest desire to benefit and to put on a better footing the whole military forces of the country. To say to the commanding officers, who had done their utmost in the face of great discouragement to improve their regiments and to improve the force, that unless they accepted the whole of the ideas of the Secretary of State for War, who, however able, industrious, and persevering, had no real practical experience of the force, they should have nothing at all and that everything should be hung up until they came into line—that was a view which was quite unworthy of his antecedents and of his great desire to benefit the force. This was a matter of very great urgency and importance. He earnestly hoped that they would have an end now to the mystery, and that before many hours were out they would hear from the Secretary of State for War exactly what he intended to do in regard to the Volunteer force. The right hon. Gentleman stated that he knew what he wanted and that he knew how to get it. Those Members of the House who spoke as representing the Volunteer force knew what was wanted in regard to the Auxiliary Forces, and he thought they were determined to get it if they possibly could, not from any selfish motive but because they knew that by the encouragement of these the military forces of the Crown would be put on a better and surer footing. It was only by this means that the country could be rendered safe against invasion, and that forces could be furnished in adequate strength in times of necessity.

*Mr. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said it was not too much to say that the question before the House that afternoon was the most pressing they could discuss. The Fiscal question and Home Rule would become very secondary matters indeed if the state of the Army was allowed to continue as it was at present. He did not intend to deal with the Regular Army. He would devote his remarks to the Volunteer force. The question which he would submit to the Secretary of State for War was this—What is the object of the Volunteer force? It existed for the purpose of national defence. He should like to say that it was to the credit of the Secretary of State for War that he had taken the Volunteer force as a serious factor in the question of national defence. He would also say that he admired the courage and ability with which the right hon. Gentleman was maintaining the struggle—he thought all in the House would admire the determination he had shown, with perhaps the exception of a few of his colleagues in the Cabinet—to place the Army on a better footing.

Sir Howard Vincent.

He wished first of all to examine the position of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the Volunteers. In a speech in that House the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "The defence of these islands against hostile raids must therefore be left very largely to the Volunteers."

That was very sound policy indeed. The Volunteers themselves, he thought, were quite prepared that that responsibility should devolve upon them, but he should like to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that it was not perhaps the view of those who were not so familiar with military matters. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman had heard of Lord Esher. That noble Lord had evidently had a good deal to do with the reform of the War Office, though according to all accounts confusion had been succeeded by chaos. He must admit that his belief in the ability of Lord Esher to formulate military schemes, without, as he understood, any military training, had been somewhat shattered by a speech which he made in Scotland with regard to the Volunteers. Speaking in August at Callander, Lord Esher said—

> "Well, he supposed they had often asked themselves what the uses of the Volunteers might be, and at the first glance it was generally supposed that the Volunteers existed for the purpose of repelling invasion. Well, he thought that, according to modern ideas of military and naval strategy, that was an illusion."

That was the view of a good many of our military authorities, and he was afraid that the Secretary of State for War had been subjected to a good deal of cross-pulling on the question what the Volunteers were to do. With regard to the quality of the Volunteers the right hon. Gentleman had said in the House that he believed the Volunteer force contained the best material we had in the whole Army, and a divisional commander in South Africa at the time of the war said that the only decent fellows sent out were the Volunteers and the Militia. There was no doubt at all about the quality of the men and their capacity to perform the duties which the right hon. Gentleman said he wished to devolve upon them. He believed the intentions of the right hon. Gentleman were very good, but in this case he was afraid they were paving-stones to perdition. How did he propose to fit the Volunteers for the task which he was going to lay upon them? First of all by reducing their number. He proposed to reduce the establishment of the Volunteers by 147,000 men—from 347,000 to 200,000—and he proposed to reduce the actual strength from 240,000 to 180,000. He next proposed to divide the force into two distinct classes. What he would call for convenience of phrase the first-line Volunteers were to be put into a class amounting to 60,000 men, and the remainder were to be put into the second class of 120,000 men. Then the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to reduce the expenditure on the Volunteers. All were agreed with regard to national expenditure that a crisis had really come and that something must be done to reduce it. The Secretary of State for War himself had said that the annual Estimates showed that the cost of the Army was excessive. They all agreed with his main proposition. The present expenditure on the Army went to show that large expenditure was no guarantee of efficiency. The Army Estimates for the present year amounted to £28,900,000. Under the new scheme, the Secretary of State for War proposed to make a saving on these Estimates of £1,092,000. Where was he going to get this reduction? Excluding the Militia proposals, which the hon. Member thought had gone by the board and need not be considered, the right hon. Gentleman proposed to reduce the Army Estimates by £1,000,000, and of that sum £300,000, or a third part, was to be taken off the Volunteers, and yet the total cost of the Volunteers was only £1,200,000. The right hon. Gentleman was simply going back to the old policy of attempting to starve the Volunteer force. When the present Government came into power the expenditure on the Volunteer force amounted to £800,000, and in four years they had managed to reduce that sum to £628,000. In the year after that came the war in South Africa and the expenditure suddenly went up to £1,700,000. What the Secretary of State for War was now attempting to do was to bring back the expenditure on the Volunteers to the amount at which it stood in 1895–6. Was the right hon. Gentleman prepared to apply the same test to the Army Estimates? Was he prepared to reduce the Army Estimates from £29,000,000 to £18,000,000, the figure at which they stood in 1895-6? The whole position in regard to this was untenable. The right hon. Gentleman, in reply to a Question the other day, told them that there was to be no reduction in the Volunteer force for the current year. On behalf of the commanding officers he must thank him for that answer.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): On the Volunteer Vote.

*MR. McCRAE said he was very glad of that at any rate. The answer allowed the commanding officers to know how they stood for at least one year. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to state whether it was only for one year that there was to be no reduction on the Vote. Was it a reprieve, or was it merely a postponement of their sentence? He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman was in full retreat and going to give up the proposal for a reduction of the force. Out of the reduced expenditure on the Volunteers the right hon. Gentleman proposed to spend £50,000 per annum on rifle clubs, complete a system of transport for the Volunteers, a divisional staff for the Volunteers; and, in addition, he intended to make an increased grant for efficiency. His plan of finance was like the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham with regard to old-age pensions. It was so simple that anyone could understand it, but he confessed that he thought the right hon. Gentleman would find, when he came to the details in the Volunteer Estimates, that the position was one which he could not really maintain. Since the day when the Irishman attempted to lengthen his blanket by taking a piece off the top and sewing it on to the bottom, a more futile and indefensible proposal could hardly be conceived. Lord Esher evidently thought that the main purpose for which the Volunteers existed was to increase or to foster the military spirit of the country. He said there, as a commanding officer, that if that was the reason for the existence of the Volunteers the country was spending far too much money on the force. They wanted to be taken seriously, and if the right hon. Gentleman wished to put the force on an efficient footing, his only alternative was to increase the expenditure upon it rather than reduce it. They only asked for a few thousands out of the million or two which, it was generally conceded, could be saved in Army administration. Let him affirm that the Volunteer force had any objection at all to submit to increased efficiency, but there was one limit which must be placed to that demand, and that was that that efficiency must not mean the sacrifice of the men's daily employment. When the regulations were promulgated by the predecessor of the present Secretary of State for War, and for which the latter was therefore not responsible, in regard to attendance in camp, very many of the men had to choose between giving up their daily employment or resigning their position as Volunteers. The consequence was that a very large number of the best men in the force had to resign because they could not submit to the test. Not only that, even the numbers were kept up only by a reduced physique on the part of those enlisted. The fact was that for many years the War Office had been experimenting with the Volunteers. They had been subjected to the process of vivisection, and it was only their strength and inherent vitality that had prevented the force from being shattered beyond recuperation.

Now, the name of the late Inspector-General of the Auxiliary Forces had been mentioned, and he had great experience. He meant Major-General Turner, and he did not know why the Secretary of State for War should laugh. Major-General Turner was, he thought, an officer who had shown that at any rate he understood the Volunteers, which was more than could be said for the War Office. That officer said the other day that—

> "He complained much of the treatment which the Volunteers had received. It was impossible that our Volunteers should fulfil the hard and fast conditions laid down for the Regulars. The result of attempting to impose upon them those conditions was that the best London corps were dying away."

No doubt those regulations had now been modified or withdrawn, but after much mischief had been done, and he was quite sure of this—and he did not want to put the case too strongly—that the Volunteers had suffered a great wrong in consequence of those regulations. They did not apply equally to all the force. His own battalion was not affected, as it was composed principally of artisans, who could go into camp on the trades holidays, and moreover, they were over strength. But he was speaking for corps not so happily situated. What was wanted was elasticity of treatment in regard to the force. He would like to know who had advised the Secretary of State for War—for he must have had some expert adviser—to put the Volunteers into two distinct classes. Really that proposal was fundamentally wrong. He had for years advocated that every man in the country who was capable of bearing arms should get a course of training similar to that which was given to the Volunteer force. No doubt the country was against that being done compulsorily, but it should be our aim to get as many men as possible, so that in the hour of need there should be a foundation to work upon. He believed that the secret of this muddle and the reason for this policy which he had described as unwise, uncertain, and erratic, was that our military administrators had lost faith in the voluntary principle. A great many of them had a hankering after conscription. He did not hesitate to say that the proposals of the late Secretary for War were intended, by smashing up the Volunteer force, to pave the way for conscription; and he was afraid that, with all his good intentions, the present Secretary of State for War was going in the same direction. The right hon. Gentleman might have different aims and a different policy, but the effect would be the same, and he would find that by reducing the Volunteer force he was cutting at the root principle of the voluntary system.

What was going to be done? There must be continuity of policy in the first place. It must be open to every Volunteer to go into camp for fourteen days and get the grant now earned by the selected battalions. They ought to have a transport service—an Army Service Corps for the Volunteers alone. He would ask the Secretary of State for War, who was so anxious to bring forward proposals which struck at the root of the principles on which the Volunteer force was founded, to consider that there were various ways in which that force could be built up upon a system which would put it on a better footing. Whatever method was adopted by the Secretary of State for War the Volunteer force, if it was to be of any use at all, must have transport of its own. There was in existence a proposal approved of by the War Office, and recommended by the Royal Commission, yet no effort had been made to put it into operation. Much had been said of the efficiency of the officers. There, again, the officers were quite prepared to undergo training and pass the necessary examinations; but it must be kept in mind that the Volunteer who gave his time should not be called upon for such a drain, as at present, on his pocket for expenses. He emphasised the fact that the Volunteer officers did not shrink from any test in regard to efficiency short of that which interfered with their ordinary employment. He asked the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War to reconsider his proposal to reduce the number of Volunteers and to divide them into two distinct units. Grade, if he liked, the grant for efficiency, but do not make the second-line Volunteers feel that they were serving in a lower-grade corps, which would be the result of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal if carried out. He hoped they were to have an end of all this marching and counter-marching, orders and counter-orders. Let them have some definite policy. Even a bad policy was better than the sort of treatment they had been subjected to during the last few years. The Secretary for War should let them know where they stood, should give them a clear policy, and pledge himself to end a system which was a curious mixture of apathy, ignorance, and misunderstanding.

*MR. WYLIE (Dumbartonshire) said he intended to confine his remarks to that portion of the Amendment which dealt with the Volunteers. At the end of last Session 60,000 (a fourth) of the Volunteer Forces were under sentence of extinction and 120,000 were to be deprived of 30 per cent. of their grants, but he was glad to learn that in the meantime they had been reprieved. Since the end of 1901, when the very severe Order in Council by Lord Roberts and the War Office was issued, a large number of Members of this House had not ceased to bring forward the claims of the Volunteers for fairer treatment. The Norfolk Commission was appointed in 1903, and after very careful investigation and the examination of 134 witnesses, that Commission issued a Report last year which was admirably clear, concise, and comprehensive. It was with the utmost satisfaction that many of them found therein ample justification for the time of the House they had taken in pressing the claims of the Volunteers, for it thoroughly homologated the opinions they had advocated in and out of the House. There was amongst many Volunteer officers considerable misapprehension of the general terms of that Report. They had been so depressed with the sweeping criticism of the Report that the Volunteer force was not capable of dealing with a regular army in the field, that they construed it into an indirect intimation that their services would no longer be required. But the whole tenour of the Report was that until they obtained a larger and more comprehensive system of military training the Volunteers must not only be maintained in their present numbers but very much increased in efficiency. The Royal Commission very generously recognised the good services they had done, and held out encouragement to proceed to better things. He pressed on the Secretary of State for War the necessity for carrying out the recommendations of that Report at the earliest opportunity. Now, during the late war, and for a short time after, it was thought that we could not have too large an Army, and the Volunteers were largely increased. But the fit for lavish expenditure and a very large Army was immediately succeeded by a cool mood for parsimonious retrenchment and wholesale disbandment. No one had had more severe experience of this fickleness in policy than the late Secretary for War. His right hon. friend was incited in 1900 and 1901 to form as large an Army as possible, and exposed to unmerited obloquy because of the failure of his scheme, some of the leading parts of which had not had the beginning of a trial. The present Secretary of State had had set before him the very difficult problem of increasing the efficiency of, and reducing the expenditure on, the land forces. His right hon. friend proposed to decrease the Regular Army, the Militia, and the Volunteers. He would not say anything about the Regular Army and the Militia, except that it was easier to disband men than bring them together again. His remarks would be confined to the Volunteers; and they would be founded in a great measure on the opinions of a number of very able Volunteer officers, and also principally on the Report of the Commission.

He would ask hon. Members to remember that the cardinal principle on which the Report was based was that no officer, non-commissioned officer, or private should be put to any expense, but that everything should be paid by the State. That had been opposed by the War Office in the past. The first thing that struck him in the proposals of the Secretary for War was that, although home defence was to rest on the Volunteers, the establishment was to be reduced by over 40 per cent., the effective strength by 25 per cent., and the expenditure by about as much—even the present expenditure, £1,200,000, was less than the cost of a single battleship—in connection with a branch of the service which was to be entrusted with the most important duty of all, home defence. He quite concurred with his right hon. friend in his expression of opinion as to the inefficiency of a considerable number of the Volunteer forces. Lord Roberts was just as frank and explicit; and in 1901 he and the War Office authorities proceeded to reform the then existing state of affairs by the celebrated Order in Council demanding more arduous training, without increasing the grants. He believed that if the Order in Council then issued had been accompanied by an increased grant, so that the Volunteers might be able to receive about £1 a week for their camp training there would have been no complaint. But the usual parsimony in connection with the Volunteers was exercised. The great success of his right hon. friend the previous Secretary of State for War in connection with the Yeomanry was due to a liberal apportionment of grants which enabled every Yeoman to return from camp with £5 or £7 in his pocket. He was very glad his right hon. friend recognised the necessity of increasing the efficiency of the Volunteers by means of an increase of grants, and intended to apply this principle to 60,000 of them; but he would be interested to know to what extent his right hon. friend was prepared to increase the grant. If his right hon. friend was as liberal as his predecessor was in connection with the Yeomanry he would predict a great success for his scheme. Its great defect, however, was that he proposed to carry it out at the expense of the other Volunteers. His right hon. friend proposed to dismiss 60,000 of the most inefficient Volunteers. That was a very drastic proposal. Why were they so inefficient? The Report of the Commission stated it was no fault of the Volunteers; but was principally the fault of the War Office because of the parsimonious policy which had been adopted. A great deal of the efficiency of some of the Volunteer Corps was owing to subscriptions from officers and from gentlemen resident in the district. A large amount of the inefficiency of others was due to the fact that officers could not afford that expense; and that there were no gentlemen in the several districts who subscribed. Many of the Volunteers proposed to be dismissed had rendered splendid service to the country; they had guarded the country when the Regular Forces and the Militia were abroad in South Africa; and they had sent many of their members to the front. It would be much more judicious to give them a chance under the more liberal auspices proposed by the Commission, demand a minimum standard of efficiency and let those who would not come up to it quietly drop out. He considered the other proposal, viz., to reduce the grants to 120,000 and form them into a second class even more objectionable. The Secretary for War relied upon them to act as second battalions to the efficient regiments, but with grants reduced by 30 per cent. they would melt away like snow in summer. In that he had the concurrence of every Volunteer officer with whom he had spoken.

The proposals of the right hon. Gentleman were quite contrary to the Report of the Commission, to the opinion of almost all Volunteer officers, and based on the supposed necessity for retrenchment. To listen to some hon. Gentlemen one would imagine that this was the most overburdened country in the world; whereas, on the contrary, according to its wealth, it was one of the most lightly taxed. The taxation of France was £10,000,000 greater, though its population and wealth were smaller, and there was, therefore, no necessity to rush into a parsimonious policy. The policy which the Government should adopt lay in an entirely different direction. The growing necessities of the Empire and the need for improvement in the physical condition of our young men so impressed the Royal Commission that they recommended what might be called a modified form of conscription—universal military training. No form of conscription, however, was within the scope of present practical politics, nor need it ever be if we rightly utilized the Volunteer spirit and if we made use of our Volunteers. No country had so many young men and boys who were not merely willing but anxious and eager for military training. The policy to adopt would be to very largely increase the Volunteer forces, with a moderate increase in the grant not to exceed £10 per head, which would entail a proportionately small expense, through which would pass all the vigorous youth of our country, who would then form a reserve ready to be called upon in case of emergency. But this also was not at present within the range of practical politics. But he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War that there was a scheme in accordance with the recommendations laid down by the Royal Commission which was within the scope of practical politics and which might be adopted by the right hon. Gentleman, viz., to maintain the present numbers and to secure much greater efficiency by a corresponding increase of grants and facilities. The amount of money that such a scheme would require had been computed by the hon. Member for Sheffield at £200,000, but in his (Mr. Wylie's) opinion that estimate was far too moderate. He believed the increase would be at least £500,000. The right hon. Gentleman had said the expenditure upon the Army precluded any advance upon the estimate he had made, but the right hon. Gentleman had, he thought, entirely misapprehended the feeling of the House and the country so far as the Volunteer Forces were concerned. He believed that if the right hon. Gentleman would bring forward an Estimate for £1,750,000 for the voluntary forces he would get his Vote, if not without its being challenged, at least by a large majority. The right hon. Gentleman was himself an old Volunteer officer and in that capacity had acquired that practical military training which had proved of such service to him in dealing with military questions. Like many of his predecessors in the War Office he had apparently succumbed to the united influence of the Treasury and the War Office. The Chancellor of the Exchequer demanded retrenchment; the authorities at the War Office still retained their old professional contempt for the amateur and had no doubt insisted that the retrenchment should be at the expense of the Auxiliary Forces and not the Regular Forces, and the Secretary of State for War sought to restrict the already far too narrow basis on which our military strength rested by confining it to our very small professional Army and 60,000 semi-professional Volunteers. But, after all, the final decision rested with the House, and if the right hon. Gentleman would bring such an Estimate as he (Mr. Wylie) had ventured to suggest he felt confident the House and country would approve of it. For years the country had been recognising the necessity of improving the physique of our young men and the necessity for military training, and the Royal Commission had been so impressed that it had recommended universal military training. The right hon. Gentleman had now a great opportunity of taking not a retrograde but a forward step, and it was to be hoped he would not miss the opportunity.

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton), as a Volunteer for more than forty years, wished to try to face the salient points of the most difficult problem the Volunteers now presented. The Volunteer force, formed just sixty years ago, had had an excellent moral effect as a defensive force, and a great physical effect upon the youth of the country, and this system had trained hundreds and thousands of our young men into habits of discipline and obedience. But, after all, this military force must be tested by the question whether it was efficient for the purpose for which it was created and whether it was ready to do what the country expected of it. It was clear, from the findings of the Royal Commission to whom the Government did well in referring the matter, that the Volunteer force, excellent as it was, would not be able to resist the highly trained troops of any country that might invade our shores, because the officers had not the opportunity of being properly trained, nor had it sufficient equipment and commissariat necessary to take the field. The question to be considered was how to make the force a reality, equal to the conditions of modern warfare. Half-trained men would not do, and to make the men efficient a large sum of money would have to be spent on additional training. That was admitted on all sides. The only alternative was to reduce the force, and to spend on the smaller number of men the same amount of money as was now allocated. The country would not begrudge the money necessary to make the force efficient, but the present was not an opportune time to increase the Estimates. An additional £500,000 had been suggested, but if all the expenses of the Volunteers were to be paid so that the men were not losers by their patriotism the extra expenditure might easily amount to much more. Another question was as to the size of the force which could be usefully employed in defending our shores. Too large a force would become unwieldy, and the men would simply get in each other's way. The alternative of a reduction in numbers was not popular, but the only choice lay between an indefinite increase of expenditure and the making of a smaller force thoroughly efficient. It was a very difficult problem. The Volunteer force was so entwined with our national sentiment that it should be treated with the utmost consideration and allowed the greatest elasticity. He hoped that as a result of the efforts now being made there would be secured a continuity of policy, the lack of which had caused so much inconvenience in the past. The demand for them to go into camp for a lengthy period was outside the conditions on which the men had joined the Volunteers, and if the men were to be called upon to spend long periods away from home the country must be prepared to recompense them. He trusted the Secretary of State for War would be supported in his endeavours to deal with the matter on right lines, *Salus populi suprema est lex.* The country must have an efficient force for the defence of these islands, ready to meet any emergency which might arise.

Mr. FREDERICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid.) said that the House and the nation must remember that there were only two policies before the country. There was the policy of conscription, and, opposed to that, there was the policy of the encouragement of the Volunteers. It must come to one or the other. We had a nation full of fight; every schoolboy wanted to fight somebody, and we ought to be full of pride for our high-spirited race. Yet we could not get men for either the Regular Army or the Volunteers. They would not come. We were a fighting race, but our men would not go into either portion of the Army. There must be something wrong in the treatment by the authorities when they could not fill the ranks. There was no doubt in his mind which was the better policy, conscription or the encouragement of the Volunteers. Why should they encourage the dear Army at the expense of the cheap Army? Yet the policy of the Government seemed to be to expend money on the more expensive branch and to economise on the cheaper. The hon. Member for the Honiton Division seemed rather to disparage the Volunteers as a fighting force; but did they not do well in the Boer War, and did not the Boers themselves show what a race trained to shoot could do? He did not speak as a colonel of Volunteers, he had not been a colonel; he had never attained more than the rank of a full private, but he knew that among the private Volunteers there was a love of rifle-shooting, which was almost wiped out of the force to-day, for they had lost their ranges. When the long-shooting rifle came in, range after range was closed, and there was now no inducement of pleasure to be a Volunteer; there was now no fun in it. Volunteering in the old days was almost freemasonry; it was the best Saturday afternoon's holiday. At present, however, the English race was spending its energies in kicking a football about on Saturday afternoons. If they encouraged the grand old martial spirit of the English race they would soon fill their Volunteer ranks, to say nothing of the Army. The difficulty of the Army was different from that of the Volunteers. They had got to fill their ranks, not so much as to find officers. If they began at the bottom of the ladder they would soon have men qualified to rise to the top of it; and he trusted this Government, or any succeeding it, would bear distinctly in mind that there was one way to escape from a vast expenditure on a large Army, and that was to encourage the Volunteer, who was ready for home defence and was prepared, as shown in the Boer War, on emergency to go abroad and fight and die for his country.

*MAJOR EVANS GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) said the course of the debate would lead one to suppose that we had no Regular Army at all, the speeches so far having dealt almost exclusively with the Volunteers. He feared that his remarks would be considered somewhat out of sympathy with the speeches of hon. friends with whom he had acted on Army questions on previous occasions, but he was glad to think that their personal relations were not affected. Reference had been made to the "useless quality" of great numbers of the men enlisted into the Regular Army. He quite agreed that that process should be stopped, and that the element which was admitted on all hands to be such as would never be of any military value should be got rid of. But would it not be admitted that a similar element existed in the Volunteers? And if a reduction was to be made in the Regular Army on that ground, would not the same argument hold good with regard to the Volunteers?

Another point to be noted in this debate was the absence of any reference to the universal cry as to the necessity for economy in the expenditure connected with the armed forces of this country. Immediately a particular branch of the service was threatened with anything in the nature of reduction an outcry was raised and claims were put in for that branch. What the right hon. Gentleman had to consider was not so much what ought to be done, but what really could be done; and true economy must depend upon spending the money to the best possible advantage. If reductions were necessary they could only or mainly be brought about by the reduction in establishments and men, and if these reductions could be carried out, as he believed they could, without any material loss in the fighting power of the forces of this country, the Volunteers would have to take their share in the reduction. He knew the line he was taking was not a popular line, but he asked the House to believe that, though his views might be unpopular, he put them forward with the idea of doing the best all round for the armed forces of the country.

A good deal had been heard that afternoon about the utility of the Auxiliary Forces for keeping up the martial spirit of the country and providing a reserve force to be called upon in case of emergency. But while that was true enough the House must beware of mistaking mere numbers for military strength. There was abundant evidence in the many voluminous Reports to show that we were maintaining in many branches of the service, boys who would not within a long period be fit to take the field, but who swelled the Estimates, and deceived the nation as to its military strength. Besides those there were numbers of men who would never become effective soldiers at all. That remark applied to the Volunteer Auxiliary Forces with even greater force than to the Regular Army, and if efficiency was desired, surely the proper thing to do was to fearlessly get rid of all those. Broadly speaking, that was what the scheme of the Secretary of State proposed to do. The right hon. Gentleman had the courage to look facts in the face; to get rid of useless material and to spend the money so saved in making the material which remained more effective and more efficient. It seemed to him that there had been in the Press a great deal of, if not unfair, at least ill-informed criticism of the right hon. Gentleman's scheme. They ought to look at the whole position. The military ideal could never exactly coincide with political exigencies, and the only course open to us was to make them coincide as far as possible. This was what the right hon. Gentleman had done. He did not believe any Secretary of State for War had ever been in closer touch with military opinion or had consulted his military advisers more freely and fully than his right hon. friend. If this scheme which was put forward, was rejected because in the opinion of some it did not reach perfection, and if they did not make the best use of what could be got and insisted upon what could not be obtained they would never reach any reform at all. The constant desire to pull up everything that was sown in order to see whether it was growing was greatly to be deprecated. As to the Volunteers, what did the right hon. Gentleman propose? There were three categories of Volunteers, first, there was the very good first-class material; men who gave a deal of time to their training. Then there was a second class composed of men who did not do so well but who gave what time they could towards making themselves efficient, and there was the third group which was classed as efficient but which was unfit for service with any mobile army. The scheme of his right hon. friend differentiated between these three classes and encouraged the first class, composed of the best material, by every means, and also the second class which would come to fill the ranks of the first and which would be stiffened by the men already in the first class. But that could only be done by the reduction of the third class which was known to be inefficient. He could not understand hon. Members saying that they must have enough money to make the Volunteer force as it now existed efficient. He did not believe that a sum sufficient for that purpose would ever be granted by Parliament, and if it were he did not think the expenditure would produce the desired result. The fact was it was impossible to get the money to keep the Volunteer force in its present state efficient, and so far from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State being an enemy to the force he was the best friend they had, because he desired to convert what in many respects was a sham into a reality, and to give us a force of 60,000 or 70,000 men upon whom we could depend in time of war. The question was essentially one of quality rather than quantity. As was well known, the Volunteers were lacking in nearly all the essential accessories without which an Army is incapable of taking the field. Surely it was better to provide these things for a smaller force fit to use them, than to waste money on the maintenance of a large force with only a paper value? At present the tares were choking the wheat, and the money urgently needed would never be forthcoming unless reduction of men known to be useless were submitted to. Such were the facts upon which the House was asked to pass a vote of censure upon the Government for what they had done and proposed to do. He trusted the House of Commons, by an overwhelming majority, would say that the right hon. Gentleman had taken the proper course. When his right hon. friend replied to all the criticisms, which had now been going on since March last, he would be able to show that there was no foundation for them, and the country might be confident that a great step in advance had not only been taken with regard to Army reform but with regard to the reform of the Volunteers as well.

*SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) said one of the lessons of the South African War which ought to be taken to heart by every War Minister was that he should do nothing to discourage the efficiency and strength of the Volunteer forces, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would move in the direction of making that force not only more efficient but more numerous. He believed there was in this country an enormous amount of material for the Volunteer force, not for aggressive purposes, but for the highest of all purposes: the defence of our hearths and homes. Another lesson of the war was the importance of mobility in warfare and the necessity of creating in this country a mobile force after the fashion of our opponents in the Transvaal. The third lesson was in connection with the artillery. It was a standing disgrace to our land that we should be fighting a war with a force better armed than we were. That lesson had been taken to heart. Since the right hon. Gentleman had been in office he had given orders for putting us in possession of adequate artillery in the course of twelve or eighteen months. It was manifestly a danger to this country that we were supplied with artillery which was inferior to any great Continental Power. But a more serious lesson of the war was that from neglect of certain precautions we lost an enormous number of men. In the course of the war we lost 13,250 men from disease, mostly from a disease which of all diseases was the most preventable. He laid it down as a canon which every War Minister ought to regard, that while in a civil community an outbreak of enteric fever was a scandal, an outbreak of enteric fever in the course of a war was a crime. The Secretary for War's predecessor in office, after the recommendations of more than one Commission, started a system in the Army Medical Service by which there should be a college for the teaching of science in London and also a large hospital where they could learn the latest methods of defeating and possibly preventing disease. How far had that scheme progressed? He saw on the Embankment a large hospital which had been completed for more than a year. It was still empty and unused. But where was the medical school in which officers were to be taught the latest scientific methods for preserving the physical efficiency of the general force? He believed the college was working in cramped buildings and without a sufficient amount of money. Was the right hon. Gentleman going to reform the present condition of affairs and develop the institution as it should be developed? The right hon. Gentleman had had the courage to approach the Treasury, and had obtained an increased grant. The institution wanted £30,000 or £40,000 to equip it adequately, and he hoped he would obtain sufficient money for the purpose. At the commencement of the Russian-Japanese War a distinguished Japanese officer said to Major Seaman, an American medical officer, who relates the story—

> "Russia may be able to place 2,000,000 men in the field. We can furnish 500,000. You know in every war four men die of disease for every one who falls from bullets. That will be the position of Russia in this war. We propose to eliminate disease as a factor. Every man who dies in our Army must fall on the field of battle. In this way we shall neutralise the superiority of Russian numbers, and stand on a comparatively equal footing."

The result had been that whereas it had been a canon on the part of medical departments in the past that four men were killed by disease for every man killed by the enemy, the Japanese had grappled with this problem, and they had found that instead of losing four by disease to every one killed, the rate had fallen to 1 per cent. of their forces because they had the science and knowledge to prevent it. That was one of the greatest triumphs in Army administration, and he wanted to know whether the Secretary of State was trying to imitate the Japanese, in order that when the British Army was again engaged in conflict, and he hoped that the time might be far distant, we might be able to deal with the pestilences that tracked every army, and that we should only have to deplore those losses, which were the legitimate losses of war, inflicted by the enemy. All the Reports of the Commissions and Committees that sat on the South African war converged on this point—that we wanted improved methods of sanitation. We wanted forethought in the Boer War to meet possible contingencies. There was no part where this was more apparent than in the administration of the medical department, which would not recognise the warnings of the terrible amount of disease they were likely to have among the forces in the field. The consequence was that men died like flies on the veldt in South Africa, and many a brave fellow lost his life and many a family was put into mourning on account of lives lost which ought to have been saved by the exercise of forethought. In solving this problem the Japanese had for the first time in the history of the world realised the true inwardness of the medical department of the army. It was instituted and constituted for the purpose of preventing disease. The Japanese knew that under the old theory and old systems 400 men were lost by disease for every 100 lost by the action of the enemy, and, recognising that, they had made their medical department not so much a department for treatment and operating, but a great department for looking after the health, the feeding, and the physical efficiency of their army. How had they done it? They had put a medical officer everywhere. Our system was to put the medical officer in the background and to keep him there. There was no respect for science in the British Army. It had never had the recognition it ought to have in the Army. Manchuria was a country where the sanitary conditions were very much worse than those in South Africa, but the Japanese medical officers went out behind the first screen of scouts, and made it their duty to attend to every detail before the advancing army. Every water-supply was tested by the medical officer, and a notice was put up in those cases where the soldiers must not drink, in other cases instructions were given that the water must be boiled before use. That was done as the army marched, and so good was the discipline of the soldiers that they never disobeyed the orders of the scientific advisers. When they visited towns where fever was epidemic, the soldiers were encamped under conditions where they were not likely to be infected. If we had done that in South Africa, hundreds of lives would have been saved in cases where the men were encamped on ground which had previously been occupied by patients suffering from enteric fever.

Throughout the whole department of transport the same care was exercised in connection with all the possibilities of the campaign, and by attending to that carefully day by day, with the highest scientific skill, this nation of the East had shown the civilised West how to preserve human life. They did not stop there. The medical officers of the Japanese Army, when the troops were in camp or in stationary positions, used these opportunities to teach the soldiers all the devices by means of which they could preserve health, what food to take, how it should be cooked, and how to avoid all those maladies which came from inattention to personal cleanliness and sanitation; and so the whole army was preserved in a state of efficiency and preparedness for warfare, which no other army ever had before attained. It was almost like a fairy tale to read the details recently published in regard to General Oku's division—or left wing of the Japanese Army in Manchuria—an army about equal in numbers to what we had in South Africa. That record came to this: that during the first five or six months of the campaign they had only 40 deaths from disease. There were only 193 cases of enteric fever and 342 cases of dysentery. What was our record in South Africa in the first year of the war? We had no fewer than 3,774 deaths from typhoid fever alone, out of some 12,000 cases. And so it was with other diseases. The disease of beri-beri, familiar to this House in connection with the Chinese labourers in South Africa, had been overcome by the sanitary precautions of the Japanese medical authorities, and had ceased to be the scourge it used to be in Eastern armies. It might be said that all this was beside the question; that it happened in another country where the climatic and other conditions were not the same. But the climatic conditions in Manchuria were worse than in South Africa. It was science that had done it, because the Russian Army had had a scourge which the Japanese had been able to avoid. It had been estimated that the total number of sick and wounded in the Russian Army, up to the time of the great battle on the Sha Ho, was 150,000, or 30 per cent. of the force. The central board at Kharbin registered 32,000 sick and wounded from June 15th to August 15th, of whom only one-fifth were wounded. Dysentery, enteric, and rheumatic fever prevailed. The Japanese system was an example which it would be well for the military heads of our Army to follow.

They should take every opportunity of learning from this Eastern people the details of their methods, in order that when a British force was again placed in the field we should have the scientific administration which our allies enjoyed. The great marvel of it was that the Japanese had managed to overcome the ordinary scourges of an army with a loss of 1 per cent. of their men from all diseases, while we lost in our recent war more from enteric fever alone. This example of "knowing how to do it," which this people of the East were setting us, should be followed and imitated in the interests of humanity and efficiency by every civilised Power in the world. He hoped the Secretary for War, when he applied himself to this portion of his Army work, would try to bring about that efficiency which existed in the Japanese Army by insisting that the chief and most important duty of the medical staff was the prevention of disease among the soldiers and the looking after them with the almost paternal care exercised by the Japanese medical officers. In that way, and in that way only our troops might be always kept fully efficient for the duties they had to perform in the field. New artillery, rifles, long or short, would not by themselves save us, but men strong and vigorous, able to face their foe, were the best defence for a civilised nation.

SIR HARRY SETON-KARR (St. Helens) said it was impossible to follow in the same line the very interesting speech which the hon. Member had just made with so much ability. There was, however, one subject covered by the Amendment to which he desired to call the attention of the House. He referred to one of the great changes recently introduced into the Army by his right hon. friend—the re-arming of our infantry. The subject had been very briefly touched upon already by the hon. and gallant Gentleman who moved the Amendment, but not in any detail. He did not think it was necessary for him to apologise to the House for saying a few words upon it, because in spite of what the hon. Gentleman opposite had said, he was one of those who thought it was of the greatest importance that our soldiers should be armed with the best and most efficient weapon, without which they could not do themselves justice in a state of war. As the House was well aware, in December last a report was issued on the trial of a short rifle for the Army and Navy. He did not want to say anything that would be in the slightest degree offensive to the authors of that report, but he considered that it was in a certain sense—he did not say intentionally—misleading. It professed to be a report on the trials of the short rifle with which the Army—cavalry and infantry—was to be armed by a test called the figure-of-merit test up to a range of 1500 yards. The change from the long to a short rifle was not touched upon in the report, although it was true that there was a table of comparisons between the figure of merit for the long and the short rifle. It would not be contradicted that that was not a test between the merits and advantages of the long and the short rifle. Now the issue of the new short rifle to the Army would cost something like £3,000,000, and it was now, in fact, being sent out to India. His contention was that the new short rifle, which was five inches shorter than the old rifle, had been insufficiently tested in comparison with the rifle at present in use. It was not his intention to go into scientific details, but the man in the street wanted to know whether this great change was being made without a proper test having been instituted between the long and short rifle—all other things being equal—to discover which was the best weapon. The War Office experts had carefully refrained from entering into this question. They had not endeavoured to find that out. They practically said that the Committee had examined the short rifles; they told how it shot in certain cases, but they had not tested the long and the short rifle under equal conditions. He did not pretend to be a scientific expert but he knew something of the practical use of a rifle. Everybody was aware that the question was a very important one, and had involved very serious differences of opinion between large bodies of experts of all sorts in this country.

It was an established fact that, other things being equal, a long-barrelled rifle would carry much further and shoot harder and straighter than a short-barrelled weapon. That principle had been already acknowledged in connection with big guns. The longer barrel, within reasonable limits, utilised more energy than the shorter one. It was also more accurate and easier for the private soldier to shoot straight and be nearer the mark, from the longer barrel, because the sights were farther apart. There were other details with which he would not weary the House, but these were the main factors which it was desirable to keep before the minds of hon. Members. It was perfectly easy, by altering the boring and the size of the cartridge, to make the short rifle shoot better than the old rifle up to a certain range. As a matter of fact that had been done, and according to the table in the report the test of the short rifle appeared to the casual reader to be far better than that of the long. But he should like to call attention to a report published in *The Times* newspaper a day or two ago, from which it appeared that five experts were taken down to Bisley on a sort of amateur trial of both the long and the short rifles. The competition was carried out by men who thoroughly understood the subject. He knew no more about the trial than he had read in the report in *The Times*, which he believed was perfectly authentic. These gentlemen tried three of the new short rifles and three old long rifles, and three old long rifles fitted with wind-gauge, sights, and some extra improvements in mechanism adopted in the short rifle. It was a remarkable fact that in this test the new short rifle came out last. Having regard to the serious discrepancy between that test and the test published in the Army report, he asked his right hon. friend to reconsider his position with regard to the issue of this new rifle. The actual shooting powers of the new short rifle compared with the old rifle should be tested. If they took five inches off the barrel of the old rifle, our soldiers would to that extent be handicapped in a personal encounter with the bayonet. It was said that all that was necessary was to increase the length of the bayonet. The answer to that was that a longer bayonet would alter the trajectory and the shooting power of the rifle. If our soldiers had to shoot with the short rifle with a longer bayonet fixed to it, he doubted whether they would hit a haystack. It was also stated in the report in *The Times* that with the short rifle there was a flash. That meant that a certain amount of energy was wasted. Moreover, the flash would disclose to an enemy the position of our infantry in the field. He could not see that the need for uniformity in the length of the rifle carried by the infantry and the cavalry was so great that they should compel the infantry to carry a rifle with inferior shooting power. They could not rest satisfied with this state of things. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman took the opinion of his experts on this matter, but he (Sir H. Seton-Karr) drew attention to it because it was one which, in his opinion, required explanation. The policy of shortening the barrel of the most important weapon we possessed had been decided in a similar sort of way. There had been no direct tests of the short as against the long rifle. The whole thing seemed to have been decided in a very off-hand sort of way, and he applied to his right hon. friend to reconsider the matter.

In conclusion he would point out that this was a matter of Imperial importance. It might be that at some future time we might require the co-operation of our Colonies. Had the Colonial Governments pronounced upon this weapon? Their opinion was worth taking, because from the very nature of their environments our colonial fellow-subjects were better judges of a rifle than we could be in this country; they had a better chance of using them at long ranges, and that being so, the House would agree with him that if we were ever in a position to have to ask our Colonies to assist us with men, it was very important that they should be armed with a weapon in which they had confidence. He felt very strongly upon this subject, and could not help thinking that some mistake had been made; he therefore hoped that his right hon. friend would, if he thought the matter required further consideration, at once stop the issue of the rifles and have the matter considered by another body of experts.

Mr. GUEST (Plymouth) said misfortune seemed to dog the steps of the War Office whenever they tried to reform the military system. It appeared that in trying to level up the grade of the cavalry rifle they had only succeeded in levelling down the grade of the infantry rifle. He did not rise, however, to indulge in wholesale criticism of the policy of the Minister for War. Blunders there had been, and enough of them, but experience had been gained, and he thought that they were in a better position in regard to Army reform than they were two years ago. Advance had been made, even if it were by the humiliating process of eliminating blunders. They would be really on the threshold of some real improvement if the military authorities and the Secretary for War would divest themselves of one cardinal remaining misapprehension, which had been responsible for nearly all the difficulty, muddle, and confusion in which they were to-day. That misconception was that it was necessary for this country to have a large Regular Army. Until that idea was got rid of this country would make no substantial advance in Army reform. There were three considerations which rendered it desirable that there should be a small Regular Army. The first consideration was that the Army was limited by the number of recruits that could be obtained year by year without lowering the standard of recruits. There were also the considerations of cost and policy. A large standing Army was a menace to peace, whereas a large Auxiliary Force was a guarantee of peace. The Army should simply exist for the purpose of garrisoning our possessions, providing a reserve, and creating a machine by which there might be in this country, to resist foreign aggression, a large number of people with some military training and military instincts. It was no part of the duty of the Army to go wandering over the plains and highlands of Central Asia to acquire fresh territory. In a democracy every war must be a popular war. If the country felt that it had been wronged, or that its honour was at stake, and through its representatives in the House undertook a war, the authorities could count on the patriotism of the Auxiliary Forces. But in every War Office there was a professional contempt for the Auxiliary Forces, a contempt which survived the most startling proofs of their worth under actual conditions of war. The flimsiness of the professional prejudice might be gauged from the fact that when professional soldiers and Volunteers found themselves side by side on the field it disappeared at the first brush with the enemy, or at the first puff of powder. But as soon as the war was over, the services, efficiency, and capacity of the Auxiliary Forces were forgotten, and the old feeling of dislike and contempt reasserted itself. Even Ministers, such as the present Secretary of State for War, the "blue-water school" themselves, were attacked by the same disease.

Volunteer effort was a delicate plant which could not be treated by artificial methods. If the authorities discouraged the patriotic efforts of people who, at great inconvenience, gave a great deal of their time to the service of their country, they would kill the force, there would be nothing of it left. If the Volunteer forces were not up to the standard of efficiency, let the Secretary of State for War set to work to improve and encourage them by spending more money on them. There were many economies which could be effected in the Regular Army which might provide means for the Auxiliaries. Let the right hon. Gentleman call upon the local authorities to assist him in his efforts. The Auxiliary Forces were the raw material, and one of the duties of the War Office should be to provide a machine capable in time of war of translating that raw material into an effective fighting weapon. For that purpose the military policy should have in view the organisation of those branches of the service and those parts of the military machine which could not be improvised. They must train officers and have a general staff, stores, and, above all, arms and other things which could not be supplied at the last moment. Then, if they relied on the patriotic and military spirit which they would be able to keep alive and foster by means of the Auxiliary Forces, they would have a better fighting machine on the whole than if they tried to collect from the gutter and from among the unemployed what they themselves described as the dregs of the population. But all efforts in this direction were vitiated by the non-recognition of the fact that our Army was nothing but an amateur Army. Too many men took up a military career with the intention more of amusing themselves than of forwarding its interests or adding to its efficiency. This was largely due to the fact that officers were not paid sufficiently well to enable the authorities to exact the whole-hearted devotion to the service which the country ought to expect. When an officer became a colonel it was idle to expect him to devote the whole of his energies for the paltry consideration he was to receive. If a colonel did his duty he would be worth £1,000 a year. There was too much inclination to suppose that they could demand from those in the Volunteer force very much more than they were prepared to pay for. He hoped they would have from the Secretary of State for War some statement that he had resolved to improve the Army without destroying the Auxiliary Forces. If he did carry out this policy of reducing the Auxiliary Forces he would be doomed to disappointment.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said he was only going to trouble the House with a few words about quick-firing guns and short rifles. He had never been an admirer of the War Office, but he thought the criticism of it had been more acidulated than it ought to be. The hon. and gallant Member for Newington had rather unduly piled on the agony as to one or two matters. As an object-lesson upon this question he would like to point to what was happening on the Continent, where two great Powers who re-armed the artillery five years ago were now about to re-arm it again, one at a cost of £2,000,000. During this time the War Office had been marking time and had adopted two stop-gaps, namely, the sixteen batteries of guns bought from Austria and the equipment invented by Sir George Clarke. Fortunately the English batteries, with guns firing four shots a minute, had not been pitted against the French batteries with guns firing twenty shots a minute. He had been informed that on March 5th of last year the order for the quick-firing guns was given by the War Office. They were put in hand the following month, and in a month's time the War Office would be in possession of fifty quick-firing guns, and in a year's time something like 500 would have been delivered. It should not be forgotten that if the War Office had re-armed the artillery five and a half years ago they would have had to come down to the House and ask for £2,500,000 more to carry out the re-armament of the artillery a second time.

He could not help thinking that the attack which had been made upon the short rifle was somewhat belated, because they had been in possession of it for the last two years, and they had all had ample opportunities of examining it. Although he was an old instructor in musketry he did not consider himself an expert. What he would say, however, was that the Lee-Metford could not be regarded as a good weapon, because it was unhandy and heavy and did not come up handy to the shoulder. They wanted a rifle that came up handy to the shoulder and was well balanced. The trajectory of the short rifle and the Lee-Metford was practically the same up to 800 yards. He would rather have a short rifle and a short bayonet than an ill-balanced one and a long bayonet. *The Times* pointed out that in consequence of the shortening of the rifle the British soldier's bayonet would be five inches shorter than his adversary's. Surely the resources of civilisation were not exhausted, and it was within the competence of the War Office to provide a longer bayonet if it was necessary, and he did not think it was. With regard to the shooting at Bisley that was very different to what occurred on active service. The flash fire from the muzzle they could not help, and if they had a short rifle they would have to take the disadvantages as well as the advantages.

As to the Militia, he hoped the Secretary of State would stand to his guns in that direction, and that he would end or mend that force. He would rather that the right hon. Gentleman should mend it. After all, what was the use of a force which was short of officers, which had no staff, no guns, and no transport, and which was 50 per cent. below strength at the present moment? Such a force, as his hon. friend the Member for Stepney had said, was a patent fraud. The other day *The Times* pointed out that the Militia was the backbone of the Peninsular Army. That was so; but at that time the Militia was recruited by ballot, and he should like to know what hon. Gentleman would bring in a Bill to restore balloting for the Militia. He brought in such a Bill once, but the five hon. Members who backed it withdrew their names before he could even bring it to the Table. Whether they acted under pressure from their constituents or not he could not say. During the last year or two the criticism of the War Office had been rather too acidulated. He thought his right hon. friend the present War Minister was doing well. During the last eighteen months more had been done for the Army than had been accomplished since the time of Lord Cardwell, whom, though execrated when he was in office, he regarded as the greatest military administrator the country ever had. But it was idle to talk of Army re-organisation unless the recruits were forthcoming, and the recruiting of an Army which had to serve in the tropics was by no means an easy matter. He had heard of a regiment which lately went marching through its territorial district beating up recruits. At the end of three weeks it got only one recruit, and he had a difficulty in passing the doctor. On the following Sunday the pastor of the village in which the recruit lived asked the prayers of the congregation for their erring brother, and opened a collection to buy him out. That was an example of the difficulties which the Secretary for War had to encounter.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said it was quite true, as the last speaker had said, that the Militia was weak, but everything had been done for years past to snub it, and do away with it as much as possible. The recruits had been taken out of it and put into the Army. It had been bled to strengthen the Regular Army. Militia officers had been snubbed to such an extent that there was not now the same desire, as in the old days, to join the force. It was not only in the Peninsular War that the Militia rendered good service; it also did a good deal in the late South African War, and we should have been in very great difficulty if we had not been able to send these men out there. The Militia was ready to be used at a moment's notice whenever we wished to embody it, and it was a useful reserve in that sense. He was glad to learn from what had been said in another place that there was a probability of the Militia being taken a little more notice of in the future than in the past. He agreed with the suggestion that the Militia should be enlisted for foreign service in time of war. That was a view which he had repeatedly pressed on Secretaries of State for War. It would not affect the recruiting, but it would give us a valuable force, which could be used at much shorter notice than at the present moment. There was one thing which he hoped would be avoided, and that was the destruction of the Militia by trying to improve it by the imposition of conditions which could not be fulfilled. It might not be so good as we should like to have it, but it was to a certain extent a voluntary force, and we could not expect to get from its members what could be exacted from men who gave their whole time to the Army, and who got regular pay all the year round. It should also be remembered that Militia officers did not go into that force for a career. They sacrificed a certain amount of their time, and he hoped the proposal that they should be a year with the Regular battalion would be done away with. If that were to be put in force he was quite sure the deficiency of officers would be greatly increased. By all means give every possible opportunity to the officer to serve two or three months during the period of his Militia engagement, but do not force him to go for a year at a time when, if he was not going into the Army, he would be at business or finishing his education. If they wished the local squires and men who could spare a certain amount of time to become officers they must not be asked to give up that time from the careers on which they had entered.

There was some sort of new scheme and some of them in the House wanted to know where it was tending. He understood that the scheme put forward by the right hon. Gentleman last year was to be modified on certain points, beginning with the gradual abolition of the small depôts, which were expensive and inefficient. A large factor in any scheme at the present moment must be a considerable curtailment of expenditure on the Army Votes, and he was quite willing to see the Votes for his own favourite hobby cut down to secure economy. Unless economy was immediately introduced, even if necessary by the reduction of numbers, the demand in the country for economy would become so great that they would be obliged to cut down the Army to the non-efficient point. There was one part of the Army, and that the most expensive, on which economy could be directly exercised. He meant the staff and the Organisation Department of the War Office. The staff went on increasing in numbers under the new system, and yet these highly-paid higher officers were not compelled to become more efficient. The example of foreign nations on this point should be followed. There should be fewer general officers, colonels, and higher-grade staff officers, and they should insist that those retained should be more efficient, even if they were granted higher pay. The promotion of officers from the lower ranks should not be carried on simply to increase the flow of promotion, and only those should be promoted to higher ranks who were efficient.

Several questions had been raised as to the new guns. France had the best guns in Europe at the present time, but it was said that by the delay in the provision of new guns our Army would get a better weapon. If that argument were to prevail the old Waterloo guns might still have been in use. There would have been a great saving in life and expenditure if we had had proper guns in the South African War instead of obsolete ones. During the last seven years it had been pressed over and over again on the War Office that our artillery was obsolete, and nothing should be allowed to stop the re-armament of our artillery in the shortest possible time. With regard to the new rifle, it was by no means true that the present weapon was obsolete, yet the War Office had plunged into an expenditure of £3,000,000 on a new rifle, to which certainly half the expert opinion was opposed. He begged the War Office to wait before they spent this large sum on a rifle which was not accepted as an improvement on the one we had already by any large majority of expert opinion. Certain things, such as fouling and heating, could not be proved by the ordinary tests. But the increased flash and the detention of the bullet by the extra rifling showed that the short rifle would foul and get hot. He deprecated very much such an expenditure on a rifle which had not been proved to be absolutely necessary. But one thing had escaped the War Office; they were not in touch with the Auxiliary Forces. They did not understand them. He knew the present Secretary for War did understand them, but most people at the War Office were entirely ignorant of the Volunteer and the Militia systems and the way in which they were worked. It was quite true that some of the new officials put into the office did understand these forces, but they were in subordinate positions, and the War Office as a whole should study more than hitherto the efficiency of these forces in the field.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.

The Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means.

ADJOURNMENT (UNDER STANDING ORDER No. 10).

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Mr. Speaker, at Question time this afternoon, when the subject of the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell and the conditions under which he held that appointment came up for consideration, I used the expression, in speaking of the Government, that in my opinion they should tell the truth about this matter at once. You, Mr. Speaker—as I readily admit—most properly called me to order for that expression, because it might have conveyed the impression that I thought that in the answers given by the Government they were actually stating what was untrue. I did not intend to convey that impression and apologised for my mistake. What I did intend to convey was that the Government was not telling the whole truth, and I desired to press on them that, in a matter of this supreme importance, they were bound to take the House into their confidence and to tell the whole truth. The conditions on which Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed, the conditions on which he has held the office of Under-Secretary up to this moment, and the conditions on which he is to hold it from this time on are in doubt and uncertainty, and this is a matter of such supreme importance that I venture to suggest to the House of Commons that it is its duty to probe it to the bottom and to learn the whole truth. This is an important question from many points of view. First of all, it is important because of the gravity of the matter at issue, and secondly, because of the character and position of Sir Antony MacDonnell himself. The position which this distinguished Civil servant holds in Ireland is one which had its origin a long time ago. I believe the creation of the appointment was in 1777, that is before the Union, and the appointment is one which I think I can easily show has been held almost ever since by men who were not mere Civil Service clerks, but men who were politicians, and who had given to them the power and privilege of making suggestions not merely as to administration but as to policy. I remember that in the year 1902 my hon. and learned friend the Member for Donegal asked a Question of the present Chief Secretary as to the character of the office of Under-Secretary, and the right hon. Gentleman said in reply that the Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant was the permanent representative of the Executive Government in Ireland. That answer precludes the idea altogether that the Under-Secretary is a mere Civil Service clerk without any right of suggestion or initiative as to policy. I will not allude to-night to the appointment of Mr. Thomas Drummond further than to say in passing that of course that was not the appointment of an ordinary Civil servant. Mr. Drummond went to Ireland to initiate and carry out a policy, but I will come down to more recent times. What about Sir Robert Hamilton? Undoubtedly, when Under-Secretary he initiated a policy and exercised the widest possible powers. What about Sir Redvers Buller? He was appointed Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland by a Conservative Government, and in the evidence he gave before a Royal Commission, evidence given, I believe, while he actually held the office ——

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): What did he initiate?

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I hope the hon. Gentleman will be kind enough to allow me to develop my argument in my own way, and I hope when I have finished the House will be delighted and entranced, as it always is, by his reply. Sir Redvers Buller gave evidence before a Royal Commission in which he did suggest a policy and did propose to take a certain initiative with reference to the action of the Government in relation to landlords and the land question. Then what about Sir West Ridgeway? He also was appointed by a Conservative Government, and I hope I may be allowed to quote from a recent declaration of his showing the powers he possessed while in the office of Under-Secretary, and how he exercised them. In explaining the other day in *The Times* newspaper his adhesion to the Reform Association of Lord Dunraven he used these words—

> "My views and opinions are not of recent birth; they were conceived during the period of my service as Under-Secretary for Ireland, and were embodied in a Memorandum written in 1889."

So Sir West Ridgeway was not a mere Civil Service clerk; he was a man with sufficiently wide powers to entitle him to prepare a Memorandum suggesting a fundamental change of policy on the part of the governors of the country. He goes on to say—

> "In that Memorandum I advocated the concession of a liberal measure of local government in provincial as well as county councils, the administration of the education grant and other funds raised for that purpose by a local body at least partially-elected——"

Why, I thought that was one of the two proposals in Lord Dunraven's reform programme which had excited the ire of the Chief Secretary. The letter goes on——

> "decentralisation of finance, the reorganisation of Dublin Castle, and especially the abolition of that chaotic anachronism, administration by semi-independent boards, whereby three men do the work of one. The policy of extreme Unionism in Ireland is purely negative; that policy is to stand still and do nothing, Ireland is to rest and be thankful. While the rest of Europe progresses and develops, Ireland is to be stationary, to remain stagnant, and, if in the course of nature unhealthy ferment follows, it is to be corrected by the antiseptic of coercion."

Could one conceive a more direct exercise of initiative and a suggestion of policy on the part of an Under-Secretary? That is the experience of the powers exercised by gentlemen occupying this position in the immediate past.

I now come to the position of Sir Antony MacDonnell. We have had a certain account given by Lord Lansdowne and by the Chief Secretary as to the particular terms on which Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed. These conditions are contained in certain letters. We demand the production of those letters. There is a Rule of this House that any Minister who quotes a document in support of his position is bound to produce that document, and when we asked the Chief Secretary to obey that Rule his answer was that he did not quote the document. Now I will show that he did quote the document, and I submit respectfully to him and to the House of Commons that he is bound to produce that document, and that until he does produce it it is inevitable that there will be dissatisfaction and probably great misapprehension in the public mind on this question. I hope I may be allowed to make a quotation from the speech the right hon. Gentleman made the other night on this subject. He said—

> "I could not invite such a man as Sir Antony MacDonnell, with such a record, to come and help me as a mere clerical assistant, and, apart altogether from anything that specifically passed between us, if it was proper to make such an appointment—and I hold it was proper—it was impossible to make it without accepting Sir Antony MacDonnell as he was, as a man sworn of the Privy Council the same day as I was myself. Do you suppose that a Minister could invite a man who had rendered greater service to the country than he could ever hope to render to sit on an office stool and merely to register the papers that came into the office?"

Then he goes on to say—

> "We embodied in our letters the conversation in which we had been engaged. These letters made it perfectly plain and clear that Sir Antony MacDonnell was invited by me rather as a colleague than as a mere Under-Secretary to register my will. I was glad to have his advice, to welcome his suggestions, and it was made clear, subject of course to my control, that he was to enjoy a certain freedom of administrative action. I made it clear to Sir Antony MacDonnell. Those letters are extant—they are in Sir Antony MacDonnell's possession—and they show that no such problem was contemplated by him at the time of his appointment, as he suggested to Lord Dunraven."

Will the right hon. Gentleman get up and seriously suggest that that is not a quotation from a document? In defence of his position he brought forward these letters, and said the letters would show that Sir Antony MacDonnell was precluded from considering this particular question, about which it was said his conduct was indefensible. I submit that if ever a document was quoted in support of a Minister this document was, and I say it is a mere subterfuge, and a most unworthy one for the right hon. Gentleman to say that he is exempt from the duty of producing the document because he did not quote the exact words. I call for the production of the document. Is there anything in the document of which the Government is ashamed? Is there anything in it inconsistent with the case they have been trying to make in their own support? If there is not, why is it not produced? If there is, was a more discreditable performance ever made by a Minister of the Crown than the assertion that he was not bound to produce it on the technical ground that he did not quote the exact words? The right hon. Gentleman went on to make further reference to these letters, and he said that among the subjects which these letters would show that Sir Antony MacDonnell was entitled to discuss with various people in Ireland was this—co-ordination, direction, and control of the detached boards in Ireland.

> "Co-ordination or co-relation . . . does not suggest to me, and never will suggest to me, the introduction of another board which is to be of an elective character."

and he went on at the end of the reference to say in his speech that these proposals—let the House mark this—these two proposals of Lord Dunraven that there should be devolution of certain powers of this House to a body in Ireland, and that there should be a partially-elected board to deal with Irish finance had not been before him. I assert that the charge which is made against the right hon. Gentleman is not that these actual proposals, in the detail with which they were put before the country in Lord Dunraven's second pronouncement, were before the Government. That is not the charge I make. The charge I make is that the substance of these proposals were before the Government. So far as Sir Antony MacDonnell was concerned, judging by the statements made by Lord Dunraven in the House of Lords, and judging by what we think we know of Sir Antony MacDonnell's opinions, these exact proposals in the precise words in which they were put forward would not represent Sir Antony MacDonnell's view of the proper settlement of the Irish question at all. These proposals were put forward not by him, but by Lord Dunraven and his association on their own responsibility, and the responsibility for them is not the responsibility of Sir Antony MacDonnell, but the responsibility of Lord Dunraven and the Reform Association. The charge is that general powers to confer and discuss on similar subjects to these were conferred on Sir Antony MacDonnell, the charge is that Sir Antony MacDonnell, under the terms of his appointment, had power to consult not merely with Lord Dunraven but with anybody he chose in Ireland upon practically all questions, including specifically the question of local government in the country. He had, on the authority of Lord Lansdowne to discuss what was called the co-ordination of the various forty-one boards of which the Government of Ireland consists. He had, according to Lord Lansdowne, full authority to confer with anyone he liked in Ireland on the question of what Lord Lansdowne called improvement in the antiquated and complicated system of government by Dublin Castle. The Chief Secretary knew all about these discussions that Sir Antony MacDonnell was conducting. He has told us that last August he went on his holiday and that he did not pay particular attention to the first pronouncement of the Reform Association. The Association issued its first report on August 30th. I do not know when the right hon. Gentleman went on his holiday. Upon what date did he go ? When he went did not he know that he was leaving Sir Antony MacDonnell behind to continue these conferences with Lord Dunraven ?

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman must remember that this matter was discussed at great length for two days, and the hon. Member is only entitled to discuss the definite matter on the Paper. He is not entitled to go into the question as to what the action of Sir Antony MacDonnell was, nor how far Lord Dudley or the Chief Secretary knew about it. The question is what are the terms on which he is employed.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I quite understand, Mr. Speaker, and you will find that I am not in the slightest degree transgressing your ruling. I moved the adjournment for the purpose of calling attention to the present conditions on which Sir Antony MacDonnell holds his appointment, and I submit respectfully that I am entitled to consider the conditions on which he has held the appointment up to the present, and then to go on to ask whether those conditions have now been changed.

*MR. SPEAKER: What are the present conditions ? As I understand, this Motion was based on an Answer given that certain fresh instructions had been given since this matter was first raised in the House, and it was on that really that leave to move was given. Of course I quite agree that involves what are the terms as a whole on which he now holds it. The hon. Member appears to me to be going beyond that, and re-opening the whole discussion as to how far the Government was to blame for the attitude they have taken during the last few weeks towards Sir Antony MacDonnell. That is not the point.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: In order to arrive at some understanding of what are the precise terms, I must include what the terms were on which he was appointed, and then go on to ask how those terms have been varied, but I will bear in mind the suggestion that you have made. You will find that I will not in any sense depart from it.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I will leave it to the hon. Member, who, I believe, always endeavours to follow any suggestion from the Chair, but it appeared to me that he was going beyond the terms of the Motion.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: I will endeavour not to do so. We are in this difficulty about these terms and conditions, that the right hon. Gentleman has not produced the document, and we are trying to ascertain what were the conditions on which Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed, with the object of asking how far they have now been varied. We have really to grope about to ascertain what the conditions really were. The right hon. Gentleman has said that Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed on conditions which did enable him to discuss questions of local government in Ireland, the question of co-ordination of Irish public boards, and the question of a large improvement in the antiquated system of Dublin Castle, but he has said these terms and conditions did not justify him in having anything to do with these specific proposals, namely, devolution and the creation of a financial board. I want to ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question. I want to ask him whether, in the first place, he knew, and of course the answer is obvious, that Sir Antony MacDonnell was conferring with Lord Dunraven on this question? Secondly, I want to ask him whether the first report of the Reform Association, published on August 30th, contained anything which in his mind led him to believe that Sir Antony MacDonnell had violated the conditions of his appointment? It is only thus that we are able to arrive at an understanding of what the conditions were. That report for August 30th contains this paragraph—

> "We consider this devolution would be beneficial to Ireland, and would relieve the Imperial Parliament"—

that cannot mean private business—

> "Of a mass of business with which it cannot now deal satisfactorily."

That is point number one, devolution. Point two—

> "The decentralisation or localisation of finance without sacrificing the element of control of Parliament."

That is point number two, financial control. My point is that the report was issued on August 30th. The Chief Secretary knew that Sir Antony MacDonnell was conferring with Lord Dunraven and other people on this question. He saw in this report of August 30th the result of this conference, and he remained silent for a month. He has told us that he rushed into print in *The Times* newspaper after September 26th because the second publication of the Reform Association contained these two points which, he said, were quite new to him. He said he had not heard of them at all, but they were in the first report a month before. No one connected with Irish political life will grudge him a holiday. Some of us wish that we had been able to take a similar holiday ourselves. But he said—

> "At the end of last session I defended Sir Antony MacDonnell, and I am prepared to defend him again. I went on a holiday and tried to make it as complete as possible. I paid no heed to newspapers and neglected correspondence. The Irish Reform Association came into being without startling me."

That is, the first publication of the Reform Association, containing these two proposals specifically, did not startle the right hon. Gentleman—

> "But in the second manifesto, published on September 26th, everyone read into the Reform Association all kinds of designs that I had not discovered in it in the very cursory perusal of the report of the first meeting."

I am not going to suggest that the right hon. Gentleman is saying anything that is not absolutely true. But I do say that if he read the report of the first meeting which I read to the House, even in the most cursory way, he must have seen those two proposals—devolution and a financial council. He goes on to say—

> "The first report issued by the association made no impression on my mind."

Well, I have read the words of the report—devolution and a financial council—He added—

> "It made very little impression on the minds of other people."

There's the rub. It made no impression on the mind of the right hon. Gentleman because his mind was prepared for it. It made no impression on the mind of the public in Ireland. Therefore, he held his peace—

> "I did not read it at the time," he said, "but the *Irish Times*, a Unionist organ,"—

apparently he has the *Irish Times* sent after him on his holiday wherever he goes—

> "seems to have read this report more carefully than I did, and even it was not startled or alarmed."—

At devolution or the financial council.

> "This newspaper pointed out that the proposals were very vague. If I had been in Dublin I should not have thought it my duty to dash into print and to say that these gentlemen were wrong."

That is to say, if he had been in Dublin attending to his business he would not have felt it his duty to rush into print and declare that the proposal of devolution from this House and the creation of a partly-elected financial council was wrong. Let me dwell for a moment on the account Lord Lansdowne has given of the terms and conditions of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment. He says—

> "I suggest to your Lordships that it follows almost as a matter of course that a man of that kind and those antecedents could scarcely be bound by the same narrow rules of routine which are applicable to an ordinary member of the Civil Service, and I answer the noble Marquess's question by telling him that it was understood on both sides that he was to have greater freedom of action and greater opportunities of initiative than he would have expected if he had been promoted in the ordinary way. It was also understood between Sir Antony MacDonnell and the Chief Secretary that there were certain subjects to which their efforts were to be addressed, and which they had reasonable hope and expectation of being able to deal with should they remain in office, and amongst those subjects was the co-ordination of the many detached and semi-detached boards into which the government of Ireland is at present sub-divided. Any one who has studied that question is aware that there is room for considerable improvement in that old-fashioned and complicated organisation."

That is to say, one of the subjects which the Government hoped to deal with, if they remained in office, and which Sir Antony MacDonnell was specifically authorised to discuss with various people, was practically the abolition of the present system of government of Dublin Castle and the substitution for it of some other entirely new system.

> "I think I ought to explain," he says, "that I say this to your Lordships with the knowledge and concurrence of the Chief Secretary for Ireland."

In these circumstances Sir Antony MacDonnell was justified in assuming that he had a certain scope of action. He certainly acted upon that assumption, and with the full knowledge and approval of the Chief Secretary.

> "It was with the Chief Secretary's approval that Sir Antony MacDonnell made himself accessible to persons of all kinds and descriptions; and I maintain that in endeavouring to arrive at that result, and in endeavouring to break down the barrier which has so long and too often divided Dublin Castle from the rest of the country, my right hon. colleague."

—that is Sir Antony MacDonnell—

> "was taking a step in the right direction, and one for which he deserved the greatest possible praise. I have no doubt," continued Lord Lansdowne, "that he called to mind the understanding upon which he took office in 1902. I have no doubt he called to mind conversations and consultations with the noble Earl and the Chief Secretary, recollecting that the subject of local government was one that they had to discuss and examine together. I say, therefore, that it appears to me that Sir Antony MacDonnell might well feel himself able to take part in the symposium with a perfectly clear conscience."

Lord Lansdowne subsequently read a letter from the Viceroy of Ireland, which reflects the greatest honour upon his straightforwardness and his courage, in which he said he was aware that Sir Antony MacDonnell was helping Lord Dunraven, and that he discussed the reforms suggested in the noble Earl's scheme on several occasions with the Under-Secretary. He adds that he does not think that Sir Antony MacDonnell was exceeding his functions, because in the first place he knew that under the terms of his appointment—Where are those terms? This is a very serious matter. Here is the representative of the Sovereign in Ireland, the Viceroy, declaring that in his opinion, under the terms of that appointment, Sir Antony MacDonnell was justified. The Chief Secretary says that his conduct was indefensible; and because there is this difference between the Chief Secretary and the Viceroy, the House of

Commons, forsooth, is to be denied the production of the documents.

"Because," he says, "in the first place he knew that under the terms of his appointment his position differed from that of an ordinary Under-Secretary, and, secondly, he knew that on two previous occasions, the Land Conference and the University question, Sir Antony MacDonnell had been in close communication with Lord Dunraven."

Surely this places the House of Commons in an extraordinary position. We have a direct conflict of testimony as to the terms and conditions on which Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed, the Viceroy stating one thing and the Chief Secretary another, the Chief Secretary quoting by paraphrase the letters containing those terms and declining to produce them for the inspection of the House of Commons and the country. This cannot be tolerated. As I stated earlier in the day the whole truth will have to come out, and nothing but discredit will attach to the Minister who, declining to produce the whole truth at first, has it dragged from him piecemeal. The charge that I make against the Government is this: That the nature and terms of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment covered, as the Viceroy has solemnly declared they covered, discussions upon questions such as this. I charge the Chief Secretary that he knew the subjects upon which Lord Dunraven and Sir Antony MacDonnell were conferring. I say that those subjects were specifically stated on August 30th in the terms that I read to the House, that they were stated to be devolution and a financial council, and I do not care in what part of the earth the right hon. Gentleman was hiding himself during his holiday [Cries of "Oh, oh!"]—I will withdraw that at once; I assure the House I meant nothing offensive by that phrase. I assure the House that I quite realise that the right hon. Gentleman was, in taking his holiday, anxious to get away as far as he could from politics; and it was only in that sense that I used the word "hiding"—and I do not blame him if he was. No matter on what part of the earth he was endeavouring to take his holiday free from bother and anxiety about Irish politics, it was impossible for him not to have seen some British newspapers or to have had some information as to the first pronouncement of the Reform Association. He has himself admitted, though he did not see it in full, apparently, he was aware of its substance. He has admitted that he had seen, in the *Irish Times*, a statement on this subject. He must, therefore, have known either a whole month, even if he did not know, as I believe he did, beforehand, that Sir Antony MacDonnell and Lord Dunraven were discussing amongst themselves the question of devolution, and some sort of a partially-elected financial council for Ireland. I, therefore, come to this decision: the Viceroy knew about these conferences, and believed that they were within the scope of Sir Antony MacDonnell's powers. The Chief Secretary admits that he knew in substance what these proposals were, and also that for one month, from August 30th to September 26th, he never made any protest, never communicated with Sir Antony MacDonnell on the subject. What would have been more natural, if Sir Antony MacDonnell had really exceeded his powers, than for the Chief Secretary to have communicated with him; from the most distant quarter of the world he might have written him to say that he was startled with the result of his conference with Lord Dunraven, and hoped he would go no further, and that he did not approve of the length he had gone? But he did nothing until September 26th. He did it then, after the Orange section in Ireland had raised a loud cry against the proposals of the Reform Association, and after *The Times* newspaper had published a leading article demanding from the Chief Secretary a repudiation. I am not so sure that it conduces to the power or dignity of a great officer of State to be whipped to heel by *The Times* newspaper. I am not sure that it consorts with the dignity of a great officer of State, having remained silent on this matter for a month, to come forward within twenty-four hours, with a repudiation in answer to a threatening and brow-beating article from the London *Times* calling upon him to do so. The great charge is that for one reason or another those who are in possession of the truth are withholding the truth. I think that the House of Commons and the country are entitled to have the full truth with reference to this matter. As Lord Lansdowne stated in the House of Lords, Sir Antony MacDonnell was offered a great position in India, the position of Governor-General of Bombay. That is a position that any man living might envy. But Sir Antony MacDonnell gave up that great position, gave up his right to it in order to continue his work in Dublin Castle. Who asked him to do that work? Surely the refusal of Sir Antony MacDonnell to take up this great position, and his retention of office in Ireland, meant that at least he thought he had the confidence and approval of the Government in Ireland. Now is it to be supposed, if he had the slightest inkling that he had lost the confidence of the Government in Ireland, that he would have refused the Indian position? No, Sir, he possessed the confidence of the Government, and he was pressed by the Government of Ireland to give up his great career in India, and to remain in Ireland at the very time when he was engaged in conferring with Lord Dunraven on these very schemes.

Now, Sir, I commenced by asking for the production of the documents to show us what were the conditions of his appointment. I now ask for information as to how these conditions have been varied. Apparently, from the answer given this afternoon by the Chief Secretary, the conditions and power of the appointment have been varied. I asked whether Sir Antony MacDonnell had been asked to resign and I was told not. But a few minutes after we were told there had been some variation in his powers and in the conditions under which he holds the appointment. So that what has happened is that the Government shrank from asking for his resignation, but they thought they could effect their purpose by degrading him from the position of colleague of the right hon. Gentleman, as the Chief Secretary himself described it, into being a mere head clerk sitting on a stool in Dublin Castle. I think the right hon. Gentleman said something this afternoon to the effect that in future Sir Antony MacDonnell would have no initiative power on any subject without consultation with the Chief Secretary; that is, on any subject which would be likely to cause discussion in Ireland or in this House. Well, if that be so, Sir Antony MacDonnell will be a very idle man. Between the gallant and vigilant few who represent the Orange faction in this House and the numerous and vigilant gentlemen representing Nationalist interests in this House, I am afraid that not many actions in Dublin Castle will escape discussion in this House. If he is to be put on these new conditions, that is to say to do nothing, be the permanent representative of Executive Government in Ireland, it is degrading him from the position he has held—which was not, I think, inconsistent with his great career—into the position of a mere clerk, which is inconsistent with all his past record. I ask the Government, therefore, to tell us the conditions on which Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed. I ask the Government to produce the documents. I ask the right hon. Gentleman to explain his own conduct, how it is that, having read on August 30th the first report of the Irish Reform Association dealing with devolution and the elective financial board, he remained silent for a month and only came out against it when a storm was raised by the Ulster Members? How can the right hon. Gentleman hold the conduct of Sir Antony MacDonnell as indefensible in view of the declaration of Lord Lansdowne, and especially in view of the manly and honourable vindications of Sir Antony by the Viceroy of Ireland? I ask the right hon. Gentleman to state specifically the whole of the variations in the conditions of Sir Antony's appointment, and I say to him that, in my judgment, the whole of this transaction, down to the present moment, is discreditable and disreputable in the last degree and that the Government are bound in common decency to let the House of Commons and the public know the full truth in the matter.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) formally seconded the Motion.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The form of my reply is dictated by the four Questions with which the hon. Member concluded his speech. He asked me in the first place to state the conditions of the appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell. I am perfectly prepared to read the letters which passed between myself and Sir Antony MacDonnell at the time that he was appointed. The letters embody the gist of our conversations, in which we discussed for some time the prospect of Sir Antony MacDonnell being able and prepared to take up the post of Under-Secretary in Ireland; and those conversations, on my part, took the form of a very full exhibition to Sir Antony MacDonnell of all I thought would arise within the utmost conceivable bounds of possibility in the near future in Ireland. That is treating Sir Antony MacDonnell as a colleague; but colleagues are bound by the collective opinion of all their colleagues, and it is perfectly clear—and nothing to the contrary was in my mind and in the mind of Sir Antony MacDonnell—that I could not promise to do things unless they received the sanction of my colleagues, the sanction of the Treasury, and the sanction of this House. I was not telling him what I would undertake to do; I was telling Sir Antony MacDonnell all that I thought conceivably might be done; and nothing I could say to Sir Antony MacDonnell could enable him or confer upon him powers which I did not myself enjoy. I will now read the letters.

"Dear Mr. Wyndham—"

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: What is the date?

MR. WYNDHAM: The date is September 22nd, 1902. He writes to me, and then I write a letter expressing my views. My letter is not a solemn document, but it is the expression of opinion from one gentleman to another who are both working together. The letter is—

"I told you that I had been offered and had accepted the nomination to a seat in the Council of India, and that it would be necessary for me to consult Lord George Hamilton before anything was settled regarding the Irish appointment. I have now seen Lord George Hamilton, and I understand from him that there would probably be no difficulty in allowing me to retain a lien on the India Council and lending my services to the Irish Government. This procedure would be in accordance with my own wishes, and it would, I think, strengthen my position in Ireland if I go there. But if the matter, through Lord George Hamilton's considerateness, is simplified in this direction, there still remains the difficulty to which I alluded when I saw you. I have been anxiously thinking over the difficulty. I am an Irishman, a Roman Catholic, and a Liberal in politics. I have strong Irish sympathies. I do not see eye to eye with you in all matters of Irish administration, and I think that there is no likelihood of good coming from such a *régime* of coercion as *The Times* has recently outlined. On the other hand, from the exposition you were good enough to give me of your views, and from the estimate I formed of your aims and objects, I find that there is a substantial measure of agreement between us. Moreover, I should be glad to do some service to Ireland. Therefore, it seems to me that the situation goes beyond the sphere of mere Party politics; and I should be willing to take office under you, provided there is some chance of my succeeding. I think there is a chance of success on this condition—that I should have adequate opportunities of influencing the policy and acts of the Irish Administration, and, subject, of course, to your control, freedom of action in executive matters. For many years in India I directed administration on the largest scale, and I know that if you send me to Ireland the opportunity of mere secretarial criticism would fall far short of the requirements of my position. If I were installed in office in Ireland my aims, broadly stated, would be—(1) the maintenance of order" [MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Not by coercion.] "(2) the solution of the land question on the basis of voluntary sale; (3) where sale does not operate, the fixation of rent on some self-acting principle whereby local inquiries would be obviated; (4) the co-ordination, control, and direction of boards and other administrative agencies; (5) the settlement of the education question in the general spirit of Mr. Balfour's views; and generally the promotion of material administrative improvement and conciliation. I am sure you will not misinterpret this letter. I am greatly attracted by the chance of doing some good for Ireland. My best friends tell me that I am deluding myself—that I shall be abused by the Orangemen as a Roman Catholic and Home Ruler and denounced by the Home Rulers as a renegade; that I shall do no good, and shall retire disgusted within the year. But I am willing to try the business under the colours and conditions I have mentioned. It is for you to decide whether the trial is worth making. In any event I shall be your debtor for having sought me in connection with a great work."

Now I will read my reply:

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Date?

MR. WYNDHAM: Sir Antony's letter was dated September 22nd, and my reply September 25th, 1902—

"My dear Sir Antony,

Your letter was most welcome. I accept your offer to serve in the Irish Office with gratitude to you and confidence that your action will be for the good of your country. When Sir David Harrel resigns, I shall accordingly nominate you as his successor; and it is understood between us that I make and that you accept this appointment on the lines and under the conditions laid down in your letter with a view to compassing the objects which you hold to be of primary importance—namely, the maintenance of order, the solution of the land question on the basis of voluntary sale, and where that proves impossible, on the basis of substituting some simple automatic system of revising rents in place of the existing costly processes of perpetual litigation; the co-ordination of the detached and semi-detached boards and departments; the settlement of education in such a way as to provide higher education in a form acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants, and administrative conciliation. To these I add—(1) Consolidation and increase of the existing grants for Irish local purposes with a view to reducing rates where they are prohibitive of enterprise; (2) if we are spared long enough, the development of transit for agricultural and other products, possibly by guarantees to railways, on the Canadian model. But this is far off. We have each of us terminated 'an option' in the sense which I have all along desired. I ciphered the purpose of your letter to the Prime Minister and received his concurrence by telegram yesterday, and by letter this morning. It is understood that you accept a seat on the India Council and are to be transferred when the vacancy occurs. I will ask Lord George Hamilton to see that the Press understands and insists on your great administrative achievements in India. That will prepare the public for the further move. I can only thank you once again with all my heart for coming to my assistance."

I think that everyone will agree that that friendly letter, we having left one another a fortnight to see whether we should suit, was not intended to be produced as a document. But the fact that letters were exchanged shows that the lines and measure of our agreement were laid down between us, and under these circumstances, as they are of a special character and of an important interest in this debate, some departure from the uniform precedent may possibly be permitted. The Prime Minister has, therefore, authorised me to read that correspondence, although it does involve a departure from uniform precedent. There is nothing in that letter of mine of which I am in the least ashamed.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: You said that Sir Antony MacDonnell's conduct was indefensible.

MR. WYNDHAM: I must say two words on that letter. It may be said that I was being urged by *The Times* to proclaim Ireland under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act, and that the reference in my letter meant that Sir Antony MacDonnell was to come and that was not to be done. That was not so. I had in September proclaimed many counties under that Act, and the maintenance of order was one of the points on which we were agreed. But was it unreasonable in 1902 to hope that administrative conciliation might become a practical policy? I do not think it was. These letters were written on September 22nd and 25th, and the first public suggestion of a conference between the two Parties had been issued on September 3rd of that year, and though it excited much derision in many quarters, it also raised some sparks of hope in others. Therefore, when you are writing a document which deals not with the immediate future, but with all that is possible during a long term of years, the chance of the Government being occupied with something else besides police work is one that ought to be entertained as within the bounds of possibility. Then, Sir, loud cheers were given at the phrase "ample opportunities to influence the policy and acts of the Irish Government." Yes, but subject, of course, to the fact that I, as Minister responsible to this House, cannot divest myself of that responsibility, and that my policy must be the policy of the Cabinet, or that I must leave the Cabinet. Therefore, it must be perfectly clear that any terms which state what you hope in the process of some years to do cannot alter what is the foundation of the constitutional Government of this country. And then we have the words "co-ordination of detached and semi-detached boards and departments." Now, why do those words "co-ordination of departments" suggest to any man's mind either of the two things to which I object and to which I very properly stated my objection? How does that phrase suggest either the creation of an elective financial board or the delegation to any board, however composed, of any legislative powers in excess of Private Bill legislation? It suggested nothing of the kind to my mind; it never has done so. And this is not the first time since I have been Chief Secretary that some phrase or word has been taken up and twisted to another purpose. I remember that when introducing the Land Bill there were proposals made by me, or mentioned by me, with an idea of keeping a one-eighth instalment in perpetuity, and possibly bringing in local bodies. What are local bodies? They are county councils; but at that time the idea was promulgated that I was contemplating the creation of some central body indistinguishable from a national assembly. I never contemplated that. The hon. and learned Member traversed during a portion of his speech some parts of the ground which I endeavoured to cover, and, I think, covered fully the other day. I adhere to every word which I said the day before yesterday. I stated that there are two things to which I object, that I am entitled to object to those things, and that I was right in stating my objection. You may entertain an objection and not state it, but I was right in stating my objection as I did on September 27th, because I did not wish it to be thought that I held an attitude of benevolent neutrality to these two proposals.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Why did you not say it a month before.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Well, if the hon. Member will take the pains to read my speech he will see why I did not state it before. I stated to the House that I saw no cause for taking the first publication of the Reform Association very much to heart. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford has misinterpreted one sentence of that speech. I did not say that I had read the *Irish Times* then; I said that having read the *Irish Times* afterwards, on looking back I found that one of the principal organs of Unionist opinion in Ireland, and an organ not too friendly to the Government, was not perturbed either. It is unnecessary for me to make all the points which I made the other night over again; but that unhesitating reaffirmation of my declaration that I do object to those two things, that I did object to them, and that I was entitled, and bound, in my opinion, to publish that objection, I repeat to-night without any qualification of any sort or kind. Nor is there any reason why I should repeat the other part of my speech in which I explained, I know fully, and I think to the satisfaction of anyone who accepted my account of what took place, how a misunderstanding grew up on the question of finance. But the critical and hostile comments upon the fact that I was not perturbed, as I was not, by the first publication of the Reform Association have really nothing to do with the case, because I have stated in the plainest words I can command my testimony to a belief in Sir Antony MacDonnell's candour, loyalty, and integrity. Very well, there the situation stands. But, say hon. Members, then why do you announce that his conduct is indefensible? Sir, I cannot defend the publication of views which we object to, and I will not defend them, and I think that nothing I have read out in those two letters for one moment suggests that a mistake is not made if the Under-Secretary assists in the publication of those documents. But the Under-Secretary wrote, as I said the other day, a letter to me in which he said that he was helping Lord Dunraven. That completely covers his good faith, and against his good faith, far from making a charge, I have specifically said that no charge could lie. But to say that in formulating that document, in drafting that document, he did not exceed the limits of what was expected, I think is going—that, I think, does constitute an action which the Government cannot defend.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY (Montrose Burghs): What is the action which is indefensible?

Mr. WYNDHAM: The action which cannot be defended in my opinion is the action of formulating and publishing, ["He did not publish"]—well, formulating proposals to which the Government takes grave exception. Now I quite understand the charge which is made against me. The charge made against me is this—"If, as you told us the night before last"—and as I say now—"you had knowledge of the fact that Sir Antony MacDonnell had conferences with Lord Dunraven, if it is the fact that you were not opposed to a Moderate Party, if the misunderstanding which you trace and lay before us, made you feel that Sir Antony MacDonnell was not disloyal, uncandid, or insincere, then you had no right to be party to a document which says his conduct is indefensible." I deny it altogether. This is a question of fact, not of argument. If I, without fully consulting my colleagues, had formulated views from which they sharply dissented they would take me to task, and if I were able to prove that my action was action taken in good faith, due to a misunderstanding of their views and which cast no reflection of any sort or kind upon my candour or sincerity, I should accept their inability to defend my action, and should rest there. If I had seen those proposals from which I dissent and had assisted at their publication, I do not think my action in doing that could have been defended. At the same time, for the reasons which I gave the other night, and which I have given again to-night, there is no charge against Sir Antony MacDonnell of having in any way been disloyal to me or having in any word, written or said, done anything of which a man need be ashamed. There the position stands, and there I leave it. What I have to say is that I do object to these two proposals, and that no amount of arguing about the vague and obscure language of the Reform Association——

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I read the words. The word devolution was there.

MR. WYNDHAM: I say those words did not cause me perturbation. No amount of arguing about those words will shake my knowledge that I did object to these proposals, nor deprive me of the right to state my objection to these proposals in order that it should not be assumed that I view them with benevolent neutrality when I do not view them with benevolent neutrality.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: It has been my fortune to speak during the last twenty years very often in Irish debates. The whirligig of time brings strange revenges. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary even now quite understands what is the gravamen of the charge, not against him particularly, but against the Government as a whole. The House have heard the correspondence. I submit with perfect confidence that every man in this House, except possibly a few gentlemen from Antrim and so forth, will agree that this correspondence is one perfectly honourable to both parties. I cannot imagine a more straightforward, manly, clear, and definite letter than that of Sir Antony MacDonnell. I cannot, on the other hand, imagine a more frank, straightforward acceptance of such a letter than that of the Chief Secretary. We want to think about two things. First of all, what was it that made the Chief Secretary and, I presume, the Cabinet seek, not accept, but seek and accept, Sir Antony MacDonnell's terms? Then we want to know what has happened since, which makes them, as I understand the answer given by the Chief Secretary this afternoon, now condemn Sir Antony MacDonnell, who was induced to take that post on the footing of being his colleague and not—to use his own language, which I do not think very happy in respect of other Under-Secretaries I have had the pleasure and honour of knowing—on that of sitting on a stool in Dublin Castle. What has made the difference? I have never heard even in this House more extraordinary sophistry than that which the right hon. Gentleman has just fallen into. He says, "I dissent altogether. I will not defend the proposals of devolution made in the second Dunraven scheme." That is not the point. The point is, though he quite honourably and conscientiously cannot defend them, what is it that he finds indefensible in Sir Antony MacDonnell? He has not answered that; he has not touched it. Just let us see what it was. I advise hon. Members opposite to reflect on this. What were the terms upon which Sir Antony MacDonnell accepted office as we gather them from the letter which has been read? First Sir Antony MacDonnell said, if I heard the letter aright, that he was a Liberal in politics, that he was Irish in his sympathies—we know what that means—and then, that from their conversation he inferred that they, the Chief Secretary and Sir Antony MacDonnell, were in a substantial measure of agreement. The right hon. Gentleman accepted that. Sir Antony MacDonnell also said that he only took office on condition that he influenced policy and acts. I say frankly, as I said last night across the floor to the Prime Minister—it was he who introduced these supernatural personages—that if the Archangel Gabriel came to me when I was about to appoint an Under-Secretary for Ireland, I should say "No. I should value your services, I am sure they would be useful to me, at least I am willing to assume that—but special terms cannot be made." But in this case you did accept Sir Antony MacDonnell's terms, whether for good reasons or bad, whether it was setting a good precedent in the Civil Service or a bad precedent. The Chief Secretary accepted the description of himself and Sir Antony MacDonnell as being in substantial agreement on policy. The right hon. Gentleman is in substantial agreement on Irish policy with the man who in that very letter says, "I am a Liberal!"

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): He also says he does not see eye to eye with my right hon. friend.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: That is what is called acute dialetics, and I do not admire it. If you declare you are in substantial agreement with a man, you may still say there are some points on which you do not see eye to eye with him. ["Oh!"] Are you going to cavil on this point? When two men say, "We are in substantial agreement with one another;" when one says, "I am a Liberal in politics, Irish in sympathy, I am a Roman Catholic," is it to be contended for an instant that it was not understood between them, as much by the Chief Secretary as by Sir Antony himself, that there was substantial agreement? And agreement upon what? The land question we need not say anything about, because that is settled. Sir Antony, I think, according to Lord Lansdowne's account, and also according to the Chief Secretary's, did a great and substantial service in settling that question. But then there was another question which Sir Antony MacDonnell bargained that he might have a share in settling. There was the question of what is commonly called a Catholic University for Ireland, but more scientifically called higher education in Ireland, in accordance with the spirit of the views of the Prime Minister. We have had a good deal of trouble in other matters in getting at the Prime Minister's views, and if we are to have further mystifications of the spirit of them we may get into deep water. Is this understood by the House? I entirely agree, in spite of the views of some of my hon. friends behind me, in the enormity of your pretending to govern Ireland while no Party dare take in hand the redress of an admitted grievance. There is no man, I believe, who has ever been responsible, certainly no one in this House who has been responsible for the government of Ireland, who does not agree with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister asked us what we were going to do in some points of Irish policy. I would ask him what is he going to do about higher education in Ireland?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If you agree, why do you not do it? What are you going to do when you come into power?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: When I am Prime Minister I will tell him. He knows very well what I would do.

*MR. SPEAKER said the discussion was now travelling beyond the terms of the Motion.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I can only point to one of the important topics which Sir Antony MacDonnell, by the terms of the agreement which are now being modified and the modification of which we are discussing—that one of those terms was the carrying out of the policy of the Prime Minister in respect to higher education in Ireland. Then we come to co-ordination; but if I were to introduce a discussion on the degree in which co-ordination is required or was involved I should be getting out of order. All we do know is from Lord Lansdowne himself, and the House ought really to give great attention to his words, because we are discussing a censure passed on an important public servant—a censure passed by the Cabinet without their having heard what Sir Antony had to say. The Chief Secretary has described his conduct as indefensible; but Lord Lansdowne, on the other hard, who knows as much of Ireland as any one, says that the Lord-Lieutenant, who is curiously enough left out in all these discussions—I do not understand why, I have always understood that though the Lord-Lieutenant was not so important a person as the Chief Secretary, who happens to be in the Cabinet, he is still a person acting with him and the Under-Secretary. Is that denied?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR; Yes, it is denied.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Now, there! The right hon. Gentleman denies that. An Under-Secretary discussing day after day, and, for all I know, week after week with the Lord-Lieutenant is discussing with an officer whose authority in any such matters the Prime Minister throws over and entirely denies. It is not a pleasant occupation to be a Lord-Lieutenant on the best of terms, but really, if he is to be thrown over in the House of Commons by his own Secretary—for technically, I believe, the Chief Secretary is Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant—what a picture does it present of the confusion of the Irish government? I have been amusing myself with thinking of the Phœnix Park. There is in it the Lord-Lieutenant's lodge, the Chief Secretary's lodge, and the Under-Secretary's lodge. What delightful terms they would be on! What sort of discussion can you have in Dublin Castle? How can you pretend to discuss any great administrative question when each one of these three gentlemen knows that one of them has been thrown over by the Prime Minister, and that the Under-Secretary has been thrown over and his conduct has been denounced as indefensible by the Chief Secretary? I have seen a good many Chief Secretaries in difficulties, but never a Chief Secretary in such difficulties. And it is not only the Prime Minister who throws over the Lord-Lieutenant. It is not only the Chief Secretary who is going to make the Under-Secretary, whom he accepted on special terms, sit on a stool. There is the Solicitor-General for England. What language has he thought it right and consistent with his colleagueship to use? We have all got to consider what sort of system of government will obtain in Ireland in the next month or two? This is what the Solicitor-General said—

> "It would be unbecoming in a member of the Government to make any charge against any permanent Civil servant."

I hope it is not disrespectful to an able Member of this House, but surely that is pure hypocrisy. He knew perfectly well what he was talking about. He said—

> "The charge was that a Civil servant had himself evolved a policy which had been disavowed by the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary."

Not only the Under-Secretary but the Viceroy, is thrown over by the Solicitor-General, the Chief Secretary, and some other members of the Government in equally unworthy and disparaging language, thus weakening the power of the Executive in a country where above all things it is desirable the power in the Executive by its own members should be upheld. I rejoice that the letters have been read. I think they make the case perfectly clear; and what remains for the Prime Minister to do, if he is going to speak in this debate, is to tell us why it is that the special terms under which Sir Antony MacDonnell was invited to accept this great office have been modified, why he has been punished, why he has been censured in the face of the House of Commons and in the face of the country for doing things which he warned them that he would do [Cries of "No"], and which they specially invited him to take office to do. ["Oh."] What is the meaning of Lord Lansdowne's language? Lord Lansdowne says what has been said in more emphatic language many years ago by the right hon. Gentleman the hon. Member for West Birmingham. He says the system of Dublin Castle is antiquated, complicated, and obsolete. When Lord Lansdowne says that, he admits that the system in Dublin Castle of Irish government must be changed. How can you change it? You cannot change it—and really this is at the bottom of the difference between you and us, or the people, at all events, like myself, who take a certain view of Irish affairs—you cannot break down that system which Lord Lansdowne rightly characterises, knowing Ireland and its difficulties extremely well, unless you do either what I suspect Sir Antony MacDonnell first meant to do, introduce the Indian system, or introduce the elective principle. Probably Sir Antony MacDonnell, I should guess, thought that he could improve or amend that system by introducing the Indian system; but, of course, nobody who attempts to reform the government of Ireland can do it without appeal to the elective principle. Therefore, when we say that you have censured Sir Antony MacDonnell and regarded his conduct as indefensible because he introduced the elective principle, you have really condemned any possible scheme by which Lord Lansdowne's own object and the object of the Prime Minister and all of you can possibly be attained.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The last few sentences of the right hon. Gentleman's speech contain a singular piece of reasoning. He is a conscientious and convinced Home Ruler, and thinks, from his point of view quite rightly, that if you are to reform Dublin Castle you must reform it by introducing Home Rule and the elective element. [Cries of "No, no!"]

MR. JOHN MORLEY: The elective principle.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I thought the elective principle introduced into discussions on Ireland was commonly called Home Rule by the other side. I have no wish to enter into any dispute about terminology with the right hon. Gentleman. What I want to point out is his contention that because he thinks no reform can be carried out in Dublin Castle without introducing the elective element, therefore Sir Antony MacDonnell when he expressed a desire, as he did in that letter, to make some administrative changes must have meant to introduce the elective principle. That is entirely inaccurate. I believe that the ideas which my right hon. friend and Sir Antony MacDonnell exchanged upon the subject of the reform of the various boards in Dublin Castle were based upon the strengthening of the office of Chief Secretary—not upon introducing the elective element, but upon increasing the grasp which the Chief Secretary and his subordinate the Under-Secretary had upon the various departments which make up the complicated system of Irish Government. And I think that is the proper way to reform Dublin Castle. But what I protest against is the inference that because Sir Antony MacDonnell desired, most rightly, that some administrative reforms should be introduced he was committed to the principle of the elective element. They had nothing to do with the elective principle, but depended on an increased amount of centralisation and a strengthening of the grasp which the Chief Secretary's Office ought to have over the whole administrative machinery of the country. The right hon. Gentleman says these letters have made everything clear. His own speech is conclusive proof that he, at all events, has not yet had an opportunity of fully understanding what the conclusions to be drawn from these letters are. He will be able to see them in print to-morrow, and I think on a more careful perusal he will not be indisposed to concur with the observations I now proceed to make upon them. These letters, on the very face of them, are not formal documents. As constantly happens with letters not to be seen by other eyes than those of the writer and the recipient there are phrases in them which may excite a smile when they are read out in a great assembly accustomed to deal with formal and official documents. These are not formal and not official documents; but they prove two things conclusively—in the first place, that Sir Antony MacDonnell and my right hon. friend were not in full agreement over the whole range of Irish politics, because that is stated explicitly; and they also prove that over another part of the field of Irish politics my right hon. friend and Sir Antony MacDonnell were in agreement. The character of that field in which they were in agreement is quite clearly and unequivocally stated in the letters themselves, and there is not one shadow of a suggestion in any of the subjects which they desired to discuss together and to settle if possible in their joint term of office that anything in the nature of devolution, delegation, or representation was contemplated by either one or the other. Nor was that in the nature of a formal declaration of policy on the part of the Government of which my right hon. friend was a member. That, again, is obvious on the face of these documents, because, as the House knows, the question of higher education in Ireland is not, and, as far as I can see, never again can be a Government question. I still hope that at no distant time we may settle it; but if it is settled at all it will have to be settled as many great questions touching religion were settled in the early part of the 19th century, not as a Government question but as a question independent of the Government of the day. I am convinced that there are a large number of my hon. friends on this side who will resist firmly any attempt to carry out any plan yet suggested on this subject, and I do not believe there will be a less strenuous resistance from a body of opinion on the other side. It is possible that the House of Commons may deal with this question, not under the guidance of a Government, but as other great questions, such as Catholic Emancipation and the Divorce Bill, were settled. I only want to show that on the face of the documents these points do not constitute a Government programme. They are not subjects which either the Government or the Party to which I belong need feel themselves necessarily committed. The Chief Secretary and Sir Antony MacDonnell met and discussed what they regarded as the immediate problems of Ireland. Having done so, they came to the conclusion that they could not agree in all things, but they did agree on some things of immediate practical importance, the greatest of all being the land purchase question, which is now part of the Constitution of Ireland.

I come to the third point, and that is the terms on which Sir Antony MacDonnell was asked to take the office of Under-Secretary. And on that I will in the first place observe that again, on the face of the documents, it was evident that the appointment was considered both by Sir Antony MacDonnell and by my right hon. friend as a temporary and passing appointment. The second thing evident is that my account yesterday evening of the terms on which Sir Antony MacDonnell took the appointment did not differ either morally or legally from those of the Civil Service. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think, from a sentence in this letter, that Sir Antony MacDonnell is altogether outside the category of the Civil Service, not bound by its rules, and enjoying privileges which such great public servants as Sir A. Godley and Sir G. Murray are debarred from. That is not the case. Sir Antony MacDonnell said—

> "I should be willing to take office under you provided there is some chance of my succeeding. I think there is a chance of success on this condition, that I should have adequate opportunity of influencing the policy and acts of Irish administration and, subject, of course, to your control, freedom of action in executive matters."

It is perfectly clear from that letter what it was Sir Antony MacDonnell was afraid of, and what he hoped to attain in the arrangement he came to with my right hon. friend. What he was afraid of was that he would be reduced to a position of having opportunity only of "mere secretarial criticism." That was not enough for him. He wanted something more than "mere secretarial criticism." And what was that additional privilege which he thought necessary to enable him to do that good for Ireland which was his chief ambition in taking an otherwise thankless position? Adequate opportunity of influencing the policy of the Irish Administration and, subject to the Chief Secretary's control, freedom of action in executive matters. Every great permanent head of a department has, and if the office is to work properly, ought to have, precisely those powers. I have had official experience in more than one department, and have seen the inside of some with which I have not been formally connected. In all these cases, and with regard to every one of the permanent officials at the head of them, all have had the opportunity which Sir Antony MacDonnell rightly thought ought to be given to him if he was to do any good for Ireland. Although I had not had an opportunity last night of carefully considering those letters, it is evident that the account I gave of Sir Antony MacDonnell's position was strictly accurate. What Sir Antony MacDonnell desired to do was what all great permanent officials are — aiders, advisers, suggesters to their official chief, but always bound to follow the rulings of the Government which they serve, and always bound by those rules of the Civil Service which are the great strength of the administrative machine.

Then the right hon. Gentleman asks me why the Cabinet felt themselves constrained to inform Sir Antony MacDonnell that his conduct in a certain connection was indefensible. The reason was that we conceived, and surely conceived rightly, that in his connection with the Dunraven scheme he had exceeded the bounds laid down by the technical rules, and what is even more important, the ordinary practice, of the Civil Service. [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: What did he do?] I am not going into all the details again. They have been discussed for two nights. It may be that hon. Gentlemen opposite think that Sir Antony MacDonnell was acting within the rules of the Civil Service. We do not take that view; and we think that nothing which passed between him and the Chief Secretary when he took office, that nothing embodied in the two letters which have been read to the House, gave him the slightest authorisation to go beyond the bounds which circumscribe the action of his colleagues in other great offices of the State in this country. I quite admit that his action was due to a misapprehension. I quite admit what has been said over and over again by the Chief Secretary, that it does not carry with it the smallest or the faintest imputation upon Sir Antony MacDonnell's honour, trustworthiness, or the fidelity with which he genuinely desired to serve the Government of which, for the time being, he was servant. But the fact remains that he did act beyond his powers. I cannot help thinking that there has been a great deal of unnecessary feeling and exaggeration about the whole matter. Personal questions are always painful. It is disagreeable to me even to say the few words I have said in justification of the action of the Government. It is doubly painful to me to hear one or two speakers attack my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary in a way which I am glad to think is rare in this House. But, at all events, I hope it will be understood by every one in this House and out of it, in the first place, that when Sir Antony MacDonnell agreed to aid my right hon. friend as Under-Secretary, it was not in contemplation by either the one or the other that any scheme should be either considered or discussed which involved devolution or separate representation—[AN HON. MEMBER: Co-ordination]—and, in the second place, that neither my right hon. friend nor the Government have for one instant hesitated to express their own profound disbelief in a scheme which, in good faith that it was in conformity with Unionist principles, has been put forward by Lord Dunraven and his friends. We do not agree with the scheme. We do not think that, in its results at all events, it is compatible with the Unionist policy. We lost no time in expressing our official condemnation of it; and, while I do not regret for one instant either the strength of that official condemnation or any of the merely political results that have flown from it, I do regret that it should be involved in a personal controversy which, I think, makes the already turbid stream of controversial politics more turbid and less wholesome still. I do not think I have anything to add in regard to the position we have taken up. The episode, which we all regret, was due to a misapprehension. Cannot we bury it in oblivion. This episode which, while it reflects discredit on nobody, gives pain to some? That tolerant and Christian-like suggestion does not meet with universal favour on the other side. But, so far as we are concerned, we have made our position clear both as to the terms on which Sir Antony MacDonnell agreed to serve us and as to the policy to which, in an unfortunate moment, he committed himself unknown to the Government of which he is the able servant.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.) hoped the House would allow him to say a few words on the matter. He and his colleagues who acted with him had to a certain extent been misrepresented—he was quite sure unintentionally. The Prime Minister had said and done nothing to which they, his followers, could take any reasonable exception. On the other hand,—he did not refer to what the Prime Minister had omitted to say. They had, however, a good deal to complain of in some of the speeches made, in which it had been suggested that the legitimate and justifiable criticism which they had directed against certain of these matters had been an unfair and violent attack. He could only say that their attack would be repeated tonight or tomorrow if the same circumstances recurred. He was afraid they might. He accepted at once the statement of the Prime Minister that the correspondence between the Chief Secretary and Sir Antony MacDonnell, was an honourable one; it had certainly justified Sir Antony MacDonnell, in his opinion, in everything that he had done in Ireland. It had equally justified his colleagues and himself in attacking him for doing it, now that they knew that he was doing it as the co-equal of the Chief Secretary. [NATIONALIST cries of "Colleague."] It had equally justified them in the course of criticism they had taken up in Ireland and in the House. But when he stated that the correspondence was honourable as between the Chief Secretary and Sir Antony MacDonnell, he did not think that exhausted the whole field in relation to the Chief Secretary's obligation to the Unionist Members for Ireland, who were also his colleagues. How often in the past four years had they been found in different lobbies from him? Yet the Chief Secretary, without consulting them, in secrecy took to himself a gentleman to fill a subordinate position, but not as a subordinate. In the right hon. Gentleman's own word he was to be a "colleague." Sir Antony MacDonnell's powers were to be political because he frankly stated that he was a Liberal in politics. Frankly he claimed that he was to have influence in the direction of policy. The Prime Minister had said that it was obvious that the Under-Secretary could never be given initiative political powers, because the moment that was done the Under-Secretary might commit the Government to schemes of which they did not approve. After the date of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment as a colleague of the Chief Secretary under these terms, he was authorised by the Chief Secretary—not by the Cabinet or the Government—to go to the North of Ireland to secure political support for a scheme, to which Irish Unionists were opposed, for the endowment of a Roman Catholic University. So far as Sir Antony MacDonnell could do it the Government was committed to that policy. The Government, however, had been obliged to repudiate the transactions entered into by the Under-Secretary. However honourable this correspondence might have been it was not fair to the Unionist Members of the House and the Government itself. The whole idea in view was that in Ireland a Moderate Party was to be formed to be directed very largely against hon. Gentlemen opposite. He did not complain of that. It was perfectly legitimate for a Unionist Chief Secretary to destroy by any fair means in his power the influence of hon. Members opposite; but it was not a fair thing for him to start an organisation to solicit, to procure the influence of newspapers—[A NATIONALIST MEMBER: Or to buy them up]—so as to undermine and destroy his Unionist colleagues in that House.

MR. WYNDHAM made a remark which was inaudible in the Press Gallery.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE said he accepted the right hon. Gentleman's explanation that he did not intend to do that, but that only showed his ignorance of the results that were likely to follow his action in Ireland. He was glad the letters had been produced, because they justified down to the ground that wholesale distrust and suspicion which had been entertained during the last two years by the Unionist Party in Ireland. They showed that the Chief Secretary had been at the bottom of the whole thing in this desire to form a Moderate Party to carry out his own ends, and, under these circumstances, no man could deny that the suspicion which the Unionists entertained was not justified to the letter.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): I will not detain the House for more than two or three moments, but I think I may congratulate the hon. and learned Member for Waterford on initiating both an instructive and informing debate. The mystery surrounding the original appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and the still deeper mystery which shrouds the present *status* of the Under-Secretary, have not been wholly cleared up, though they have been substantially illuminated. But we have obtained one solid result from the discussion which has taken place. We have had read to us what has hitherto been denied, the correspondence which originally passed between Sir Antony MacDonnell and the Chief Secretary and which formed the basis on which the appointment was made. I want to say one or two words on the minimising comments which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has made on that correspondence. In the first place, he tells us that they were, after all, informal letters, never intended to see the light of day, such as one gentleman might write to another. Yes, but the Chief Secretary informs us that they were shown to the Prime Minister. I cannot imagine, therefore, a State Paper which possesses greater authority or which is entitled to be construed with a more strict interpretation of its language. The Prime Minister goes on to say that, after all, it was to be a temporary appointment. What was it Sir Antony MacDonnell was summoned to help the Irish Government to do? To settle the land question, to settle the education question, to settle the great question of co-ordination in all it ramifications and developments. I do not think the use of the word "temporary," in the sense in which it is ordinarily employed, is at all justified in these circumstances. And here I come to the much more serious question of what was the character of the powers, functions, and duties which the Under-Secretary was to perform. The Prime Minister told us last night, and he has repeated it again to-night, that to all intents and purposes Sir Antony MacDonnell was to be like an ordinary member of the Civil Service, subject to the same rules, obligations, responsibilities, and limitations as members of that great service are in the habit of conforming to. Is that the fact or is it not? I have never in my Parliamentary experience known a greater discrepancy between the language of responsible Ministers on the question at issue than we have heard in this House and in another place on this particular matter. We heard the Chief Secretary, only two nights ago, tell us that he would never have thought of inviting a man of Sir Antony MacDonnell's eminence and experience to occupy a merely secretarial position. That is the way in which he described the functions of previous Under-Secretaries at Dublin Castle. He was not to be a subordinate, not to be a servant, but a colleague. Is that the position of any of the great permanent heads of departments in any part of the Civil Service of the State? Lord Lansdowne—who, after all, is the Leader of the other House, who is, as my right hon. friend said, very conversant with Irish affairs, and who, moreover, according to his own statement, was the person who brought about the introduction of Sir Antony MacDonnell to the Chief Secretary—used language which, in view of what the Prime Minister has said to-night, I must quote. He stated—

> "I suggest to your Lordships that it follows as a matter of course that a man of that kind, a man of those antecedents, could scarcely be expected to be bound by the same narrow rules of routine which are applicable to an ordinary member of the Civil Service, and answer the noble Marquess's question by telling him that when he took up this appointment it was understood on both sides"—not only on his own side, but on the side of those who appointed him—"that he was to have greater freedom of action, greater opportunities of initiative, than he would have expected if he had been a candidate promoted in the ordinary course."

I say there is an absolute divergence between the language of the Leader of the other House and the language of the Leader of this House as to what were the terms of Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment. We must all form our own judgment in this conflict of testimony; and, as we have the letters which passed between Sir Antony Macdonnell and the Chief Secretary, which, we now know, were sanctioned by the Prime Minister, I do not hesitate to give my vote in favour of the version of Lord Lansdowne. And if Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed upon special terms, what was the nature of the "indefensible" error which he committed in associating himself with the conference which led to the formation and promulgation of Lord Dunraven's scheme? It may be an error, of course, not to agree with the Chief Secretary as to the precise difference between co-ordination and devolution, as to the mysterious and dim boundary between those two spheres of possible legislation. Not to agree with the Chief Secretary about that may be a symptom of uninstructed or, at all events, undeveloped intelligence. But I am bound to say in that respect the state of Sir Antony MacDonnell's mind appears to me to be shared, as far as I can judge, by the vast majority of Irish people, without distinction of class, Party, creed, or school—they do not, and the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken does not, know where co-ordination ends and where devolution begins. Maybe it was an error; very likely it was. But it was described in this House by the mouthpiece of the Cabinet, in the censure of a distinguished public servant, not merely as an error, but as an indefensible error. What does that mean? The term "indefensible" used in such circumstances as these is not appropriate language in which to describe a mere intellectual delinquency; if language has any meaning at all it conveys a moral blame, or, at any rate, to put it at the lowest, it must mean that the great official against whom such a charge is levelled in the name of the Cabinet of this country has seriously transgressed the rules, written or unwritten, of official propriety. What has Sir Antony MacDonnell done to merit that censure? If he entered upon his office upon the terms of the letters read to-night, if he was free, as Lord Lansdowne and the Chief Secretary have said, from the fetters which bind the action of Civil servants, what was there, even if he went beyond what the Chief Secretary and the Government think to be desirable or expedient in regard to Irish government—what was there indefensible in his entering, as he had done on the land question and the education question, into free conference and even friendly co-operation with persons who were endeavouring to solve the question of Irish government?

The Prime Minister passes by the Viceroy as if he were a mere fly upon the wheel of the administrative coach. We know perfectly well, and no one can dispute it, that the Viceroy, who is the representative of His Majesty, was privy to these proceedings, was cognisant of them, and, as we know, was sympathetic towards them. At any rate, Sir Antony MacDonnell had the right to assume that whatever he was doing was being done with the assent of the representative of His Majesty. I ask this question, not because it affects the character and reputation of Sir Antony MacDonnell, whose reputation needs no defence here or elsewhere, but because it does affect the course of public business and the responsibility of Governments in this country when, under conditions such as these, an official, for whom still the greatest respect and confidence is expressed, and who is even now retained in the public service, is publicly censured in the eyes of the whole world for doing something which it now appears was within the terms of his original appointment. [Cheers, and MINISTERIAL cries of "No."] I say it was in the terms of his appointment, and was certainly done—this is not denied—with the cognisance and approval of the Viceroy.

There is one other point, and one which the Prime Minister absolutely ignored in his speech. What is the change that has been made in the *status*, and the functions, and the authority of Sir Antony MacDonnell in consequence of this "indefensible" error? Is there any change? Are the letters which have been read to the House to-night still to be regarded as containing the basis and expressing the terms upon which he continues to be employed by His Majesty's Government? If they are not, if they have been modified in any particular, if he has been reduced from the position which Lord Lansdowne and the Chief Secretary described to the *status* of an ordinary Civil servant, then not only he, but this House, is entitled to know what are the terms in which that communication has been made and what are their scope and effect. We are still in the same state of ignorance as we were when the debate began as to the present position of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and upon this we require information, for it is an important question upon both personal and general grounds. I hope the Motion will be pressed to a division.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said he rather hesitated to get up because he had hoped that some member of the Government would have risen to answer the last Question put by the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. He would press that Question home. What was the exact position of Sir Antony MacDonnell? Was he still in the position of an Under-Secretary in the terms of the contract between him and the Government, or was he not? Had he been degraded in position and *status*? Of course, he could not be degraded in personal character; that was beyond the power of the Government or of anybody else. But so far as they could degrade him the Government had done so. They had allowed the Solicitor-General forEngland, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General for Ireland and their supporters to condemn Sir Antony MacDonnell, and had instigated their Press to conduct a campaign of calumny against him.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL, Dublin University): Will the hon. Gentleman pardon me? He said that I conducted the campaign of calumny against Sir Antony MacDonnell. I spoke on several occasions in public and denounced the Dunraven scheme of devolution on its merits, but never once referred, directly or indirectly, to Sir Antony MacDonnell.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said he received with the same cordial welcome as hon. Gentlemen opposite the denial of the hon. and learned Gentleman, and for this reason, that the hon. and learned Gentleman had placed himself in such marked and honourable contrast to the Attorney-General for Ireland. Knowing what he did of the character of the hon. and learned Gentleman, he must say that he was not surprised that his conduct was in such marked and honourable contrast to that of his colleague. However, for months a dead set had been made against Sir Antony MacDonnell until it reached a climax in the speech of the Solicitor-General for England, and during that time not a member of the Government had revealed the fact, which that night was known for the first time, that Sir Antony MacDonnell had taken his position under a contract to do the very thing for which he was denounced. Well, those letters read that night were described with epithets by hon. Gentlemen opposite which he would not repeat. Of course they were all hon. Members in these transactions, including the colleagues of Sir Antony MacDonnell, who denounced him, but had not the courage to mention his name! The letters were astounding. He would take one part from the letter of the Chief Secretary to Sir Antony MacDonnell—

> "I ciphered the purport of your letter to the Prime Minister, and received his concurrence by telegram yesterday."

The letter was sent by telegram in cipher! He would like to know whether Sir Antony MacDonnell's letter was also ciphered to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): I do not know whether the Question is addressed to me; but it was not.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said he wanted to know for this reason, that they had a member of the Cabinet, the Chief Secretary, and the Prime Minister entering into a campaign in Ireland for a Catholic University, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was kept in the dark about it! Nay, more, Sir Antony MacDonnell was sent on this mission to Belfast, was actually trying to create a campaign there in concert with, and with the knowledge of the Chief Secretary and the Prime Minister, yet without the knowledge and sympathy of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. Sir Antony MacDonnell went to West Belfast to conduct a campaign in favour of a Catholic University, while at the same time the hon. Member for West Belfast was calling on his constituency to have no transactions with the "Scarlet Lady!" That was a new theory and practice of Cabinet responsibility, a new theory of Cabinet loyalty. Might he ask if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast was informed of Sir Antony MacDonnell's letter, because at the very moment when this campaign was being conducted with the knowledge and approval of the Chief Secretary and the First Lord, the right hon. Member for West Belfast, with the delicacy and elegance and toleration of language characteristic of him, and of him alone in that House, declared that rather than allow his children to be educated by a Catholic priest he would sooner allow them to run wild in the woods. Now the First Lord affected to believe that Sir Antony MacDonnell was simply in the position of any other great Civil servant. Why, then, did Lord Lansdowne say that a man of Sir Antony MacDonnell's antecedents could scarcely be expected to be bound by the same narrow rules of routine applicable to an ordinary member of the Civil Service?

Why did Sir Antony MacDonnell write that candid, frank, and full letter of the conditions under which he would accept the position of Under-Secretary? Why did the Chief Secretary write to Sir Antony MacDonnell that he accepted his offer to take the position of Under-Secretary on the conditions set forth? There was a contract as solemn and as honourable as any that could be made between two men. The right hon. Gentleman, it must be kept in mind, knew very well that Sir Antony MacDonnell was a Liberal and was Irish in sympathy. That necessarily meant that he was in favour of Home Rule. Did the right hon. Gentleman, who shook his head, really mean to suggest that Sir Antony MacDonnell was not in sympathy with the views of the Nationalist Party? And if he knew that how was he able to place these two things in juxtaposition—that while he was in substantial agreement with Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Home Ruler, who proceeded to the verge of devolution, he applied to that gentleman as gross and cowardly an insult as ever had been applied to a man in a public position. He used the word "cowardly," because the Government had not said a word about any change made in Sir Antony MacDonnell's position. The Prime Minister had been asked that afternoon if there had been any change in Sir Antony MacDonnell's position, and he said that there had not. The Chief Secretary said that when Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed he had been a Cabinet Minister only a fortnight, but the Prime Minister, who was a party to the appointment, had been in the Cabinet for a great deal more than a fortnight. The Chief Secretary went on

to say that he had pointed out to Sir Antony MacDonnell that—

> "In view of the criticisms to which my Department has been subjected during the last two or three weeks—"

Mark the reason—

> "it is necessary for me to see any matter that is likely to be the subject of debate in this House."

The House was acquainted with the large range of subjects covered by the Questions put to the right hon. Gentleman by his hon. friends around him—the mail delivery in a village, a small affray with the police, re-appointment of an inspector under one of the boards in Ireland. There was not a question in Ireland, large or small, to which this description of the Chief Secretary did not apply, and it was monstrous to contend in the face of that that the position of Sir Antony MacDonnell had not been degraded and narrowed from that which he occupied when he took up his appointment. What was the meaning of all this? It was that the Government wanted to get rid of Sir Antony MacDonnell. And for what reason? In consequence of the criticism to which the Chief Secretary's department had been subjected. Was there ever a more miserable reason given why a Cabinet Minister should abandon either his policy or his subordinate? He had never read a more mean confession of faith. The Government were going to abandon a great public servant, simply because someone on their own side of the House and in the public newspapers, had criticised the Chief Secretary's department. He confessed he had gathered new light on his profession from the letters read that afternoon. The newspapers were to be told to write articles insisting on the great administrative achievements of Sir Antony MacDonnell in India, and in that way public opinion was to be ripened and matured for a new departure in Irish politics, a new departure to be inaugurated by a gentleman who, according to the Prime Minister, had only accepted public office in Ireland on the usual conditions! He maintained that these were new methods to him and a new departure in journalism. He thought the right hon. Gentleman must have been reading the memoirs of Bismarck, who, when he wanted to make a change in his policy, always sent an article to the newspapers. Now, however, when they wanted to get rid of Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Press was prepared to denounce and abuse the same man which they had formerly lauded, and who was worth all the men on the Treasury Benches for the services he had rendered to the Empire. He did not mean to enlarge on the services of Sir Antony MacDonnell in India, although the Chief Secretary had confessed to colossal ignorance of Indian affairs. He had no doubt that that confession by a member of the Cabinet which was responsible for the government of India would appear in the vernacular journals in India before many weeks were over. Sir Antony MacDonnell knew that the provincial councils in India were semi-elective in their constitution. Sir Antony MacDonnell was an Irishman, and had ruled 47,000,000 of people in the East; but he was under the tragic misunderstanding that if Asiatics were capable of being governed by an elective body, one of the most brilliant nations in Western Europe was not to be denied that privilege. The misunderstanding of Sir Antony MacDonnell was far greater and more tragic than that of the right hon. Gentleman. Here was a man who had been brought from India who had been able to govern autocratically a province with a population of 47,000,000. He did not attain that high position by social influence. He himself knew Sir Antony MacDonnell's father. He was at school and college with Sir Antony MacDonnell, like his hon. friend the Member for North Dublin. Sir Antony MacDonnell was a Catholic and a Liberal, and had no great social influence behind him. With all due respect, that gentleman was more remarkable for *fortiter in re* than for *suaviter in modo*. He was told that nobody disliked Sir Antony MacDonnell except the man who wanted him to do him a dirty trick. Here was an Irishman, the son of a small farmer in the West of Ireland, able to attain the foremost position in the government of one of the greatest dependencies of the Empire, and the autocrat of 47,000,000 of people. And what was his tragic misunderstanding? It was that he himself was not to be allowed to have a single word in the government of his own people, of his own race and creed. The moral of all this was that Sir Antony MacDonnell was one of the many Irishmen who had helped to do great works of statesmanship in this Empire, and who had entered on office in Ireland in the great and glorious hope of doing something for his native land. Many epithets had been applied to the correspondence read that evening; but it was one of the most pathetic instances on record that this great man of genius, who had been ready to risk his splendid position in India and come to the land in which he had his birth, had, for his reward, been flouted, degraded, insulted, and baffled in trying to do a little good to his suffering native land.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 223; Noes, 265. (Division List No. 7.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dillon, John
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt EC (St Andrews Bghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir Francis H (Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander (Lanark, NE
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.)
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Ed. (Fermanagh, N.)
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Rt. Hn. John (Montrose
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Sir Charles M. (Durham)
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'h
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.

Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley George (York, W. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills, Arthur Walters (N Dorset
Wilson, Fred W (Norfork, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersfd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Thomas Esmonde and Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch’r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F (Middlesex
Bowles, T Gibson (King’s Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Ed. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc’r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir R. B. (Inv’rn’ss B’hs
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D. (Wednesbury
Greene, Sir E W (B’ry S Edm’nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G (Midd’x
Hamilton, Mar. of (L’nd’nderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem’th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, Sir James (Staffords. NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn Col. W.
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm’th
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks NR
Lee, Arthur H (Hants. Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Iver, Sir Lewis Edinburgh W
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell, Rt. Hn Sir H E (Wigt’n

Maxwell, W.J.H (Dumfriesshire
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Fredk. G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants
Morgan, DavidJ(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry
Myers, William Henry
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith, H. C (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Rt. Hn. J Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hn. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hn. John Lloyd
Whiteley H (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Adjourned debate on Amendment [22nd February] to Main Question [14th February] further adjourned till to-morrow.

NEW BILL.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACTS AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, and otherwise to facilitate the building of Houses for the Working Classes in rural districts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Channing, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Price, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Frederick Wilson, Mr. Herbert Samuel, and Mr. Soames.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, and otherwise to facilitate the building of Houses for the Working Classes in rural districts," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Friday, April 14th, and to be printed. [Bill 55.]

Adjourned at four minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 23rd February, 1905.

ADDRESS.

The King's Answer to the Address of Tuesday the 14th instant reported; and Address and Answer to be printed and published.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Cardiff Railway [H.L.]; Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation [H.L.]; City of London Electric Lighting Company [H.L.]; Cordoba and Rosario Railway [H.L.]; East Cowes Gas [H.L.]; Entre Rios Railways [H.L.]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways [H.L.]; Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment) [H.L.]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) [H.L.]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) [H.L.]; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply [H.L.]; Truro Water [H.L.]: West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time) [H.L.]; Workington Harbour and Dock [H.L.].

And also [the] Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Clyde Navigation.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Clacton-on-Sea Commissioners Bill [H.L]. Read 2^{a}, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Hastings Harbour Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^{a}, and committed.

Mansfield Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^{a}, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Municipal Corporations (Merthyr Tydfil Scheme Confirmation) Bill [H.L.]. Referred to the Examiners.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NAVY (ESTIMATES).

Estimate for the year 1905–1906; with explanation of differences;

Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty explanatory of the Navy Estimates, 1905–1906.

HOUSE OF COMMONS (VENTILATION).

Report and recommendations by Dr. M. H. Gordon.

JUDICIAL STATISTICS, ENGLAND AND WALES, 1903 (PART II. CIVIL JUDICIAL STATISTICS).

Statistics relating to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the House of Lords, the Supreme Court of Judicature, County Courts and other Civil Courts, edited by Sir John MacDonnell, C.B., LL.D., a Master of the Supreme Court.

COLONIES (GENERAL).

Further Papers relating to the proposed adoption of a metric system of weights and measures for use within the Empire (in continuation of [Cd. 1940], February, 1904).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

MOTOR-CAR ACTS, 1896 AND 1903.

General Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland, entitled "The Heavy Motor-Car (Ireland) Order, 1905."

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND) (GENERAL ORDERS).

General Order entitled "The Union Accounts Order, 1905."

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SERVICE OF MILITIAMEN BILL [H.L.]

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, I beg to give notice that on the Second Reading of the Militia Bill I shall move the following Motion, "That in the opinion of this House it is contrary to sound policy to tamper with the Militia forces, and alter, as is intended, its conditions and terms of service."

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

SEAMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' FALSE CHARACTERS BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to Order).

Bill passed through Committee and reported without Amendment to the House.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, this Bill, excepting for one small drafting Amendment in Clause 3, is exactly the same as that which your Lordships passed last year, and I would, therefore, ask your Lordships to negative the Standing Committee.

On Question, Standing Committee negatived, and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

THE NEW SERVICE RIFLE.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH, who had given notice to call attention to the new service rifle and to move to resolve, "That in the opinion of this House whatever convenience a shortened rifle may afford to mounted troops it is inexpedient that the whole of His Majesty's Forces should be armed with the recently approved short rifle," said: My Lords, I feel that I am making a great demand upon your tolerance in referring to the subject of the new rifle now, I think, for the third time in the last ten months; but I assure your Lordships I do so because I am honestly convinced that a grave and costly blunder is about to be perpetrated, and I am really anxious that you should help me in, at any rate, causing the War Office to hold their hand before they finally adopt this weapon. *Gutta cavat lapidem*, and I do trust that the drip of my persistence may have some effect in wearing away the stony prejudice and rocky *non possumus* attitude that the War Office have adopted towards all the propositions that have been put forward by those, either soldiers or sportsmen, who have really some practical knowledge of what a rifle should be.

The question of the rifles divides itself naturally and easily into three parts. First, there is the question of improvements that have been made in the rifle, improvements which are admitted by all, and which were not to be found in the long rifle as it was used in the South African War. Then there are a series of, as I think, defects, which are common to the two rifles. But, after all, I wish to impress upon you that it is not proposed to introduce a new rifle. To all intents and purposes you are simply going to continue the old rifle with a shortened barrel. Lastly, there are the series of considerations that arise from the adoption of the shortened barrel, and the arguments to be brought forward for and against that change.

Now, taking the improvements first, I can deal with them in but a sentence or two. You have, in the first place, the new backsight. The new backsight is a very good backsight, and one that I think His Majesty's forces are very fortunate to have acquired. Some of my military friends say that it is too good a backsight, and that it is useless giving the soldier a wind-gauge on a good backsight because he will not know how to use it, and would, therefore, be much better without one. My answer to my military friends on that point is that the sooner they teach the soldiers to use the new backsight the better, and if they use the facilities given them for improving their shooting by this backsight we shall be very much benefited in any future war. Then there is the improvement introduced of loading the magazine from a charger, by which, at a single motion, five cartridges are introduced into the magazine. We who have criticised the magazine rifle from its introduction have always maintained that a magazine rifle should be loaded by a charger in that way, so, at any rate, that is one thing we have got after this fourteen years struggle. Lastly, there is what I think ought also to be regarded as an improvement, and which is really involved by the use of the charger, namely, the abandonment of what is known as the dust-cover, which was quite a superfluity and was no good for the purpose for which it was intended. These, I think, everybody admits to be improvements, but they do not involve any great expense. I imagine that these improvements could be applied to any one of the existing long rifles now used by His Majesty's forces for about, I should think, 7s.—3s. or 4s. for the backsight, and 3s. or 4s. for the alteration necessary to make the charger; at any rate, the cost of substituting the new backsight for the present one, and enabling the magazine to be loaded by a charger, would not be great, and would not involve any large amount of new manufacturing plant.

Now, my Lords, I come to what I hold to be defects which have existed in the action and stock of the rifle from the very beginning, and which now, though you are by way of introducing a new weapon, you have deliberately determined to continue in that new weapon. In the first place, there is the weakness involved by the stock being in two parts. There is no other military rifle in the world which has this arrangement except the French Lebel rifle. I think most of you who are accustomed to using sporting rifles and guns would think it a very extraordinary thing to use a rifle the stock of which was in two parts fastened together with a screw going through the weakest part of the stock. The next thing I come to is the complicated bolt, with its very weak fastening. We have admittedly the most complicated bolt that is in use in military weapons, and the one that has the weakest fastenings. Go to any gunmaker you like and he will tell you it would not be safe to increase the strain thrown on the bolt of the British rifle, whereas the bolts of foreign rifles would certainly bear 25 per cent. more strain than that which could be borne by the British bolt. What is the reason for that? It is because the fastening of the British bolt is made at the end of the bolt, whereas in the foreign forms of bolt the main fastening is made at its head in the breech of the rifle itself. Two lugs fit in and lock the bolt tight at the place where the strain is greatest, namely, at the breech end of the barrel. Your great rifle-makers here in England are all now manufacturing magazine rifles of ·360 or ·375 bore, which take a heavier bullet and also a larger charge of explosive than is used in the ·303. Ask any one of them whether they would use the British rifle-action for such a weapon and they will tell you no. They will tell you that they will go to the Mannlicher or the Mauser for the pattern of the weapon. Then a small change has been made in the safety catch; but I invite any one of your Lordships to look at the new rifle with its present safety catch and tell me whether it is a comfortable one to use. I think the answer will be that it is a thumb-injuring and nail-breaking sort of article. I would ask you also to compare it with the safety catch to be found on the Mannlicher or Mauser rifle, which has a flap lying at the back of the bolt; it is moved from right to left easily, and certainly, however cold your fingers may be, it is evident at a glance whether it is on or off. Then, my Lords, I say we make another mistake in clinging to our clumsy, cumbrous, flimsy magazine. I think the British magazine is an excrescence and an eyesore on any rifle. I can quite understand, before you adopted the charger method of loading, that a big magazine was a good thing. The rifle was used with a cut off as a single firer, and the magazine was to be reserved for emergency. With the charger we have dropped that theory altogether. The rifle is fired straight from the magazine. You cannot load a magazine with ten cartridges from a single charger, and I say the size of the magazine ought to be measured by the number of cartridges you can put into it at a single motion. As it is now, if you want to fill your magazine with ten cartridges, you have to take, first, one little packet of five cartridges in the one charger, and press that into the magazine. You have to move the charger with your hand. You then have to take another little packet of cartridges in another charger and press that into your rifle, and then your magazine is full. I maintain that it is possible to keep up quite as rapid a fire if you have a magazine that holds only five cartridges. I am quite confident that there would be no loss in rapidity of firing by adopting that system, and then you could have your magazine safely stowed away in the forehand of the rifle, the same as in the Mauser, liable to no injury and offering no impediment to its handling.

I think that, perhaps, the strongest argument against the perfection of the British type of rifle is the fact that no other nation has adopted it. All over the world nations are choosing rifles. The bigger nations have special patterns of their own. The less civilised and the smaller nations have to, and do, adopt the inventions of other countries. They naturally give great pains to the choice. They carry out many experiments before they adopt a particular weapon. You will find that of all these nations not one has adopted the British rifle. You may say, "Oh, well, after all, foreign nations do not know much about it." Then I say, go to the British gunmaker, the British marksman, and the British sportsman. A great deal of the sporting shooting is now done from these very magazine rifles; and I am sure you will find that for one sporting rifle that is made on the British pattern, twenty or twenty-five are made on the Mannlicher or Mauser pattern. In the same way, if you go to the great target marksmen, though I admit that some of the Lee-Enfield pattern are used for target work, I think you will find that the majority of the great British marksmen do use rifles made on the Mauser or Mannlicher patterns in preference to the British one. I think these are strong arguments in favour of my theory that even the action of the British rifle is not all that it might be and could be improved.

Up to the present moment I have, of course, been dealing with matters which appertain to the notice I have put on the Paper, though they do not appertain to the Motion. My point is this, that you have decided to adopt a new weapon only to this extent, that you have taken your old weapon with a shortened barrel. All the faults, if there be faults, in the old system of magazine and in the old system of bolt are retained, and I do say if you are going to spend this large sum of money in re-arming the Army, you ought to have considered the question whether you could not improve the rifle, not only in the barrel, but also in the stock and action. I leave that part, and come now to the question of the short barrel. What was the genesis of this short barrel? It had its origin in the place which has been the origin of many troubles to us in the past, and I am afraid may be also the cause of troubles in the future—South Africa. In South Africa it was found that the British mounted soldier armed with a carbine was absolutely unable to cope with a mounted Boer armed with a long Mauser rifle. That was not wonderful. A carbine, so far as it goes, is no doubt a very pretty little weapon, and up to 600 yards may be very good; but, of course, it could not compete with the long rifle in South Africa. So our cavalry adopted the long rifle and used it, and a way of carrying it on horseback was extemporised. It was carried rather after the fashion of a lance—the stock dropped into a small shoe, and the top part of the barrel fastened by a strap to the arm of the soldier. That, I believe, was successful, and I understand that the cavalry soldiers in South Africa were very well satisfied with their long rifle and with the way that it was carried. But, my Lords, it was decided that it was absolutely necessary, in order that the rifle should be carried comfortably by the cavalry, that it should be a short rifle. It was supposed that a convenient way of carrying the rifle could not be discovered unless it was a short one. I can quite understand that it is easier to carry a short rifle on horseback than a long one, but here is an extraordinary thing. This rifle has now been introduced for two years; it has been in the hands of a considerable body of troops for certainly eight or ten months, and yet at the present moment the method of carrying the rifle on horseback has not been discovered.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): Yes, it has.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: The noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War says it has. Well, is it to be carried in the new long bucket?

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I do not know whether we are thinking of the same bucket; but it is to be carried in a bucket which is different from the old one.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: The new long bucket, which is a big and clumsy contrivance, necessary on account of the length of the rifle, once more involves the rifle being attached to the saddle of the horse instead of to the man. Now, I do not care who disputes it, however great the authority, but for service purposes the rifle of the cavalry soldier should be attached to himself. When a man is thrown from his horse it is well that he should have some weapon with him—a sword is no use to a man on foot. If it is decided to carry the new rifle in a bucket attached to the saddle you will be very much injuring the effectiveness of the soldier to whom you give that rifle. We had some little discussion on this point in your Lordships' House last session. I think the noble and gallant Field-Marshal, Earl Roberts, whom I now see on the Cross Benches, told us, while, I think, expressing concurrence with our view that the rifle should be attached to the soldier, that his idea would be that the rifle should be carried one way in peace time, namely, in a bucket attached to the horse, and in another way in war time, namely, attached to the man. I know it is very audacious and impertinent of me to set any opinion of mine against that of the noble and gallant Earl, but I do appeal to you as impartial men to say whether it is not wise that soldiers should be accustomed to their accoutrements in peace time, whether the whole of the training of a soldier in peace time should not be to make him ready for war?

I have carried many different rifles, in many parts of the world, on horseback, and you cannot make it a very comfortable or pleasant thing to carry a rifle on a horse. It must mean a certain amount of discomfort and difficulty. That being admitted, surely it is desirable in ordinary training during peace time that you should accustom your cavalry soldier to that amount of discomfort which is to be inflicted on him in war. Therefore, I say that if once you admit that you have to carry your rifle in time of peace in a bucket for convenience or beauty's sake, whereas in war time you must carry it attached to the soldier, then I say you have condemned the bucket system altogether, and ought not to have considered it. As a matter of fact, by shortening the rifle you have made it impossible to carry it in the way in which it was carried in the South African War. The lance attachment method, as it was called, cannot be used with the short rifle because the rifle is too short, but there are methods of carrying it. I have seen one myself. I have no interest in this particular method, and I do not say it is perfect; but it seems to me there is a great deal to be said in favour of it, or in favour of an improvement by the adaptation of it. It is an attachment which has been invented by Colonel Patterson. With that attachment the rifle is carried in a sling at the left side of the man. Just below the cantel of the saddle a metal clip is placed. The rifle hangs on the soldier's left side, and when he mounts the horse he presses the small part of the stock into this clip. The whole weight of the rifle is thrown on to the clip. On the right side the sword is fixed to the saddle, so that the weight of the sword on the one side is balanced by the weight of the rifle on the other. I have seen that equipment tried. I had a corporal of a cavalry regiment, in my own garden, and tried the equipment in every way that I could. He got off on the right side and also on the left side; he fell off on one side and then on the other; and he fell over his horse's tail. Noble Lords laugh. I would point out that he did it on purpose. So far as I could see, however the soldier might fall, the rifle always came away from the attachment on the saddle and left him perfectly free, the rifle itself remaining attached to the man. I know that attachment has been tried at various military centres in England, and I believe that, on the whole, the decision has been against it. It has been said to be weak in places and to damage the small part of the stock of the rifle round which the clip is fastened. Well, I should like to ask the noble Lord the Under-Secretary if he could give me the report which Lord Kitchener has made upon this equipment.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I have not got it here.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Well, I may tell the noble Earl that this attachment has been already largely adopted in India, and that no less than 26,000 Patterson equipments have gone to India and are in use there. I think that is a strong argument, I am not saying in favour of the Patterson equipment, but in favour of the view that it is possible to discover a method by which the rifle can be carried comfortably, or fairly comfortably, on a horse by the soldier, and yet when he is thrown from his saddle the rifle shall remain attached to the man. That, it seems to me, is what we have to aim at if we wish to get the best possible weapon attached in the best possible way to a cavalry soldier. And I may say that with this particular form of attachment it does not in the least matter whether the rifle is a long or a short one.

The next point put forward in favour of this rifle is that it is, on account of its shortness, much lighter than the existing one. The short rifle is one pound four ounces lighter than the old rifle, and really to hear the advocates of the new rifle speak you would imagine that this extra lightness had been obtained by the shortening of the rifle. I am going to give your Lordships the exact figures as to the amount of lightness that has been obtained in that way. The thirty-inch Lee-Enfield barrel, ready for mounting, weighs two pounds twelve ounces. Five inches is taken off this barrel; that is to say, one-sixth. Well, one-sixth of forty-four ounces is just over seven ounces. Therefore, if you take a sixth off the barrel you save seven ounces in weight; but the part of the barrel that you are taking this off is the part near the muzzle, which is the lightest part; so that, as a matter of fact, the amount saved in weight by shortening the barrel is just six ounces, or three-eighths of the total lightening, which, apparently, is all set down to the shortened barrel. As a matter of fact, the greater portion of the lightening of the rifle has been attained in a totally different way. The stock has been lightened by boring away the wood, the dust-cover has been done away with, and, as I understand, the rifle barrel itself has been pared down. Whether that is a very wise thing to do I do not quite know. My point is that you have no right to claim that the lightening of the rifle is due to shortening the barrel, because that only accounts for six ounces out of one and a quarter pounds which the rifle has been lightened.

Then it is said that this rifle makes an extraordinarily good weapon for snap-shooting, because it is short. In the first place, I would point out that when you come to snap-shooting for military purposes it means that you are shooting at, say, between 200 and 800 yards, and then you would find nobody standing up and shooting from their shoulder. They would all be taking the best cover they could possibly get, and in that way obtaining a rest for their weapon. I think you will all agree with me that the handiness of a weapon for snap-shooting does not depend on its length. It depends on its balance, and, whether it is a gun or a rifle, the handiness of it for snap-shooting does not depend primarily on the length, but on the general way in which it comes up and the general balance of it. I think any of you who will take up this rifle will say that it is not exactly what you would call a very well-balanced rifle. I think you will find, as those gentlemen who took it down on the 11th of this month to Bisley found, that there is considerably too much weight forward to make it in any sense a particularly well-balanced, handy weapon. The mere fact of shortness certainly does not make it better for snap-shooting, especially when you consider the form of the foresight, which is about as little adapted for the purposes of snap-shooting as the sight of any weapon could be.

This brings me to the question of the sights. I have said that the backsight is a very good sight, but, my Lords, I look upon the foresight as being an extraordinarily bad sight. In the first place, you have arrived at a sort of crescent-shaped excrescence, which is there no doubt for the purpose of protecting the foresight. It certainly protects it from injury from outside, but also most successfully protects the foresight from the light falling upon it, and I defy any man in a bad or failing light to make good shooting with it; and when you come to the question of hurried shooting you would find a man apt enough to take one of these horns and use that as the foresight instead of the real foresight, which lies between the two. Again, you cannot get over the unanswerable criticism that by the reduction of the length of your barrel you bring your foresight and your backsight so close together that you infinitely increase the difficulty of shooting. You cannot bring back the backsight nearer the eye, because you would then get a blurred backsight. It is well known that the longer the radius you can get between the backsight and the foresight the more you reduce the variation of error caused by the unsteadiness of the man or the fault of his aim. For these reasons I cannot see that there is much to be said for the short rifle from the point of view of the man who has to aim with it.

Again, there have been certain changes made in the rifling of the rifle in order to maintain the old velocity. There are two small changes. In the first place, the lead from the chamber into the grooving has been shortened. The result of that is naturally to cause the bullet to go with less ease into the grooves and so set up a greater expansion of gas behind it. I am certain that the result will be a greater amount of erosion in the first part of the barrel, and you will have more and quicker damage done to the rifling at the breech end of the rifle than you have at present. In the last fourteen inches of the barrel the rifling has been deepened from ·005 inch to ·0065 inch. I do not want to go into the question of what effect that may have on the ballistic qualities of the rifle. I think it will make it much more dfficult to clean the rifle. Already it is difficult enough to clean one of these small bore rifles in which the new explosives are fired, and I think by deepening the groove towards the muzzle you will experience great difficulty in thoroughly cleaning the groove. A rifle should be always cleaned from the breech, and therefore whatever you push through the early part of the rifle from the breech will be very apt not to reach the bottom of the groove towards the muzzle, and you will find that that will have its effect also.

Now I come to the ballistic qualities of this new barrel. There is no necessity for me to argue about it or to bring forward any proofs, because I have all the proof I want from what is said by those who are responsible for the rifle. All that is claimed for the rifle is that it has ballistic qualities equal to those of the rifle which it is replacing; that is to say, while the muzzle velocity in the Lee-Enfield barrel amounted to 2,000 foot-seconds, that same muzzle velocity is retained in this new rifle. It seems to me that that alone is sufficient condemnation for the adoption of the new rifle for the whole of the Army. Why should we stick to results which were attained fourteen years ago? Rifles in other countries are attaining velocities up to 2,800 foot-seconds. The last German result was 2,845 foot-seconds with a bullet of 156 grains. It is well known both in Germany and France that these great velocities have experimentally been obtained, and I say that before we adopt a new rifle for the whole of our Army we ought to go into full experiments to see whether we, too, cannot get these high velocities.

I put the ballistic qualities of a perfect rifle for military purposes under four heads—(1) a low trajectory; (2) a long range; (3) force of impact; and (4) accuracy; and the reason why I put accuracy last is that any well-made rifle barrel will give you quite sufficient accuracy, and indeed more accuracy than any but very expert shots can get the benefit of. With regard to trajectory, every hundred yards that you can bring within the fixed sight distance increases the effective power of your troops, and makes it easier for your soldiers to shoot properly and straight. I gave the noble Earl last year some trajectory tables which bear out that now, certainly up to 600 yards, you do not get above the level of the head of a man with the last new weapon, the last new explosive, and the last new bullet. That is a tremendous advance. That is the sort of thing we should aim at. Then I say extreme range is of the greatest importance. I know that at extreme range you cannot hope for accurate shooting. There is no question of firing at individual men or even at individual bodies of men. An army armed with a rifle that carries 300 or 400 yards further than that of its opponents would have a tremendous advantage. I will tell you why. It would have an advantage because it would be able to plant an enormous number of bullets into a particular area, the result being that it would by that means force the enemy to deploy very much sooner than he otherwise would. I think it is perfectly evident that the sooner you can force your enemy to deploy. the better it is for defence.

I know it is said that in this country it does not matter so much about our having these long-range weapons, because if we are attacked here we shall be attacked in a country which is full of small enclosures and in which hedges abound. I believe it is just as important for us to have the long-range weapons as it is for anyone, because, after all, supposing that we are attacked we shall have to take up prepared defensive positions; all the obstacles will have to be cleared away in front of those prepared defensive positions, and therefore exactly the same conditions will obtain as in a more open country. It is evident from our experience in all our distant small wars that the longer range we can get the better it will be. I want to know something about these trials of which we have heard so much. Lately a report was put in from Hythe which gave the figure of merit obtained by the new rifle in competition with French, German, and Italian rifles and with the old long rifle. I want to know more details about how those trials were conducted. I want to know whether they were conducted with rifles fired from fixed rests; what sights the rifles were provided with; whether the new British sights were fixed to all the rifles, so that they were all fired under similar conditions, or whether each had the sight belonging to its own pattern; and, lastly, whether any trial was made with what I may call an improved long rifle, because that, I think, is also very important.

If the trials were made from fixed rests I think they lose very much of their value, because in the case of rifles fired in that way the effect of the short distance between the backsight and foresight is greatly diminished. Again, for a practical military weapon you should have the trial from the shoulders of the man firing it. What you want is to see how the rifle is going to behave in the hands of an expert man. Rifles are very strange instruments, and they have little idiosyncrasies of their own, and those of us who have shot with a rifle well know how much one's shooting varies according to the rifle one is using. Therefore, I say that a trial from a fixed rest is not a sufficient trial. What you want is to try a rifle from the shoulders of the man, and under conditions such as would prevail in the field. That brings me to the trial which was reported in *The Times* newspaper on Monday. It seems to me to have been an extremely satisfactorily-conducted trial by seven men, who would be admitted to be capable and expert shots. They used three of the new short rifles, they each used their own long rifles, and they used three of the old long rifles fitted with the Peddie wind-gauge sight. The result of these trials was that the long barrel fitted with the wind-gauge sight came out first; the long barrel as used without the above came out second, and the new short rifle came out third, and that was at ranges of 200, 600, and 800 yards. I should like to read your Lordships the heads of the conclusions arrived at by these gentlemen after the trial. They were as follows—

1. "That the new rifle is badly balanced, the weight being too much at the muzzle end.

2. That far from being likely to prove a better snap-shooting arm, it would be easier to fire quickly with the long rifle at any given object because the sights of the short rifle are not adapted to quick-firing, the front sight being too small and greatly interfered with by the enormous protecting flanges on each side

3. "That the recoil was considerably heavier than in the long-barrelled rifle, and would greatly add to the difficulties in teaching recruits on the range and render it more tiring.

4. "That the accuracy of the rifle as a weapon of precision is appreciably diminished, for all experienced the same difficulty in keeping the series of shots within the small limits of angle obtainable with both the long-barrelled rifles employed.

5. "The trials lasted nearly all day, and as evening approached (but before sundown) all noticed the great flash of flame from the short barrel, whereas with the long rifle no flash could be seen."

I do not know whether that last conclusion was justified or not, and I am not going to found any very strong argument upon it. What I hold is, if it is true, that the fact of the flash in a bad light is certainly not advantageous to the man firing the rifle. It shows where he is. But there is this stronger point, that if there is a flash of that sort it shows there is a large amount of unconsumed gas being wasted, and, therefore, you are not getting the full benefit of the charge you are using, which seems to me a very strong argument against this particular

Lord Tweedmouth.

rifle I allow these conclusions to speak for themselves.

Then there comes this further point, that by cutting your rifle short you deteriorate your weapon when the bayonet is fixed. You lose five inches in length, for the short rifle with the bayonet fixed to it is five or six inches shorter than that of any other rifle used by a military Power. I know it will be said that that is very easily got over. All you have to do is to lengthen the bayonet. I hope that is not a plan that will be adopted for dealing with this particular difficulty. In the first place, you will probably find yourselves again brought face to face with twisting and doubled up bayonets, and next you will find a great deal of deterioration in the shooting power of your weapons, because you cannot get over this fact, that directly you fix a bayonet on a rifle *pro tanto* a change is made in its shooting power and the conditions are altered, and the longer the bayonet the greater the variation.

Now I come to the question of cost. This is going to be a most expensive amusement for our country. We have been told that these new rifles are to cost in Government factories £3 10s. and in private factories £4 10s. These are high prices for rifles, and surely they are high prices for a rifle which is not a new rifle, but an old one with a new barrel attached to it. We were told last year that the reason of this high price was that the manufacture of a new rifle involved a quantity of new machinery and apparatus. So far as the barrel is concerned, no doubt a certain amount of new apparatus is required, but with regard to the main part of the rifle, to three-fourths of the rifle, there is no new machinery required, because it is exactly the same weapon, manufactured under exactly the same conditions and to exactly the same pattern. It is said that it costs £2 5s. to convert a rifle, and that the total cost of re-arming His Majesty's Forces with this new weapon will be something like £3,000,000. For this, as I say, you are not going to get a new weapon; you are not going to get a weapon that is even going to fulfil the objects for which it is adopted, because I do not believe it will be any more convenient for the cavalry to carry than the old one. If you are to arm the cavalry with this new short rifle instead of with the carbine, I, for my own part, do not raise any objection; but, because you are going to give the cavalry a better weapon, that is no reason why you should force the rest of His Majesty's Forces to have a weapon which I do not think is quite so good as, and which, at any rate, is not better than, the one they have got. I do hope your Lordships will support me in the Motion I have made. All I want you to do is to express an opinion which will check the issue of these rifles to our infantry and our Navy. A great many of them have been made. I admit that the position of the cavalry with this rifle will be much better than with the old carbine. Let them have it. But it is unnecessary and inexpedient to throw a heavy charge on the nation to re-arm His Majesty's Forces with a weapon which at the best, is no better than the one they now have. I beg to move the Motion standing in my name.

Moved, That, in the opinion of this House, whatever convenience a shortened rifle may afford to mounted troops, it is inexpedient that the whole of His Majesty's Forces should be armed with the recently-approved short rifle.—*(Lord Tweedmouth.)*

Earl ROBERTS: My Lords, I was under the impression when I came to this House that the question at issue was whether the long or the short rifle was the most suitable for our Army. I did not know that the question was to be raised as to how that rifle was to be carried. As the noble Lord has mentioned that matter and has referred to me, I can on that point satisfy him that I am absolutely with him as to the necessity of the rifle being carried on the man's back, or, at any rate, attached to the man in some way or another. When I spoke last year I had tried in vain to get some arrangement by which the rifle could be attached to the man. Experiments had been tried over and over again at Aldershot, and one after another had condemned what I think the noble Lord calls the Patterson equipment. That, I believe, was due to some fault of the clip. But so anxious am I still that some arrangement should be found by which the rifle may be carried attached to the man in some way or another that I have been in communication with Lord Kitchener on the subject; and he tells me that, although the attachment is not absolutely satisfactory, he is convinced that it is the right way in which the rifle should be carried.

I did at that time relate to your Lordships why I first became convinced that the man must have his rifle attached to him. It was in Afghanistan, where I found that when a horse was killed or fell and the man was therefore dismounted he was separated from the only weapon he could use on foot. I myself directed that a sling should be attached by which the carbine—which he had in those days—should be carried at a man's back. I am certain we must have some attachment by which the rifle can be carried, not in a bucket on the horse, but by the man. When the man is on horseback he uses his sword and when dismounted he uses his rifle, and it is essential he should have that rifle with him, or he will be without means of defence. I will give a short account of how and why the shortened rifle came into existence. The origin was not, as the noble Lord thinks, in South Africa. Poor South Africa answers for many shortcomings, but the short rifle was thought of many years before the war was contemplated.

I am sure that all soldiers, and everyone interested in the efficiency of our Army, must be grateful to the noble Lord for bringing prominently to notice a matter on which that efficiency so materially depends. No one, if I may say so, has a better right than the noble Lord to initiate a discussion on this important subject, for not only is he himself an expert rifle shot, but he has on more than one occasion shown considerable knowledge of rifle manufacture. It was as Mr. Marjoribanks in the House of Commons that the noble Lord in 1890 brought forward a Motion criticising the proposed change from the Martini-Henry to the Lee-Enfield rifle. The noble Lord then based his objection to the new rifle on its cost, the smallness of its bore, its system of rifling for the peculiar kind of ammunition it had been decided should be used for it, its system of breech action, and its complexity and method of working. As a matter of fact, my Lords, the rifle in which the noble Lord found so many faults proved in practice to be a most admirable weapon, and when writing from South Africa in 1900 to the Marquess of Lansdowne, then Secretary of State for War, I expressed the following opinions with regard to its utility—

> "There is no need, I think, to be anxious as to the Lee-Metford rifle; our men are quite satisfied with it, and the Boers show their appreciation of it by using it instead of their own Mauser whenever they get the chance. It can, however, I believe, be improved upon without in any way impairing its shooting power, by shortening, lightening, and adding a clip. The Lee-Metford has stood the test of war in a marvellous manner. It has been in the hands of Irregular troops who, in many instances, have not taken proper care of it, and yet, in no instance that I have heard of, has there been any complaint as to jamming, miss-fire, or inaccurate shooting."

Nothing, my Lords, could, I think, be more gratifying or more encouraging to the members of the Small Arms Committee than to find that their labours had not been in vain, and that the rifle, on the construction of which they had devoted so much time and care, had proved eminently satisfactory on service.

I trust that the noble Lord will excuse me if I express a hope that the objections he now raises to the shortened rifle may prove as groundless as those he pronounced against the introduction of the Lee-Metford rifle fifteen years ago. That rifle, indeed, underwent the same troubled course as the shortened rifle is now going through, and it was several years before any decision was arrived at as to whether the Martini-Henry rifle should be superseded. Several more years were then spent in perfecting the rifle. It underwent trial after trial to make certain that it was in all respects suitable for military purposes. Shortcomings were discovered and remedied, but finally an Army Order was issued doing away with the Martini-Henry rifle and adopting the Lee-Metford in its place. Then, my Lords, came the attack in another place to which I have just alluded.

If I shall not be trespassing too long on your Lordships' patience I will explain to you as shortly as I am able how and why the shortened rifle has come into existence. The Lee-Metford rifle was introduced in 1889. Six years afterwards the Chief Inspector of the Small Arms Factory proposed that a new pattern carbine with bayonet should be prepared to supersede the long rifle, on the grounds that, as the carbine then in the service fired the same ammunition as the rifle, was equal in accuracy, superior in handiness and portability, it would be a better arm than the rifle. The Army Board considered the proposal and refused it on the ground that the length of the barrel was insufficient to ensure the entire combustion of the charge.

In 1898 the question was revived, and the then Commander-in-Chief (Lord Wolseley) stated that he was not prepared to entertain any proposition for shortening the rifle, although he would like to see it lightened. It was decided to try if this could be done, and the following arms were prepared: (*a*) Service long rifle reduced in weight from 9 lbs., viz., to 8 lbs. 5½ ozs.; (*b*) ditto reduced in weight to 8 lbs. 6 ozs.; (*c*) a short rifle, reduced in weight to 7 lbs. 12½ ozs. and with the barrel shortened by 6¼ inches; (*d*) a short rifle the same length as the carbine, weight 8 lbs. 7 ozs. These four rifles were submitted to a Committee, constituted as follows—viz.: President, Colonel Ian Hamilton; members, Col. The Hon. F. Stopford, and Col. W. N. Lockyer; Secretary, Captain Lloyd. This Committee was formed to consider and report upon the question as to the best practicable method of modifying the design of the present service magazine rifle so as to produce a lighter weapon.

Of these four arms the Committee chose (*c*), namely, a short rifle reduced in weight to 7lbs. 12ozs. and with the barrel shortened by 6¼ inches, and asked for another similar to this one, but still further lightened, for trial. Twelve of each pattern were ordered, but the outbreak of the South African War prevented the matter being further investigated, and nothing was done until the receipt of the following telegram from me, dated Pretoria, October 10th, 1900, to the Secretary of State for War—

> "As a large number of rifles will have to be made, I would suggest that they should be of the pattern recommended by the Committee of which Colonel Ian Hamilton was president, as I understand this pattern rifle is about to be adopted for the Native Army in India. The new rifle must certainly be loaded on the clip system, and the only question is whether the calibre might not be advantageously still further reduced."

A new Small Arms Committee had, in the meantime, been formed, and had taken up the question of improving the long service rifle. In their Report, dated July, 1900, they raised the question, amongst others, whether in preparing a new pattern of rifle it should have a shorter barrel and longer bayonet in order to be suitable for all services. A decision on this Report was postponed for my return from South Africa, and the Committee continued experiments with a lighter form of long rifle with charger equipment and new sights.

This rifle, together with one five inches shorter, was submitted by the Committee to the Director-General of Ordnance, who, in forwarding it on to the Adjutant-General on January 8th, 1901, minuted as follows—

> "Experiments at Hythe with the barrel shortened six inches have shown that the shortened rifle shoots equally well up to 1,000 yards. Lord Roberts telegraphed from South Africa that future rifles should be with shortened barrels. At the same time there was a general feeling among the cavalry in South Africa that they were handicapped by having the carbine, which has a barrel nine inches shorter than the service rifle, and the Inspector-General of Cavalry asked for a longer carbine. It is hoped that the rifle now submitted will meet the requirements of both cavalry and infantry, and thus enable them both in future to be armed with the same weapon. Longer and shorter bayonets were also submitted."

The Adjutant-General chose the short rifle and short bayonet, and I concurred in the choice on January 10th, 1901. One thousand of the shortened rifles, as well as long and short bayonets, were then ordered for trial.

This, my Lords, is the story of the shortened rifle up to the time it came to be selected as the one likely to prove most suitable for universal use in the Army, provided that its efficiency in all respects passed the proof of exhaustive trials. These trials were carried out during 1901, under the following instructions—

> "All trials are to be carried out in comparison with service rifles. Volley firing will not be

used. Every firer will be allotted a service rifle and a shortened rifle. Every practice will be executed first with the shortened rifle and at once afterwards with the service rifle (or *vice versa*), in order to secure similar conditions of light, wind, and atmosphere. Firers should not be changed during the trials unless unavoidable. The sub-heads of report are to be adhered to and numerical order kept. All firing trials will be reported on in such detail as may be necessary, but deductions from these trials should be embodied under the various sub-heads which apply to them. The sub-heads should be carefully studied, in order that all points to be reported on may be observed during each trial."

"Although the magazine of the shortened rifle will hold ten cartridges, only five will be loaded into it at one time, except as directed in trial No. 8 (*c*).

"Firers must be trained in charger loading with dummy cartridges before carrying out trials in rapid fire. The shortened rifle will be loaded by charger in all trials.

"Rapid practice will not be carried out until all deliberate trials have been completed.

"Reports to be on foolscap, typewritten if possible, and on one side of the paper only.

"As many sighting shots as are needed should be allowed in trials where they may be required.

TABLE OF FIRING TRIALS.

"1. Deliberate fireat 200, 500, and 800 yards at regulation targets. Position—any. Seven shots per rifle at each distance. Results to be recorded as in annual course of musketry. Registers to be kept and retained for reference.

"2. Snap-shooting practice under the same conditions as practice 10, Provisional Course of Musketry, Table B, 1902. Seven shots per rifle.

"3. Vanishing practice under the same conditions as practice 9, Provisional Course of Musketry, Table B, 1902. Seven shots per rifle.

"4. Moving practice under the same conditions as practice 14, Provisional Course of Musketry, Table B, 1902. Eight shots per rifle.

"Trials 2, 3, and 4 to be carried out twice; each trial on a different day. Results to be shown as averages. Registers to be kept and retained for reference.

"5. Fire at objects large and small, coloured to harmonise with background at varying distances up to extreme range obtainable locally, in bright and dull light, and in falling evening light. This trial is intended especially to afford comparison between the bead and the Service Barleycorn foresight, and to test hood sight protector. Results to be shown in any convenient form.

"6. When range is obtainable, fire at about 2,000 yards at a prepared area of ground, either of close cut rolled turf, or sand, or at a large canvas screen laid horizontally, the area not to be less than fifty yards by fifty yards. A target for aiming purposes should be placed on the prepared area of ground or screen. Fifteen rounds per rifle. Results to be shown as percentages of hits to rounds fired. Dial sights to be used. Registers to be kept and retained for reference. Arrangements to be made locally.

RAPID FIRE.

"7. Trial with fixed bayonet to test the method of bayonet attachment and the result on shooting. 2nd Class target at 200 yards. Thirty rounds rapid fire. Five selected firers. Applicable to shortened rifle only.

"8. (*a*) Rapid fire for one and a half minutes at a 2nd Class target at 200 yards. (*b*) Rapid fire for three minutes at a 1st Class target at 600 yards. (*c*) Repeat (*b*), commencing with a full magazine in the shortened rifle and recharging it with ten cartridges.

"Results shown as averages. Registers to be kept and retained for reference.

"In these trials note especially if the hood interferes with rapid alignments of sights, especially when D sight is raised at 600 yards."

In order, my Lords, to satisfy you that both in the construction of the shortened rifle and in the manner in which the trials were carried on the officers concerned were in no way trammelled by orders from the War Office, I must ask your leave to read extracts from a letter I received a day or two ago from the officer who was Commandant at Hythe and a member of the Small Arms Committee for the greater part of the time these duties were being carried out. Colonel Pennington writes—

"The correspondence (*The Times* February 3rd) pictures the Committee as a body oppressed by instructions from the War Office which injuriously limited their field of action and tied them to a narrow issue. This is incorrect and misleading. During my first six months I was in doubt on certain points, and thought it my business to express my views to General Brackenbury. General Brackenbury entirely convinced me that we were dead on the right lines. Trials later on fully confirmed this. The Committee was in no way unreasonably tied down or limited. It was asked to deal with the whole question in the only manner which was practicably possible—The Committee would most certainly have condemned the short barrel had it not given complete satisfaction, and had they not considered it an improvement on the long barrel. The War Office is accused of conducting trials with a view to suit a foregone conclusion. This is almost too foolish to reply to. All trials were suggested by me personally and were amplified by suggestions made by the Committee, who, being nervous about the short barrel, suggested the widest possible trial. The scheme for trials was then *accepted* by the War Office not *directed*. My sole idea in framing the Hythe and Army trials was to leave nothing undone to discover defects. The Hythe Staff, as a body, commenced trials with a bias in favour of the *long* barrel. I believe no trials could be more thorough, more truly comparative, or more practical. The Committee could not have taken up the question of a new type of rifle. It was urgent to deal with the defects in our rifle which the war had brought to light, the chief one being absence of charger loading. The short barrel came up in the connection and was eventually accepted on its merits."

During these trials certain shortcomings were observed in the shortened rifle, and in December twelve more rifles, modified accordingly, were tested at Hythe in comparison with twelve Lee-Metford rifles. The Commandant at Hythe reports that these trials were conducted with rigid impartiality, the short and long rifles being fired alternately, so as to ensure absolutely similar conditions. These trials proved the shortened rifle to be equal to the service rifle in accuracy.

As a further test, my Lords, and to ascertain the opinion of infantry soldiers, it was decided to issue 1,000 shortened rifles to the Army at home for trial, and on March 17th, 1902, a programme for these trials was approved. The trials were carried out at Aldershot, Dover, Portsmouth, and Curragh, Dublin, and Cork, by the various regiments stationed at those places, and by the Royal Navy, and in November of that year the Small Arms Committee reported that they did not regard any further trials as necessary, and that as a service weapon they considered the short rifle superior to the long rifle. My Lords, it was on receipt of this decided opinion, given by the War Office's expert advisers, that I, as the Commander-in-Chief, recommended to the Secretary of State for War that the shortened rifle should be introduced into the service to replace both the Lee-Metford rifle and the carbine. In July, 1903, reports were received from Somaliland that the short rifle which had been issued for trial in that expedition had stood the test well. It was said that—

"The men like it and shoot well with it."

I have now explained to you, my Lords, the reasons for the proposed change, and I have enumerated the measures taken to enable us to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the fitness of the selected weapon for general use in the Army.

Up to the time, my Lords, of the recent appearance of the correspondence in *The Times* dealing with deficiencies supposed to have been discovered in the new rifle, I had no idea that it had been thought to be in any degree faulty. Since the appearance of that correspondence, I have used every effort to discover whether there are grounds for the objections brought forward by those who, for the most part, are experts as to the requirements of a match-shooting rifle rather than to those of a service weapon. Lord Kitchener, to whom I telegraphed on the subject, replies—

"As far as I have been able to test it, the new rifle fulfils requirements. In my opinion it is a better balanced, handier, as well as a lighter weapon, and more suitable for a man on the Indian frontier than the long rifle."

And yesterday this further telegram was received from Lord Kitchener—

"The 7th Division at Meerut has been practising with the new rifle since the 11th, and all ranks speak highly of it."

This testimony, my Lords, as far as it goes is satisfactory, but in view of the doubts raised in the minds of the public and the Army as to the value of the new weapon, and as it is essential that our soldiers should not be required to take the field armed with a rifle in which they do not entirely believe; and as I am at least as anxious as anyone can be that they should have the best rifle that can be procured, I most earnestly hope that His Majesty's Government will consent to such further tests as will definitely solve the doubts which now exist.

To this end, my Lords, I would suggest that a certain number of civilians (if possible, the very same gentlemen who so patriotically went to Bisley a few days ago to ascertain whether the theoretical complaints advanced against the new rifle were well founded), should shoot against a similar number of soldiers at Hythe, each party firing with the long and short rifle alternately up to a distance of 2,000 yards, and also a certain number of rounds of snap shots at short ranges. The programme must, of course, be prepared so that the trial may be carried on as far as it is practical under service conditions, in order that the qualities claimed for a short and light rifle may be practically illustrated. This, I think, could not fail to enable the country to arrive at a definite conclusion as to whether the long or the short rifle is the best weapon for military purposes.

* THE EARL OF ERROLL: My Lords, I do not share the very gloomy view taken by the noble Lord who introduced the Motion now before the House. I maintain that the superior lightness and handiness of the new rifle constitute a very great improvement on the old rifle, and I venture to say that this improvement has been acquired without any loss either of range or accuracy. It is admitted that it is the best weapon for the cavalry, and I venture to think it will prove a boon to the infantry soldier on service. The idea has got abroad that it is an unserviceable and an altogether bad weapon. This opinion has been fostered by the Press.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I beg the noble Lord's pardon; I have never said it was a bad rifle. I wish it to be quite understood that I have never said that.

* THE EARL OF ERROLL: I beg the noble Lord's pardon. In the very temperate speech he made he did not condemn this rifle as a bad one. What I am referring to are the comments that have been made in the Press, and which seem to point out that this rifle is a really bad weapon, and that the Government has been accused of giving a weapon to the Army which places the soldier at a great disadvantage in comparison with soldiers of other countries. I do not hold this opinion at all. It is generally taken for granted in the Press that the cutting off of five inches from the rifle must necessarily reduce the accuracy and the range, and the alteration in the groove has been altogether ignored. In judging of a military rifle there is one point which I think we should never lose sight of, and that is the great difference there is between match shooting and service conditions. For shooting at Bisley a rifle has to be carried perhaps a few hundred yards, while on service men have to carry their rifles long marches and often make an attack immediately afterwards. It by no means follows that a rifle which is a good rifle for match shooting is necessarily a good rifle on service. The cardinal requirements of a rifle for service are handiness and lightness, consistent, of course, with sufficient accuracy to give the soldier confidence in his weapon. Target shooting at home under comfortable conditions is very apt to make us forget this fact. We do not want a match-shooting rifle. What we want is more of a sporting rifle, and I venture to think that if anybody picked up this rifle he would much rather take it out stalking than the long rifle which the infantry have at present.

For these reasons I attach very little importance to the trial which took place a few days ago at Bisley. If these seven match-shooters had marched twelve or fourteen miles first, and had then made an attack across a heather and crawled up to the position from which they were to shoot, I think their opinions would carry much greater weight. Another reason why I think these conditions were not quite fair was that as far as one can see these gentlemen had never practised with a short rifle before, and I think that it is only just to the rifle that it should be tried by persons who have had considerable practice with it. Men always find the drag-pull-of a difficulty at first, though it is almost universally approved of when they have become accustomed to it. I was down at Windsor yesterday, and I questioned some of my old regiment on this new rifle, and they were all warm in its praise. Last year the Blues shot a match against the Coldstream Guards, the Blues using the short rifle and the Coldstream Guards the long rifle, and the Blues won the match. It is true that there was a return match afterwards which they did not win. I have not got the figures, but I was assured that there was very little in it one way or the other. This, I think, proves anyhow that the short rifle is not an unserviceable weapon.

Turning to the statement of those gentlemen who shot at Bisley the other day that this rifle is badly balanced, I certainly cannot agree with them. I think if you take up the two rifles and put them to your shoulder you will find that the short rifle comes up very much better than the old one. The only way for your Lordships to judge of that is to try it yourselves. I wrote to a friend of mine who is in charge of an infantry battalion asking his opinion about this rifle. Whilst being unable to speak as to the shooting of the rifle in his own regiment, which has not been supplied with it, he says—

> "My officers who have been recently at Hythe are warm in praise of its use and accurate shooting. I have handled it and it is a most handy and simple weapon. I fancy the wood casing will require care for fear of damage by falls, and the backsight must also be put down or it will break off. It is extremely light, and I am in favour of it. I do not think the short distance between the backsight and the foresight will affect accuracy of shooting. I have one beside me now and I do not think there can be a better weapon."

This is the expression of opinion of an officer who is at present in command of a battalion. He is a good sportsman, and has seen service in all parts of the world. With regard to snap-shooting, I rather agree with the noble Lord that the sights are a little difficult, but I think that could very easily be remedied. I notice that the noble Lord said nothing about the recoil. I think he admitted last year that the recoil was so small as to be absolutely no detriment to the rifle at all. As to the flash, I have no experience of that. I think the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War will be able to explain it. There was something said in *The Times* the other day about Colonel Hutton, who had been on the Small Arms Committee, shooting with a long rifle. I have seen that rifle. It is very long and heavy, and I do not think that those gentlemen, if they had made the march that I have suggested, would have approved of it from its weight. Besides, it is in no sense a military weapon, because it has no sights on it at all. I venture to think the opinion of military experts, backed up by the trials which the noble and gallant Earl the late Commander-in-Chief has told us of, and further confirmed by the experience of the rifle in Somaliland, should carry greater weight than the opinions of this self-constituted and irresponsible body of gentlemen who went down to Bisley and in one afternoon solved the whole problem, which, I think, we will all allow is very difficult and very complex.

THE EARL OF LONSDALE: My Lords, we have heard many descriptions of the new rifle, and everybody seems to agree that it is a good one; but I understand that it is not a question whether the rifle is a good one, but whether it is a serviceable one, and I think it would be of very great benefit to the country if we knew to what extent the Government or the War Office are responsible for the new arm. I am sure no body of men are more anxious to benefit the country than the experts at the War Office. It may be the case that they have only under order enough rifles to supply the cavalry. If that be so, that is almost an answer to the noble Lord who moved the Motion now before the House, for surely it would be simple enough, if that be the case, to let the cavalry try the rifle and postpone the issue of the rifles to the infantry till a later date.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, even had there been no debates raised on this subject last year by the noble Lord opposite, I should not have been surprised at a debate such as we have had this afternoon being raised at any time. All re-armaments bring into public notice with considerable prominence the views of two schools of thought. There is, first of all, the school of thought which I would venture to call the Army school—military opinion, which has its views as to what sort of weapon is required for the Army. Then there is the second school, the school which regards a weapon chiefly from a sporting point of view, from the point of view with which, I think, rather naturally, it would be regarded by the majority of your Lordships. This particular school has another wing attached to it consisting of those whom I should respectfully call target experts. Whenever re-armament has been proposed we have invariably seen a considerable contest between these two schools of thought. I was reading the other day a debate which took place in your Lordships' House on March 1st, 1867. It was initiated by the noble Marquess whom I see opposite, Lord Ripon. He asked certain questions with reference to what was then the new rifle—the Schneider—and the Under-Secretary quoted in his answer the military opinion which at the time was supplied to him by the then

Commander at Aldershot, Sir James Scarlett. Sir James Scarlett said—

> "I consider the present pattern an admirable weapon and perfectly efficient when well made and well handled."

That is the same sort of answer that we have to give to-day, and it satisfies the critics no more than Sir James Scarlett's opinion did then, for I find that Lord Dalhousie, who followed, expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the rifle. I cannot help saying, by-the-by, that Sir James Scarlett was evidently a strong-minded soldier, who was not afraid of saying what he thought, for in the latter part of the extract quoted he said—

> "My only regret is that the correspondents who furnish information on military matters to the Press do not first make themselves acquainted with the subjects on which they write."

In 1871 there was a similar discussion with reference to the Martini-Henri, which was then being introduced, and in 1891, when the Lee-Metford was brought forward, the same critics who are now so strongly criticising the new rifle expended considerable energy in criticising the Lee-Metford. The noble Lord opposite, Lord Tweedmouth — I daresay he remembers it — initiated a debate in the House of Commons which has already been referred to by the noble and gallant Field-Marshal, and he attacked the Lee-Metford up hill and down dale, if I may put it so, and expressed his love for the Mauser rifle, a love we know he strongly feels. He informed the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Stanhope, that he could obtain these for £3, and I think he even went so far as to recommend that we should adopt these rifles, and your Lordships will probably remember that last year the noble Lord mentioned Mausers again, and quoted the price at from £2 16s. to £2 18s.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: That was consistent.

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Yes, an excellent example of the growth of the evil of "dumping" into this country. Mr. Stanhope, in reply, quoted the Adjutant-General of the day, who stated that the Mark II. weapon was a thoroughly satisfactory one in every way, but the noble Lord was still not satisfied, and he raised the subject again in the following year. And now, my Lords, we have the same controversy. Why do these two schools always differ? I claim that their views are divergent because their needs are divergent. They regard the rifle from an entirely different point of view. What, my Lords, are the needs of the sportsman? A sportsman needs a rifle of supreme accuracy; an ordinarily accurate rifle does not suit him. It is not only necessary to hit your beast but you have to hit him in the right place. Weight does not matter to the sportsman very much. An extra pound more or less is immaterial, because he does not carry his rifle; he employs a man to carry it for him.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: That does not apply to me.

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Then I congratulate the noble Lord. He is a very exceptional Scotsman. It does not matter a bit to the sportsman whether or not the rifle is complicated. There is a comfortable gun room upon the hill, with all modern appliances for cleaning the weapon and carrying out all repairs that it may require. What, my Lords, are the needs of the target expert. It is again of primary importance to him that he should have an accurate weapon. A few inches in accuracy at a thousand yards may make all the difference between success and failure. A few extra pounds in weight one way or the other do not matter to him. He has only a few yards to walk to the firing point. It does not matter if the mechanism is complicated; he has the most skilful gunmakers in the world always at hand ready to carry out small repairs, which, of course, are far more frequent in a complicated weapon than in a simple one. It does not matter to him if the weapon is delicate, for he does not go out shooting in boisterous weather.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: Oh!

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Well, does he?

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: Yes.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Ah, yes; but under an umbrella. How different his needs are from the needs of the soldier on active service. It is quite true that the soldier needs an accurate rifle. In this possibly I go further than the noble Lord, but I am quite prepared to take his admission that as long as it is a good accurate rifle it is good enough for the soldier. But, my Lords, he has other needs quite as great as the need for accuracy. First of all, there is the question of weight. I maintain that to the soldier a single pound is of cardinal importance. He has to carry his rifle for long marches, sometimes for forced marches, in all temperatures, in all climates, in Canada, in India, and in the Far East, and he has to carry at the same time a great many other things. I claim, therefore, that it is of cardinal importance that you should consider the weight of a rifle when selecting one for the soldier.

Again, my Lords, a delicate rifle is of no use to the soldier. The Army needs a strong rifle that will stand knocking about from its master, who is, after all, rather a robust practitioner, not over skilful in mechanical niceties. He needs a handy weapon for snap-shooting, for shooting at moving objects, for a mêlée, for hand to hand conflicts such as you do not meet with upon the plains of Bisley. Therefore, I claim that there are cardinal necessities which must be considered in selecting a rifle for the Army that never come into the heads of your sportsmen or your target experts, but which must be given full value by your Lordships in deciding such a matter as this. I might mention in passing that our late foes in South Africa, I am told, found the long rifle not quite so handy as they liked, for I believe many rifles which we had lost and which they had taken into use were found lying about, subsequently, and that almost invariably a great deal of the wood under the barrel had been cut away in order to increase the handiness of the rifle. I only mention this in passing as a testimony from those whom we are always having quoted to us as great rifle experts.

I maintain, my Lords, that the only true test—and in this one can welcome the support of the noble and gallant Field-Marshal—of the rifle for the Army is one made under service conditions. We have had such conditions in Somaliland, and the fact that there is a practically unanimous voice in favour of this rifle and against the old rifle surely should be allowed to have considerable weight in this matter with your Lordships. The noble and gallant Field-Marshal has made it perfectly clear that the attack which has been made upon us of adopting this rifle for the cavalry and subordinating the interests of the infantry is an unfounded one. He has also made it perfectly clear that there was no doubt in the minds of the military authorities in 1901 when this rifle was recommended for adoption, and I think it right to inform your Lordships that there is a similar absolute absence of doubt in the minds of our military advisers at the present moment. There is no hesitation in the mouths of my colleagues on the Army Council in saying that this is the rifle that they want for the Army.

Now, my Lords, I come to some of the detailed criticisms which have been put forward by the noble Lord opposite, and I will do my best to follow such an expert as he is into the very minute details into which he has entered. I would only like to say one thing with reference to the policy of foreign nations. The noble Lord states that no one has adopted our rifle. That is true, but a foreign nation that has re-armed since we commenced re-arming has adopted, not only a short rifle, but a rifle shorter than our short rifle, I mean the Swiss. I admit that the Swiss have not a large army, but they are a nation of marksmen, and have always been held before us as such, and are we not permitted to say that this is perhaps a sign on the other side as to the way things may trend? There is also the United States. In 1898 the United States adopted a short rifle. It is quite true they have stopped the issue, but, if you read the extracts from the American newspapers, you will find that they have stopped the issue not because they are dissatisfied with their rifle, but because they are dissatisfied with their bayonet. As far as we know—of course we have no official reports; but as far as the American newspapers tell us—the United

States have stopped issuing their short rifle because they are dissatisfied with their particular bayonet.

Now, my Lords, the noble Lord, in the first sentence of his speech, spoke with considerable feeling, complaining that none of the improvements suggested had been adopted by the War Office. He did not use the word "pig-headed," but I think he considers us pig-headed because we have not adopted some of his improvements. But three minutes afterwards the noble Lord congratulated us on having adopted charger-loading, of which he has been an advocate for years past. Adopting his advocacy of charger-loading is a very bad way of refusing ever to adopt any improvements that are suggested to you. We are often told that second thoughts are best, and in this matter I prefer the noble Lord's second thought.

Now with regard to the accuracy of this short rifle. The noble Lord asked about the trials. I was not present at the trials and I find a difficulty in answering all his minute questions. My impression is—I think I am informing the noble Lord rightly—that those trials were carried out not from a fixed rest—if I understand properly what a fixed rest is. I think they were carried out from the shoulder but on a tripod.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: With a rest.

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: But they were not in a vice. But, my Lords, I would like to say one word with reference to the results of some further trials which were placed in my hands yesterday, and which I think will prove very satisfactory to your Lordships. I would make one remark with reference to this return, and that is that the comparison in it between the short rifle and the foreign rifle is a fair one because it is a trial of one rifle. We have great difficulties in carrying out trials with foreign rifles owing to the difficulty of getting ammunition. The comparison between the long rifle and the short rifle is not a fair one. The short rifle trial is a trial of one rifle, but the long rifle trial is the ordinary trial of twelve rifles. Therefore I do not think that that comparision is a fair one.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: Had the long rifle the new sights?

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: I think not, but I shall be able to say something about that presently in another connection. I have here the results of a number of trials—some nineteen or twenty in all—which have recently been carried out in connection with experiments upon a different point, and therefore I may perhaps claim that they are less open to suspicion upon this point. They had been carried out with a number of different bullets with which we had been experimenting. They were all new rifles, very carefully selected, six of each sort—six against six. Of course, in the figures that I will quote to your Lordships, the same bullet and the same ammunition will have been used in each rifle where one is set up against the other. They were 20 shot diagrams at 600 yards. With the present bullet the long rifle gives a figure of merit of $9\frac{1}{3}$ in. and the short rifle $7\frac{1}{3}$ in., or 2 in. in favour of the short rifle; second trial, $9\frac{3}{5}$ in. long rifle, 8 in. short rifle, a difference of $1\frac{3}{5}$ in.; third trial, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. long rifle, $8\frac{2}{3}$ in. short rifle, which is practically the same, being a difference in favour of the short rifle of $\frac{1}{12}$ in.

Lord WENLOCK: Will the noble Earl say whether the sights were identical?

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Certainly not. I am quoting the old rifle against the new rifle as issued to the troops. I have seventeen or eighteen further trials with which I will not trouble your Lordships, but the total result is $8\frac{2}{5}$ in. for the long rifle and $7\frac{4}{5}$ in. for the short rifle, a difference of $\frac{3}{5}$ in. in favour of the short rifle. I do not want to press that further than to say that these trials distinctly show that the short rifle is not worse than the long rifle, and that in the majority of cases it comes out better than the long rifle. Therefore it is not straining the result to say that the short rifle is not the worse of the two.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: But you cannot compare them unless you put the same sights on the rifles.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I think it is a perfectly fair comparison; it is comparing the rifle as issued to the troops, and I say that we will have a better rifle than the long rifle with which they went to South Africa. I do not want to put it further than that.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: May I ask as to the extreme range?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I am coming to that; I was speaking only as to accuracy. Now, my Lords, I come to the recoil. I know the noble Lord opposite does not attack us on this point; he is my ally in this respect, and I am very glad of it. A great deal has been said about recoil, and I think it right that the proper figures should be mentioned. These are not War Office figures. The experiments were made by the Gunmakers Association of London. Whereas the recoil of the long rifle was 11·9 foot-pounds the short rifle was 13·4, so that the short rifle was about 1½ pounds more.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: You mean tons.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I think not; I copied the expression from the report. At any rate we will not discuss whether it is pounds or tons. The figures are 11·9 and 13·4. I wonder if your Lordships are aware of what is the recoil of the guns with which you yourselves go out shooting. The Gunmakers Association assure us that it is 24; therefore the short rifle with 13·4 is not a very serious thing as compared with your guns with 24, while the old Express rifle which your Lordships used before the small rifle came in was 45.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I beg the noble Earl's pardon, but he was right and I was wrong. The recoil is pounds. I was confusing recoil with pressure, which is always given in tons.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE; I am glad to hear that I was correct. Now as regards the point raised in the letter which is being quoted from *The Times* of last Monday with regard to flash. I fully admit that flash so far as regards present ammunition. It is not a very grave defect, because though a flash enables you to see where your enemy is, you cannot tell how far off he is. It is very difficult in the dark to tell how far off a flash is. However, I am glad to be able to inform your Lordships that for a long time we have been carrying out experiments with what is technically known as "M.D. cordite," which is the cordite used in big guns; we have been trying to adapt it to small arms, and our experiments are already sufficiently satisfactory to enable me to say that we have every hope of shortly being able to introduce the use of M.D. cordite into small arms. From a great number of experiments that we have carried out with the short rifle, and even with the Maxim gun, which is always a considerable offender in the matter of flash, we find that with M.D. cordite, there is no flash in the short rifle or in the Maxim; therefore this defect, I admit at once, can be easily met without altering the length of the rifle.

Now, my Lords, as to muzzle velocity. The noble Lord stated that the muzzle velocity of the two rifles was the same. As a matter of fact the short rifle is 30 lbs. more.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Feet, you mean.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I am sorry, but I have pounds down again.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: It is 30 foot-seconds.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Anyhow, the figures are 2,000 and 2,030, or slightly in favour of the short rifle. Our present bullet we claim is capable of carrying a higher pressure than it does at present, but this higher pressure invariably raises complaints as to kick. But with the same bullet the trajectory is the same in the two rifles.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I have not disputed it.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: No, the noble Lord has not disputed it, but lots of people have. If anything, that of the short rifle is a little flatter. There is one curious thing as regards muzzle velocity which I should like to mention.

Experiments were carried out on the 21st of this month at Enfield, using a long barrel with rifling as for the short rifle, and the result was 21 foot-seconds more than the muzzle velocity of the short rifle. It is quite true that foreign rifles are getting a higher muzzle velocity, but they do it with a smaller bore, and also, I am informed, with a lighter bullet.

Then as regards range, a question raised by my noble friend at the Table. Both our rifles were sighted to 2,800 yards, whereas few foreign rifles are over 2,200 and none over 2,400. I have all the figures here as to foreign rifles, but I do not wish to weary your Lordships with them, but it might be interesting to note that the Japanese rifle is sighted to 2,187 yards—that represents the equivalent in kilometres—and the Russian rifle to 2,096 yards. Therefore in sighting our short rifle to 800 yards farther, we are not very far behind foreign nations.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I beg the noble Earl's pardon; the distance to which the rifle is sighted does not in the least guarantee or prove the distance the bullet will carry. We want to know how far the bullet will carry, not the distance to which the rifle is sighted.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: But would not foreign nations sight their rifles to the distance they think necessary —as far as they want them to carry?

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: That is not the question I want answered. I want to know the absolute fact.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: We have had no experiments that I know of on that point, but if we have I should be very glad to place the results at the disposal of the noble Lord.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Has the rifle been fired at 2,800 yards?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I do not know, but again I should be very glad to ascertain. I should think it had, otherwise I do not think it would have been sighted for the distance. Now I come to the question of the sights. Before I deal with that, I may say that a paper has just been put into my hands stating that the rifle has been shot with good results at 2,800 yards. Now with regard to the foresight, I was wondering whether the noble Lord would repeat his complaint of the foresight, because what did he say in 1892? He then threw doubt upon the advisability of the foresight not being protected; he suggested to the Secretary of State in the House of Commons that it was liable to be knocked off. Now, when we have given the foresight protection and prevented it being knocked off, the noble Lord comes down upon us like a cartload of bricks and complains that we are throwing a shadow over it. I confess that in this matter I think the noble Lord is very difficult to please. Now, my Lords, I come to a more important point—the point of bayonet fighting. This is a matter which has caused considerable controversy. It is argued that this rifle being five inches shorter than the old rifle will place men at a considerable disadvantage as compared with the old rifle in a bayonet *mêlée*. Theoretically it is a very pleasant idea that the longer rifle and the longer bayonet give a man an advantage, but curiously enough our experience is all the other way. In 1888, when the short bayonet was originally adopted, very extensive trials were carried out. The method of procedure was as follows. Two of our best instructors were taken, one was given a long bayonet, and the other a short bayonet, and they were made to fight. After they had fought a certain number of times, they were made to change weapons, and fight again. The result was invariably that the short bayonet won twice out of three times. That is obviously because the shorter rifle is a more handy weapon, and that with a short weapon you can move more quickly. There are also other points in favour of the short bayonet not in connection with the rifle, with which I will not trouble your Lordships. It is, however, a notable fact that at the present moment the Japanese rifle and bayonet together are three and a half inches shorter than the Russian rifle and bayonet, and, on the theory that the longer rifle and bayonet give you such a tremendous advantage, in almost every *mêlée* that has occurred during the present war the Russians ought to have killed every Japanese, and I hardly think that that is a sort of thing that the newspaper reports tell us has happened. The noble Lord admits that the argument against the short bayonet could be met by lengthening the bayonet, but as that matter is not now under discussion, I will not follow it further.

Now I come to some of the minor criticisms of the noble Lord. He complains of the stock being in two parts—I hope I understand his criticism rightly—and that this will allow the screw to work loose, and that the accuracy of the rifle would thus be compromised. I would only suggest with great humility that the remedy is not to allow the screw to work loose, and to screw it up if it does work loose. Then with regard to his criticism of the bolt. He attacked the bolt twelve years ago, but it has since satisfactorily stood the strain of the Tirah campaign, of the Egyptian campaign, of the South African campaign, of the China campaign, and of Somaliland, and we see no reason to desert our old friend. The same argument applies to the noble Lord's criticism of the magazine. The noble Lord stated in 1892 that the magazine was one which was liable to break down when brought into actual service. It is, I believe, a maxim of life that you should never prophesy unless you know, and on this occasion I am afraid the noble Lord prophesied without knowing. There is also the undoubted fact that a 10-cartridge magazine does not empty so soon as a 5-cartridge magazine, and we adhere to the 10-cartridge magazine. We know that the Boers used invariably to load up their magazines after they had fired a few shots if they had an opportunity for so doing, and the same course of action is open to the British soldier. We have had no complaint that the rifle is difficult to clean.

As regards the other small points, such as, for instance, the necessity of setting up new machinery, I am informed that a lot of new machinery has had to be set up, but I have not the details with me. In answer to the noble Lord, Lord Lonsdale, it is quite true that our present contracts when completed would do little more than supply our mounted troops, for whom, I am sure the noble Lord opposite would agree, a short rifle is essential.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: It is better than the carbine.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Very well, the noble Lord will not admit it. But long before these contracts are out we shall have received the result of extensive trials which are now in progress under service conditions, and I can assure your Lordship that if modifications are found to be necessary we shall not hesitate to say so and to recommend them to your Lordships. In connection with these trials I am prepared to make what perhaps I may call a sporting offer. If any of our friends the target experts would like to join in a trial I should be very glad to arrange it, and I would suggest something like the following conditions, viz., the trial to be carried out with a long rifle one day and a short rifle the next; the trial to consist of a twenty mile march in the most boisterous weather we can get, and to end with a half mile "double" over the shingle at Hythe (that is a very fair service condition); then the rifle to be shot, the number of rounds and the particular targets to be subsequently agreed on. I shall be interested to know whether after this march and this "double" those who participate in the trial still maintain that they like the long rifle better than the short, or that they prefer shooting with a long rifle to shooting with a short rifle. As a purely personal opinion, I should prefer that this offer were accepted by the seven marksmen whose trial is spoken of in the letter in *The Times* of last Monday.

At present, on the reports that we have, and in the opinion of our military advisers, we have no justification for doing what the noble Lord by his Motion would have us do, namely, to stop existing contracts. The keynote of the whole matter is—and I hope your Lordships will remember it—that the best weapon for target work or sporting purposes is not necessarily the best weapon for the Army. Our military advisers had no hesitation in 1901; Somaliland has come since then, and our military advisers have no hesitation now. Your

Lordships have heard the telegram from Lord Kitchener which was read out by the noble and gallant Field-Marshal, and I am sure your Lordships will feel bound to give the strongest possible consideration to the words of the telegram that "the rifle is more suited for war on the Indian frontier than the long rifle." Operations have been frequent on the Indian frontier, and we are constantly being reminded that they are likely to occur there again. I earnestly hope that your Lordships will not take up the directly *non possumus* attitude suggested by the Motion of the noble Lord, and absolutely refuse to allow any progress to be made in the re-arming of the Army with a rifle which, after all, the Army has chosen for itself.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Before my noble friend Lord Spencer addresses your Lordships I should like to say a word. The Under-Secretary of State for War said it was impossible to give a long rifle to the cavalry. Now, my Lords, why has the whole of this question arisen? We have had a very interesting discussion about sights and weights and everything else, but I would ask my noble friend whether, if it were not that at last the light has dawned on the War Office, after fighting against it for forty years, that the carbine is unsuited in the present day for cavalry, should we have ever had this new rifle? I very much doubt it. The point never arose until the question of the carbine for the cavalry being done away with came up, and that only arose because you sent our cavalry out to South Africa with a weapon absolutely useless as compared with that to which they were opposed; they were under fire for about 2,000 yards or 1,500 yards before they could return it. Their carbines would shoot up to about 1,000 yards, while the weapons of their opponents would carry 2,500 yards, and some of them even up to 3,000 yards; therefore I am correct in saying that the cavalry were sent out with an absolutely useless weapon, and that much life was lost in consequence of their being under fire for so long before they could return it. The result is that the carbine has been condemned and the cavalry are to be armed with a rifle; so that the question is what rifle should that be? My noble friend said just now that it was impossible for the cavalry to carry a long rifle. Why? Forty years ago the most perfectly mounted cavalry force ever seen—the Hampshire Mounted Horse under Colonel Bower—carried the rifle in a way which elicited from the late Commander-in-Chief these words. I may say that I last year produced photographs showing how the rifle was carried. The noble and gallant Field Marshal Earl Roberts then said—

> "I admit that the photograph shows a pleasant way of carrying a long rifle; moreover I think it is in that way it will have to be carried in peace time."

That is to say, carried in a bucket, attached not to the man but absolutely to the horse. Carried in a way, which, instead of interfering with the man when riding, enables him to ride over fences or anywhere, without convenience, and that acts as a buck-jumping saddle and prevents his being kicked off if need be. My noble friend the late Commander-in-Chief also said—

> "It is an admirable way of carrying a rifle in peace time, but not in war."

But what is war? He means in the face of the enemy. But when they are in face of the enemy the troops would take their rifles out of the bucket and carry them in a sling round their shoulders. There is no difficulty in that. The question, therefore, is reduced to this—whether it is a wise or necessary thing, putting aside the questions of accuracy and the improvement of the weapon, because you are going to give the rifle instead of the carbine to the cavalry, to arm the whole infantry and cavalry with a new rifle and spend at least £3,000,000 upon what I hold to be an unnecessary arm. I venture to think it would be more practical and more sensible to give the cavalry a long rifle and to carry it in the way I have suggested, than to spend £3,000,000 of money, and give every sort of abstract reason why this new rifle is better than the old rifle, when you would never have thought of having this new rifle at all had it not been for the question of substituting something for the carbine for the cavalry. I think we are indebted to my noble friend for bringing this question before the House, and on the broad issue—not on the question of sights or of weights, or of powder—but on the broad issue that the expenditure is unnecessary, I hope the Motion will be supported. You ought to give the cavalry a long rifle, and have it carried in a way which everybody who has seen it admits to be excellent. For years I have tried to get the authorities of the War Office to look at this method of carrying a rifle, but none of them have done so, and now they are adopting a new-fangled idea by which the rifle is to be carried half on the man and half on the animal. I think the whole thing is a mistake, and therefore I shall heartily support my noble friend.

*EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I am quite aware that your Lordships are always surprised if a Member of this House rises to speak on a subject about which he is supposed to know very little. I venture, however, to address you to-night, not as a sporting shot with a rifle, not altogether as a target expert, but as one who has had at any rate some experience in this matter, and I will tell your Lordships what is that experience which justifies me in supporting the Motion of my noble friend. When President of the National Rifle Association in succession to my noble friend beside me, I was appointed by the War Office in 1867 and 1868 and served on an important Committee for nearly two years, on the subject of the new rifle for the Army. I had already had considerable experience of shooting, having been one of the first Volunteers to go to Hythe. Before going to Hythe I doubt whether I could have hit Buckingham Palace at fifty yards, so that I owed a good deal to the Hythe course of instruction. After that, I did a considerable amount of shooting with various Volunteer corps; I drilled Volunteers in rifle shooting myself, and during that time they were more successful at Wimbledon than they have ever been since. I shot in a great many matches, not with a sporting or match rifle, but with the old muzzle-loading Enfield rifle, then with the Schneider, and subsequently with other rifles, so that I can claim to have had considerable experience both of shooting personally and of teaching others to shoot. While serving on the Committee to which I have referred, I went through a long period of inquiry on the subject of these rifles; we had an enormous number of rifles before us, though I forget exactly how many. Two of the members of the Committee were connected with the Volunteers and rifle shooting, one besides myself being Mr. Edward Ross, whom your Lordships will doubtless remember and admire as a most distinguished shot. The other members were military men, Colonel Fletcher of the Scots Guards, who served as chairman, two other military men, and a Royal Artillery Secretary. I may say that a friend of mine who happens to live in Northamptonshire and I are now the only survivors of that Committee with which I worked. I quite admit that our work and recommendations on that Committee are now antiquated and out of date, for a rifle, like a ship, has a very short life and is soon over-ridden by new ideas, but I think that much information that I gained during that inquiry justifies me in criticising the action it is now proposed to take. I always feel proud of having been a member of the Committee which recommended the Martini-Henry rifle, because, although it has now been superseded for some fifteen years, it provided for the Army one of the very best arms then in existence, and for nearly twenty years that rifle was used with great success. That Committee was appointed also to consider the question of magazine rifles, but these rifles had advanced only such a very small way in 1867–8 that we practically did not go into that matter, so that I do not speak with any experience on that point. I must also admit that at that time I was strongly against the bolt system, preferring the block system. I had an experience which perhaps justified me in holding that view, because while I was carrying out an experiment for the Committee to see whether the rifles would bear the rough usage of war, one of the bolt rifles blew up on my shoulder, the whole of the bolt going by my head, and I suppose I was never nearer to sudden death than then. I believe that experiment and accident greatly influenced the Committee in recommending the block system. But I am not going to argue in favour of that system now. I am quite aware that the bolt system has been adopted, and I believe successfully, and that the dangers we felt then as attending its use have been overcome by practice, and that under war conditions, which is the greatest of all tests, the bolt system has not been found deficient.

I want, my Lords, to refer to two points on which the noble Earl opposite has spoken. He seemed to throw a little doubt on the authority of men who came forward as sportsmen. But my noble friend does not urge that the experience of sportsmen completely exhausts the arguments in favour of one rifle or another. He does feel, however, and I agree, that the experience of sportsmen like himself with various rifles has an important bearing on rifle-shooting generally, whether in sport or with the Army. We often hear, too, some almost sneering remarks—I do not use the word offensively—with regard to Bisley and Wimbledon. I was closely connected with the meeting at Wimbledon, and I think that those who make such slighting references forget what those two great meetings for rifle-shooting have done for the Army and for the rifle in this country. If it had not been for the shooting at Wimbledon we should never have had so good an arm in the Army as we have had. That is a point that ought to be borne in mind.

I am afraid the noble Earl has not had much experience of shooting. I have had rather more, for I once shot for the Queen's Prize at Wimbledon with a military rifle, so that I know very well the conditions under which shooting takes place. I do not for a moment say that those conditions would outweigh the actual service conditions in the Army, but still they are important. One of the most trying conditions in the great matches at Wimbledon and now at Bisley, is the requirement to shoot in the most violent storms. I certainly have never heard of shooting from under an umbrella. Anybody who has shot at Wimbledon would ridicule the suggestion of the noble Earl; in fact, the idea as to that being one of the conditions under which shooting is conducted is absolutely absurd.

My Lords, we can quite admit that the noble and gallant Field Marshal has disposed of one argument which has been used in the course of the debate, namely, that the question of the short rifle was raised by the South African War. We will admit that. But speaking not as a sporting man—I have done very little deer-stalking myself—but as one with some experience of shooting with a military rifle in matches, I say there is nothing which makes a greater difference in rifle-shooting than the range between the backsight and the foresight. I have tried shooting with a short rifle, and it is almost impossible to do so with great accuracy. The difference it makes is enormous, and I think that that consideration alone is of great importance. You may ridicule extreme accuracy, but I think that when you have in your Army some of the best shots in the world you should seek to put into their hands a rifle which will enable them to make the most accurate shooting. Time after time, in South Africa and elsewhere, these experienced shots have done great service to the country by the marvellous accuracy of their shooting; therefore, I do not think you ought at all to minimise the importance of accuracy, and accuracy of shooting with all men, whether they are good or bad shots, is enormously affected by whether a long or a short rifle is used. The question of weight is one which need scarcely be considered when it is remembered that in this case the shortening of a long barrel to a short barrel only reduces the weight of the arm six ounces.

I do not want to trouble your Lordships at great length to-night, but I should like to say that with regard to cartridges I can conceive that it would be of enormous importance not to have two kinds of cartridges used on service. If you have two kinds of cartridges the wrong kind may come up just at the moment when you are in need of ammunition. Therefore the question of cartridges is of vital importance—of far more importance, I should say, than having the same arm. I cannot see the force of the argument of the noble and gallant Field Marshal. If you have the same cartridge it will be an enormous advantage.

Now, my Lords, we have to consider what the Government are doing. I understand that what the Government propose will cost about £3,000,000. That is a very large sum. But what will

Earl Spencer.

it effect? It will not give you a better arm than the long rifle. We do not say that the short rifle is a bad arm, but according to the arguments of the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State and of the noble and gallant Field Marshal, the short rifle—though we admit it is better than the carbine—is not a better arm than the long rifle. Why, then, should you go to this enormous expenditure to put into the hands of the infantry an arm which many people think a worse arm than the present arm, and which, according to those who advocate the short rifle, is at any rate not a bit better than the rifle now in use? That, I think, is a point we ought to bear in mind.

I do not dwell on the question of recoil. My noble friend, who knows so much about the subject, has admitted that recoil in this short rifle is a small matter. A heavy recoil is doubtless very serious, but we do not say that recoil is a serious point here. The question of flash is of more importance, because the very existence of flash shows that the whole power of the powder has not been developed and brought to bear on the bullet which is to be propelled. The point on which I wish to lay particular stress is that for this enormous expenditure you will not get a better rifle. We believe that with very slight changes the long rifle could be enormously improved and that it might be made very superior to the rifle now in the hands of other armies. We quite admit the desirability of putting this rifle into the hands of the cavalry, as there is no doubt that the present carbine is very deficient.

Now, my Lords, I leave the case as it stands. I should have left it absolutely alone, but I thought that in a debate of this character I ought to make a few remarks. The case has been ably put by my noble friend, and I sincerely trust that your Lordships will not blindly follow the Secretary of State for War in sanctioning so enormous an expenditure for so small a gain.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, I rise not for the purpose of continuing the debate, but simply with a view to pointing out a curious mistake made by the noble Earl in his reference to me. The noble Earl treated me as a critic of the Schneider rifle. If there is one thing in connection with my proceedings as the head of a public department with which I am well satisfied it is that I was the Secretary of State who introduced the breech-loading rifle into the British Army, and that I selected the Schneider rifle as the pattern to be used. I was shortly afterwards removed to the India Office. My noble friend the Duke of Devonshire succeeded me, and he it was who actually issued the rifles. My object was not to attack the Schneider rifle, which is, so to speak, my own rifle, but to elicit, what I did practically elicit, from His Majesty's Government, namely, the excellent practice which that rifle had always made.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I should perhaps have described the noble Marquess as a critic of the Government, not as a critic of the rifle.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: But I was not criticising anybody.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, we have had a most interesting and instructive discussion, and I do not think that anybody can complain of the manner in which the subject has been dealt with either by the noble Lord on the Front Bench opposite who introduced the Motion, or by my noble friend beside me who spoke on behalf of the War Office. I think we are indebted to them for the clearness with which they handled a difficult subject, although there were moments when we found ourselves in some doubt as to whether we were thinking in tons or in pounds or in that still more elusive quantity, foot-seconds of muzzle velocity. What we have now to consider is the course we can most conveniently adopt with regard to the Motion on the Paper. The Motion is of a very decided and peremptory character. If it is carried by the House it may be either operative or inoperative, if it is operative it will have the effect of interfering abruptly with the proceedings of the War Office, and of throwing upon this House and of taking away from the War Office the responsibility for dealing with the supply of rifles to the British Army. On the other hand if it should remain inoperative I am afraid the result would not be consonant with the dignity of your Lordships' House. I wish therefore to ask your Lordships whether we are really in a position to commit ourselves to the very decided and conclusive view expressed in the Motion of the noble Lord? Surely, my Lords, this is a question which can be decided by experts and only by experts, and although there are no doubt some Members of this House, and I certainly give a high place among them to the noble Lord who moved the Motion, who have a right to consider themselves experts, I take it that what I may call the rank and file of your Lordships' House do not pretend to have any expert knowledge of these matters. We come then to this, that the Secretary of State for War has behind him a very great weight of expert authority. No one could listen to the full statement of my noble friend, or to the observations of the noble and gallant Field-Marshal on the Cross Benches, without becoming aware that this question had been fully and repeatedly examined, and that the Secretary of State's advisers had formed a very strong opinion, to which they adhered. On the other hand, my Lords, there is no doubt a considerable body of public opinion—of expert opinion —which holds a different view, and I am certainly not going to under-rate the importance of such statements as those which have lately appeared in the public Press or have been made by the noble Lord opposite this evening.

How, then, is it possible for your Lordships' House to take upon themselves to decide when these doctors disagree? No doubt there are some points upon which we are perfectly competent to form an opinion. For example, no one will deny, I think, that for a military rifle accuracy is not the all-in-all to be aimed at. There are other qualities for which we ought also to look. I think my noble friend was perfectly right when he argued that this subject should be considered not merely from the point of view of the sportsmen or marksmen. The military rifle will have to be put into the hands of soldiers, often of young soldiers, perhaps of soldiers who have not had a very lengthy training. It is surely of the utmost importance to give them a weapon which shall be simple and handy, and one which they themselves like to use. While I say that, I must protest against the statement of the noble Earl that my noble friend in his speech cast anything like a sneer upon those most valuable institutions, Wimbledon and Bisley. I am sure all of us agree with the noble Earl opposite in acknowledging the great debt which the country owes to those competitions, and the great obligation we are under to those who, like the noble Earl, were concerned in the original institution of those most valuable meetings.

Then, my Lords, other things being equal, it is surely not unreasonable to say that the lighter weapon is obviously a more convenient weapon than the heavier. Again, we may take upon ourselves to say that a single weapon is better for the whole Army than two weapons, and that one cartridge—which I believe we have—is better than a variety of cartridges. But, my Lords, my noble friend claims on behalf of this new short rifle that it possesses these attributes, and, in addition, the merit of equal or even greater accuracy. My noble friend is certainly not open to the imputation of having under-rated the importance of accuracy. I thought he put accuracy rather higher than did the noble Lord who moved the Motion; for he, if I remember rightly, treated the quality of accuracy as fourth in rank of the four essentials which he enumerated.

But, my Lords, my noble friend's statements, full and convincing as they were, are met by a distinct challenge, and it is scarcely for us to deliver judgment. What, then, is the reasonable course for us to adopt? Surely it is that which I understood my noble friend to suggest, namely, that this challenge should be taken up, that further trials—under conditions which will render those trials exhaustive and complete—should be made, and that if the result of those trials should throw any doubt upon the value of the short rifle the responsible department should govern itself accordingly. No harm will be done in the meantime, because I understood my noble friend to say that the whole of the short rifles now under order, or in process of manufacture, will be required for the mounted troops, or for the reserve of mounted troops. We may, therefore, with a clear conscience proceed with the completion of those orders which are now actually in existence. As to the conversion of the existing long rifles into short rifles, to which the noble Earl referred—a conversion which he truly says is an expensive operation—I understand that no conversions are at the present moment in progress; and that none are intended in the near future.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: In the very near future?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: And that none are intended in the very near future. I maintain, therefore, that your Lordships may safely leave the matter where my noble friend has left it, without committing yourselves to a Resolution so binding upon the House, and so absolutely uncompromising as that which the noble Lord has moved.

A NOBLE LORD: Can the noble Earl say whether the War Office Committee which recommended this rifle, were in any way tied down by instructions as to the length of rifle necessary, or had they quite a free hand?

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I do not quite recognise to what date the noble Lord refers. It was made quite clear by the noble and gallant Field-Marshall that the idea of the short rifle was put forward in 1895 by the Chief Inspector of Small Arms.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Earl of SELBORNE): I was asked what we were doing with regard to the Navy. The rifle is not a weapon for seamen at all; their weapon is the big gun; so that the question of the rifle is one of very second-rate importance to them, and we have not found it necessary to raise any question of a change of arms at present.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I am afraid some of your Lordships will think me very unyielding, but I do not think that I can accept the offer that the noble Marquess has made. I do not see that I should be in any way advantaged by accepting it. If I withdraw this Motion, and leave the matter in the position that the Government are to go on as they like, on the understanding that there are to be further inquiries into the behaviour of the rifle, well and good; but if I press this Motion to a division, as I am thinking of doing, the Government will still be bound to do exactly the same thing. After the debate which has taken place to-night, and after the discussion in the Press, it is perfectly clear that the War Office and the Government would not think of continuing the manufacture of these weapons without taking further steps to reassure the public mind. If the noble Marquess were in a position to undertake, that in the meantime no further rifles should be manufactured except for the cavalry, and that any further issue of the rifles should be postponed for a considerable time, there might be something in it. I do not wish to put the Government or the War Office into any state of discomfort, nor could I do it if I wished; so that for my own satisfaction, and in order, at any rate, to record the opinions of a certain number of Members of this House, I shall be obliged to ask your Lordships to divide on this occasion.

On Question, their Lordships divided:—Contents, 22; Not-Contents, 55.

CONTENTS.

Bedford, D.
Somerset, D.

Ripon, M.

Chesterfield, E. [*Teller*]
Dartrey, E.
Ilchester, E.
Kimberley, E.
Portsmouth, E.
Spencer, E.

Gordon, V. (*E. Aberdeen.*)

Brassey, L.
Burghclere, L.
Chelmsford, L.
Monkswell, L.
Raglan, L.
Reay, L.
Sandhurst, L. [*Teller.*]
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Tweedmouth, L.
Wandsworth, L.
Welby, L.
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)

NOT-CONTENTS.

Halsbury, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)
Vane, E. (*M. Londonderry.*) (*L. President.*)
Salisbury, M. (*L. Privy Seal.*)

Marlborough, D.
Portland, D.

Ailesbury, M.
Bath, M.
Lansdowne, M.
Winchester, M.

Pembroke and Montgomery, E. (*L. Steward.*)
Clarendon, E. (*L. Chamberlain.*)
Albemarle, E.
Brownlow, E.
Dartmouth, E.
Denbigh, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Lathom, E.
Lonsdale, E.
Mansfield, E.
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Onslow, E.
Roberts, E.
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Stanhope, E.
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Churchill, V. [*Teller.*]
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Knutsford, V.
Abinger, L.
Allerton, L.
Belper, L.
Cheylesmore, L.
de Ros, L.
Dunboyne, L.
Estcourt, L.
Kenyon, L.
Kilmarnock, L. (*E. Erroll.*)
Lawrence, L.
Muncaster, L.
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Robertson, L.
Rossmore, L.
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Sinclair, L.
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Windsor, L.
Wolverton, L.

House adjourned at half-past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock,

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 23rd February, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

SUBSTITUTED BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the following Bill, introduced pursuant to the provisions of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, and which the Chairman of Ways and Means had directed to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with, viz. :—Clyde Navigation [Lords].

PETITIONS.

AGRICULTURAL RATES, CONGESTED DISTRICTS, AND BURGH LAND TAX RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1896.

Petition from Kincardineshire, for continuance; to lie upon the Table.

JUVENILE SMOKING.

Petition from Brighton, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY (ADDITIONAL ESTIMATE, 1904–5).

Estimate presented, of the amount required during the year ending 31st March, 1905, to meet expenditure on the military operations in Somaliland, for which no provision was made in the original Army Estimates for the year; also to authorise the appropriation of certain receipts, in excess of those included in the original Army Estimates for the year, to defray expenditure in excess of the sums therein provided for Army services other than the Somaliland operations [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 57.]

LOCOMOTIVES ON HIGHWAYS ACT, 1896, AND MOTOR-CAR ACT, 1903.

Copy presented, of General Order made by the Local Government Board for Ireland, entitled The Heavy Motor-Car (Ireland) Order, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

RAILWAY, ETC., BILLS.

Copy ordered, "of Report by the Board of Trade upon all the Bills and Provisional Orders of Session 1905 relating to Railways, Canals, Tramways, Harbours, and Tidal Waters, and the supply of Electricity, Gas, and Water."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the Viceroy intimated in his Budget speech on March 25th, 1903, that the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions in India would be dealt with at an early date; and whether he is now in a position to state what steps have been taken by the Government of India to carry out this change.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I have not received any information on the subject from the Government of India, but will ascertain from Lord Curzon how the matter stands.

Reduction of Establishments of West Indian Colonies.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the extent of the reductions in the establishments in the West Indian Colonies and Bermuda, which, as he has announced, it is the intention of the Government to make at an early date.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The garrison of Bermuda will be reduced by a battalion of infantry. The company of Royal Garrison Artillery has already been withdrawn. The establishment of the remaining battalion will be reduced from 920 to 766 rank and file, and that of the two remaining companies of artillery and of engineers is under consideration. As regards the West Indies, St. Lucia will be abandoned as a defended station, and its garrison and that of Barbados will be withdrawn. The garrison of Jamaica is still under consideration.

Vivisection of Cats.

MR. TOMKINSON (Cheshire, Crewe): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the cases tried in Bedford Police Court on February 9th last, in which fines were imposed for the stealing of cats, and in which evidence was given that large consignments of cats had been sent by one of the defendants to a house in a London suburb alleged to be visited by medical gentlemen; and whether he will order the publication of the address of the house in question and an investigation into the practices carried on in it.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) Yes, Sir; and I have made inquiry into the matter. The name of the house in question (Brockwell Hall, Herne Hill) is given in the newspaper reports of the proceedings. The premises are registered as a place where experiments can be performed under the Act 39 and 40 Vic., cap. 77, and are under inspection. The experiments there are carried on in strict conformity with the law. The director of these laboratories informs me that the cats were purchased in the ordinary way from a dealer in cats and dogs, and that neither he (the director) nor anyone else connected with the institution had the slightest suspicion that this dealer was other than a perfectly honest man. The director further informs me that on reading the reports in the Press he communicated with the head constable of the Bedford police, and sent to him the cats which had been received from Bedford in order that they might be inspected by any persons who had lost cats. If animals are obtained in an improper manner the offenders are amenable to the ordinary law, and in the present case a conviction has been obtained.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the evidence given in the case at the Bedford Police Court on Thursday, the 9th inst., when three men were convicted of cat-stealing, to the effect that the animals stolen by these men were consigned to the Licensed Vivisectors' Laboratory at Herne Hill; and whether, in these circumstances, he will institute inquiries as to the sources from which animals are generally obtained by vivisectors for the purpose of experiments.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The facts of this matter are given in my Answer to the previous

Question. As I there stated, persons who improperly obtain possession of animals can be dealt with by the ordinary law. It would be beyond the functions of the Secretary of State, under the Act 39 and 40 Vic., cap. 77, to institute such general inquiries as are suggested by the hon. Baronet; but I am always ready, as in the present instance, to investigate any particular case in which alleged abuses are brought to my notice.

Newcastle as Examination Centre for Naval Cadets.

SIR WALTER PLUMMER (Newcastle-on-Tyne): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, with reference to the approaching open competitive examination of candidates for entry as engineer cadets in His Majesty's Navy to be held in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Devonport, and Portsmouth, if the Admiralty will consider whether Newcastle-on-Tyne, as the centre of the Tyneside engineering industry, might in future be added to the places where candidates are examined; and if the usual announcement of the date of such examinations could be inserted in one of the principal north country newspapers.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The date fixed by the Civil Service Commissioners for the sending in of names by candidates, February 15th, has now been passed, so no change would be possible in regard to the forthcoming examination in March. Newcastle was one of the centres of examination until the year 1899, when it was omitted, together with three other centres (when the regulations were under revision), for the reasons that there was a difficulty in conducting an examination at the same time in so many centres, and the number of candidates who came forward there was so small (in 1898 four only) as to make it a very expensive matter in proportion to any possible advantages to the services. The Civil Service Commissioners will be asked to notify the date of the next examination in the north country newspapers.

Education—Payment of Grants.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): To ask the Secretary to he Board of Education whether he is aware that inconvenience to local education authorities has been caused by the delay in paying the balance of annual and fee grants to those authorities whose school year ended October 31st last, such grants in some instances not having been paid until January last, and in some not yet paid; and, if so, whether any assurance can be given that the grants for the present year shall be paid at regular intervals.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The Board regret that there should have been a delay in some cases in the payment of the annual grant and final instalment of fee grant, due for the school year ending October 31st last, and they are making special efforts at the present time to pay off all such cases with as little delay as possible. The delay, in so far as the Board are responsible for it, is largely due to special pressure some months ago in another department of the Board's work, of which the effect is only now being felt. The Board have every reason to hope that the delay will not again occur.

Building By-Laws in Country Districts.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will lay before the House a Return of the building by-laws made by rural district councils which affect the construction of cottages; and if he proposes to have any inquiry into the subject.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I am afraid that, looking to the differences in detail between various series of by-laws, it would scarcely be practicable to indicate by means of a Return the by-laws in force in each area. I am receiving representations from various quarters with respect to building by-laws in rural districts, and the whole question is engaging my attention. I have not at present arrived at a decision with regard to the course to be adopted in the matter.

Railway Construction in the Neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give any information as to the present prospect of railway construction in the neighbourhood of Bagdad and the Persian Gulf; whether any schemes are known to be now under consideration; and, if so, by whom they are promoted; and whether His Majesty's Government are exercising any influence in the matter.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) His Majesty's Government are not aware that any steps have been taken for the construction of the Bagdad Railway beyond the Koniah-Eregli section, which was completed in October last, and paid for by a loan raised at Berlin; and they have no knowledge of any schemes for raising the funds necessary for the continuation of the line to the Persian Gulf.

Income-Tax.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Treasury have suggested to their officials to press for the immediate collection of income-tax and issue threatening notices; and whether it has been hinted, especially in Ireland, that increased assessment on problematical anticipated profits is desirable.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The Answer to both these Questions is in the negative.

Suggested Import Duty on Diamonds and Gold from South Africa.

MR. FIELD: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the outlay entailed by the Boer War and the failure of the mineowners to bear their promised share of the expenditure incurred, he will consider the advisability of introducing into the Budget a recommendation to impose an import duty on diamonds and gold received from South Africa.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) I cannot anticipate in any way the Budget Statement.

Salt Tax in India.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will consider the expediency of recommending the Governor-General of India in Council to endeavour to arrange for the abolition or further reduction of the salt tax.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I am confident that the question of the salt duty will be considered, together with other questions of taxation, by the Government of India in connection with the financial arrangements for the year, and as I have already been in communication with them on these subjects I do not think it necessary to make any recommendation to them.

Indian Irrigation.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state the precise character of the irrigation scheme which is said to have been recently sanctioned, and when the work is expected to be commenced.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The scheme presumably referred to by the hon. Member is the combined Upper Jhelum, Upper Chenab, and Lower Bari Doab Canal projects in the Punjab. The Upper Jhelum Canal, drawing its supply from the Jhelum, will irrigate the Upper Jech Doab, and will pass its surplus water into the Chenab River above the head of the existing Lower Chenab Canal. This will render an equal amount of water available for withdrawal from that river by the new Upper Chenab Canal, which will take off opposite Sialkote and irrigate the Upper Rechna Doab, then passing under the Ravi by a syphon fifteen miles south of Lahore, it will supply the water for the Lower Bari Doab Canal. The combined canals will have 225 miles of main canals, 293 miles of branch canals, and 2,714 miles of distributaries. They will command an area of 3,997,434 acres, of which 1,875,855 may be annually irrigated. The total estimated cost is Rs.7,82,38,925, on which the direct and indirect receipts are expected to give eventually a return of over 9 per cent. Sanction has been given to the immediate commencement of the work.

Irish Education.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he proposes to introduce any legislation dealing with Irish education during the present session.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No, Sir.

Publication of Report of Irish Poor Law Reform Commission.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state when the Report of the Irish Poor Law Reform Commission will be laid upon the Table.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Report of the Poor Law Reform Commission will be issued in time for action to be taken by Parliament, so that effect may be given to it at the forthcoming triennial elections for Poor Law guardians.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Inquiries have been held by the Commission in every county in Ireland except Cork. The Commissioners hope to complete their inquiries in that county early in April. It is not at present possible to state, even approximately, when their Report will be issued.

Assimilation of Taxation Arrangements in Great Britain and Ireland.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is intended to assimilate the taxation arrangements and procedure in Ireland with that existing in Great Britain by appointing local authority assessment valuation committees.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) It is not proposed to introduce legislation of the character suggested.

Distribution of Grazing Land on the Isadore Bourke Estate.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in the distribution of some grazing farms on the Isadore Bourke Estate, near Claremorris, county Mayo, the Congested Districts Board gave two large holdings to a grazier named Connaughton, who has already over 300 acres of land on that and neighbouring estates; and, if so, whether steps will be taken to get back these holdings with a view to relieving congestion in the district.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The land (142 acres) to which reference is made had been in uninterrupted possession of Thomas Connaughton for many years. When the Board acquired the estate in 1902 the lands were partitioned into five holdings on which suitable dwellings were erected. One of these holdings (49 acres) was given to Connaughton by the Board. It is not proposed to disturb him in the occupation of the holding.

Grazing Lands on the Nolan-Farrell Estate.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the tenants on the Nolan-Farrell Estate, situate at Logboy, near Ballyhaunis, county Mayo, have agreed to purchase their holdings from the Congested Districts Board at twenty and twenty-three years purchase; and, if so, whether, seeing that there are a number of grazing farms on this estate, some of which are held by parties who already hold substantial residential farms, the Congested Districts Board will refuse to sanction the giving of any of these ranches to any person other than the occupier of an uneconomic holding, or who has no land at present.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Congested Districts Board has arranged for the purchase of the estate on the basis of twenty years for first-term and twenty-three years for second-term rental of permanent agricultural tenancies. The Board has also arranged for the purchase of the demesne and other lands let under temporary lettings and to obtain clear possession of these lands, which will be utilised for migration and the enlargement of small holdings on the estate.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that two graziers on the Nolan-Farrell Estate, situate at Logboy, near Ballyhaunis, county

Mayo, who hold portions of a grazing ranche on what is known as the Rockfield part of the estate, have applied for a grant to the Congested Districts Board to enable them to become owners of these grazing lands; and, if so, whether, in view of the number of uneconomic holdings on this estate, he will give instructions to the Board not to give any grant to these persons, but to take steps towards the dividing of all grazing farms on the estate, with a view to enlarging uneconomic and creating new holdings.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The grazing lands at Rockfield are held under yearly tenancies. When the Board acquire the ownership of the estate it will consider the question of obtaining possession of these lands.

Appointment of a Maternity Nurse for Ballyhaunis Dispensary District.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a copy of the evidence taken at the recent sworn inquiry at Claremorris regarding the appointment of a maternity nurse for Ballyhaunis Dispensary District has been applied for by a member of that board of guardians, and refused; and, if so, whether he will have one supplied to this gentleman at the earliest opportunity.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No such application has been received. A copy of the minutes of evidence has been before the board of guardians since December last, and it is open to any guardian to read the evidence contained in this document, which is the property of the guardians.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Local Government Board has issued a sealed order compelling the Claremorris Board of Guardians to elect a trained maternity nurse for the Ballyhaunis Dispensary District, that the medical officer and other representative men from the district swore there was no necessity for the appointment of such a nurse, that there are two medical doctors and two trained maternity nurses already practising in that district, and that the evidence of the relieving officer of the district showed there was an average of only three or four applications from the poor each year for assistance; that some of the parties whose names were put to a memorial praying for a nurse have repudiated all knowledge of the matter; and, if so, whether he will give instructions to have the sealed order withdrawn.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The evidence of the medical officer at the local inquiry was not to the effect alleged. His evidence clearly showed that no provision existed for the skilled nursing of midwifery cases amongst the poor, and that the appointment of a midwife for the purpose was essential. He stated that the births during the past three years averaged 282; that two deaths had occurred in the same period, one of which, in his opinion, was preventable if the services of a trained midwife had been available; and that there had been a number of still-births in the district attributable largely to the absence of a skilled attendant. The relieving officer stated he had been obliged to requisition the assistance of a midwife on four occasions during the year. It is understood that there is a midwife resident at Ballyhaunis, but she is not an officer of the union and her services are not, therefore, available for the poor free of charge. It is not proposed to withdraw the sealed order.

Army Recruiting.

MR. MARKS (Kent, Thanet): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state in detail the progress made in recruiting for the General Service Army on the new lengthened terms of enlistment, viz., nine years with the colours and three years with the Reserve, giving the number of recruits obtained, specifying those in the Metropolitan area and those in the provinces, together with the figures for November, and December, 1904, and January, 1905, and those for November and December, 1903, and January, 1904, when the short term of three years with the colours was the rule;

and whether he can say how far the long-term men now being obtained have made up for the deficit of last year in the drafts for India and the Colonies caused by the failure of the three-year men to re-engage.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) In reply to the first part of the Question, the numbers of infantry recruited for the periods mentioned are as follows:—

For three years Colour Service and nine years in the Reserve.

	Number raised.	Number raised in London.	Number raised in Provinces.
November, 1903 - - - -	2,638	287	2,351
December, 1903 - - - -	2,207	200	2,007
January, 1904 - - - -	3,698	432	3,266
	8,543	919	7,624

For nine years Colour Service and three years in the Reserve.

	Number raised.	Number raised in London.	Number raised in Provinces,
November, 1904 - - - -	2,337	167	2,170
December, 1904 - - - -	2,182	171	2,011
January, 1905	2,852	206	2,646
	7,371	544	6,827

In reply to the second part of the Question there was no deficit in the drafts last year for India or the Colonies. Men who had failed to extend were sent out as drafts to obviate any possible deficiency.

Officers Transferred to the Militia—Mess Subscriptions.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware of the regulation which compels an officer of His Majesty's Army who is obliged on resigning his commission to serve for a certain number of years in the Militia, to subscribe in full to the mess subscription of the particular regiment to which he is appointed; and if, considering that the officer so transferred has already paid to the mess of the Line regiment and may have only a few years to serve in the Militia to complete his term of service, he will direct that such officer shall only pay a mess subscription in proportion to the further number of years he has to serve in the Militia.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The question of granting this concession has been already considered, and it was decided that it was not possible to make it. The officers referred to are in effect making use of the Militia in order to enable them to retire voluntarily from the Regular Forces, and it would not be fair upon the Militia unit concerned that these officers should be relieved of the payment of their full subscriptions.

Sentences on Chinese Labourers.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will furnish a statement of all sentences which have been inflicted by Courts in the Transvaal upon Chinese labourers, showing what was the offence in each case, and, where the option of a fine was given, whether the fine was paid or other punishment suffered.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I will furnish such a statement; but I do not expect to receive the information asked for in the last part of the Question under some weeks.

Duty on Price Lists in Australia.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that price lists over a certain size are subjected to an import duty in Australia when sent from the United Kingdom; whether he has drawn attention to the amount of irritation which this has caused amongst English and Australian traders; and whether he is prepared to suggest to the Commonwealth Government the advisability of removing these restrictions.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have received several communications drawing attention to the duty imposed in Australia on the importation of trade catalogues and price lists. These communications have been forwarded to the Government of the Commonwealth, and I have been informed by that Government that the primary object of the duty in question is not for the purpose of revenue, but for the encouragement of local printing, and that the Government has no present intention of altering the law in this connection.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Naval Training Ships.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what is the number of ships of the Royal Navy set apart for the training of boys and youths; and how many boys and youths are at present receiving instruction and under training in these ships.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): Twelve ships, including three sea-going cruisers, are set apart for the training of boys and youths, of whom 4,193 are at present receiving instruction and under training in these ships. In addition, 100 youths have been temporarily embarked in two other cruisers.

Rosyth—Expenditure on Naval Station.

MR. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Oswestry): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what has been the expenditure to date on the naval station at Rosyth, and what further expenditure is at present contemplated upon that station.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham): With regard to the first part of the Question, the expenditure to date amounts to £153,830. As regards the latter part of the Question, the matter will be dealt with when the Naval Works Loan Bill is introduced.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): Has any estimate been arrived at of the total probable expenditure?

MR. ARTHUR LEE: No, Sir.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross): Does the £153,000 include the initial cost of the land?

MR. ARTHUR LEE: Yes, Sir.

Case of Colonel Morgan.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any, and, if so, what report was made by the General Officer Commanding in South Africa on the case of Colonel Morgan of the Army Service Corps; whether Colonel Morgan has brought any action against persons in connection with alleged improper sale of warlike stores in South Africa; if so, what has been the result of such action; what action has the Secretary of State taken in regard to Colonel Morgan's alleged relation to this matter.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): I have nothing to add to the reply which I gave the hon. Member on July 5th† last, with the exception that the case has not yet come into Court.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Is there any anticipation that the case will be brought into Court?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, Sir, I believe it will very shortly.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 634.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is it not the fact that the right hon. Gentleman, on behalf of the War Office, refused to put Colonel Morgan under an obligation to bring the action, and is it not likewise a fact that the Chief Justice of the Transvaal accused him of malversation of public funds?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Yes, Sir, I think I am in order. May I read an Answer given by the right hon. Gentleman on this question on August 2nd——

*Mr. SPEAKER: No, that would be very irregular. Notice must be given of any further Question.

Waterford Artillery Horses—Outbreak of South African Disease.

Mr. POWER (Waterford, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that South African disease has broken out among the horses of the artillery stationed at Waterford, and to the fact that veterinary authorities consider this disease, though slow of development, highly infectious and incurable; if so, will he say when was the first case reported and when was the animal suffering from it destroyed: whether the Army veterinary surgeon recently stationed at Waterford reported that if the disease was to be stamped out all the horses then in barracks should be destroyed, and the stables thoroughly disinfected; and whether it is the intention of the War Office to have that recommendation carried out, or what steps do they intend taking to prevent the spread of this disease.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Epizootic lymphangitis appeared at Waterford among horses of the Royal Artillery in November and December, 1903, in two instances, which were both cured, the last case was admitted in October, 1904, and at once destroyed, since when there have been no more cases. The veterinary authorities do not consider this disease to be absolutely incurable, although many cases have to be destroyed as a precautionary measure. There is no doubt as to its infectious character. The disease is now practically stamped out of the Army, only isolated cases being occasionally reported. The precautionary measures taken have therefore proved to be sufficient. The veterinary officer at Waterford had received instructions as to all precautionary measures to be taken to stamp out the disease, and we have no knowledge that he suggested that all horses in barracks should be destroyed.

Mr. POWER: Seeing that a case has appeared in county Waterford, will the right hon. Gentleman institute inquiries by competent people?

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, I can give a most positive assurance that any case will be carefully inquired into.

South African Soldier Convicts.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what were the offences for which the seven prisoners were convicted by Court-Martial in connection with the South African War, who were confined in Irish prisons and recently discharged; what were the grounds upon which they were discharged; and how much of their respective sentences had each served.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The detailed statistics required are too long to read out to the House, but I will hand them to the hon. Member for his information.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Cannot the right hon. Gentleman state the charges and how much of the sentences was served.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: There are two pages of details. I do not think the House would deem it convenient to have them read.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I claim that the Answer ought to be read.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman can give any Answer he pleases.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: He has it in his hands. I think I have a right to have it read.

*Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a question of right. It is for the right hon. Gentleman to exercise his judgment on the matter.

Appended is the Answer referred to :—

Name.	Charges upon which Convicted.	Sentence and Date.	
William Sherry -	(1) When on active service—drunkenness. (2) Shooting with intent to do grievous bodily harm.	5 years penal servitude on 12th February, 1901.	Released on 12th May, 1902, on completion of fifteen months of sentence, by order of the Commander-in-Chief.
James Halvey -	(1) Striking superior officer on active service. (2) Violence to superior officer on active service.	7 years penal servitude on 27th May, 1901.	Commuted by Commander-in-Chief to two years hard labour in June, 1902; released on 13th October, 1902, on his embarkation for India after completing sixteen and a half months.
Thomas Ryan -	(1) Releasing a prisoner from lawful custody. (2) Insubordinate language to superior officer on active service. (3) Inciting mutiny	5 years penal servitude on 28th May, 1901.	Commuted by Commander-in-Chief to eighteen months hard labour in June, 1902; sentence expired 27th November, 1902.
Thomas Coughlan	(1) Murder - -	Death. 28th June, 1901.	Commuted to penal servitude for life; released on 21st December, 1903, by Commander-in-Chief after completing two and a half years in prison, it being considered by the Judge Advocate-General that the case was one in which a verdict of manslaughter might properly have been found, there being an absence of motive.
John McDonagh -	(1) Housebreaking (2 charges).	3 years penal servitude on 18th April, 1902.	Released on 17th October, 1903, on completion of eighteen months of sentence, by order of Commander-in-Chief.
Martin Kavanagh	(1) Receiving stolen goods (2 charges).	3 years penal servitude on 19th April, 1902.	Released on 17th April, 1903, on completion of one year of sentence, by order of the Commander-in-Chief.
Charles Kavanagh	(1) Insubordinate language and striking his superior officer.	5 years penal servitude on 22nd November, 1902.	Commuted to one and a half years hard labour on 11th February, 1903, by order of the Commander-in-Chief. Sentence expired 21st October, 1904.

Artillery Armament Estimate.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, when will the Supplementary Estimate for the new armament of the artillery be brought forward.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No Supplementary Estimate in respect of the guns will be presented.

MR. BUCHANAN: How, then, does the right hon. Gentleman propose to meet the charge?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: In the ordinary way – in the Estimates.

MR. BUCHANAN: But the expenditure in the current year?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The expenditure has been provided for.

Military Depôt for Ross-shire Regiments.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is yet in a position to state whether, under the new scheme of Army Reorganisation, the depôt of all Ross-shire regiments will be established at Dingwall, the county town.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: If the hon. Member will kindly refer to the Special Army Order of January 6th last, he will find the details of the organisation of the Scottish Command; from which he will see that the depôt of all Ross-shire regiments will not be established at Dingwall.

Strength of the Auxiliary Forces.

CAPTAIN ELLICE (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, what is the present nominal strength of the Militia; what is the actual strength; what is the present nominal strength of the Volunteer force; and what is the actual strength.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The figures available are as follows:—Militia (United Kingdom only), all ranks, nominal strength (establishment), 131,582; actual strength on February 1st, 1905, 96,449. Volunteers (United Kingdom only), all ranks, nominal strength (establishment), 344,279; actual strength on January 1st, 1905, 245,359.

Chinese Labour—Restriction of Importation into the Transvaal.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, having regard to the fact that over 27,000 Chinese coolies are now on the Rand, that 7,500 more have been already recruited, and that 50,000 in all are expected to be on the Rand by June, and to the fact that Sir George Farrar, in commending the introduction of the Chinese coolies to the people of the Transvaal, mentioned from 20,000 to 30,000 coolies as the limit of requirement, and to the fact that Lord Lansdowne, in another place, gave the assurance, on February 12th, 1904, that the proposal of the Government was to try the experiment of introducing Chinese coolies to the Transvaal on a limited scale, he will now put a limit to the further importation of Chinese coolies into the Transvaal.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): The hon. Member does not appear to have rightly quoted Sir George Farrar's statement to the Legislative Council. I am not prepared to set a limit as suggested, but I understand that the present requirements of the mines are for no more than 55,000 Chinese, and that after that number has been introduced the rates of increase, if increase there be, will be very moderate. The cost of recruiting and maintenance of the Chinese is very heavy in comparison with the Kaffir, and it is obvious that ordinary prudence will dictate that the introduction of Chinese should be limited to supplementing the deficiency between the number of Kaffirs who can be obtained and the total number of unskilled labourers which the mines may require. The experiment and all its consequences have received, and are receiving, the closest attention of the Transvaal Government and His Majesty's Government, and we have no doubt that the representative Government about to be introduced with even better opportunities for vigilance will scrupulously maintain that attitude.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): Is the House to understand that the Government propose to put no limit of any kind to the importation of Chinese?

MR. LYTTELTON: I have already answered that Question. I cannot say more.

Geldenhuis Deep Mine—Discharge of White Labour.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): On behalf of the hon., Member for Derby, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Geldenhuis Deep Mine is now employing 1,100 Chinese coolies; and whether the seventy-five unskilled white men working there in August last have been discharged?

MR. LYTTELTON replied that he was not in a position to answer that Question.

MR. SHACKLETON: When will an Answer be given?

MR. LYTTELTON: When the information arrives.

Rose Deep Mine—Discharge of White Labour.

MR. SHACKLETON: On behalf of the hon. Member for Derby, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Rose Deep Mine in the Transvaal is now employing 1,340 Chinese coolies; and whether the unskilled white labourers working there in August last have been discharged.

MR. LYTTELTON: I have not the information which would enable me to answer this Question, but I will inquire as to the facts.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): Will the right hon. Gentleman cable for it?

MR. LYTTELTON; No, Sir.

Chinese Riots on the Simner and Jack Mine.

MR. SHACKLETON: On behalf of the hon. Member for Derby, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has any particulars of the riots which took place amongst the Chinese indentured coolies on the Sumner and Jock Mine on Saturday, January 21st last, when thirty-one coolies were arrested, and another coolie, in order to avoid arrest, jumped down No. 3 Shaft and was killed: and will he state what were the sentences inflicted on the prisoners.

MR. LYTTELTON: I presume the hon. Member refers to the Simmer and Jack Mine. The local newspaper of January 23rd contains nothing about any disturbance, and I have received no reports of this occurrence, but I will make inquiry.

Transvaal and Orange River Colonies Constitution.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the House will be afforded an opportunity of discussing the proposals for conferring local self-government upon the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies before those proposals become operative.

The hon. Member also had the following Question on the Paper:—To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will afford the House an opportunity of discussing the Report and recommendations of the Physical Deterioration (1904) Committee.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): With the permission of the hon. Member I will answer both his Questions together. I could not give a pledge as to finding facilities for discussing either of the topics to which he refers.

DR. MACNAMARA: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered the first Question—namely, whether an opportunity will be afforded to the House of discussing the proposals for conferring self-government upon these colonies before such proposals come into operation.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL reminded the right hon. Gentleman that a similar form of government given to Cape Colony was given by statute by Parliament, and was at least considered by the House of

Commons first of all. This was a most unheard-of thing.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, it does not seem to me that the exact mode in which the new Constitution is established is at all relevant to the Question asked me. With regard to the Question asked me, I think I answered it. We certainly shall not postpone our policy with regard to the Transvaal in reference to any debates which may take place in this House. All I say in regard to the Question is that I am afraid I cannot undertake to give the House an opportunity of discussing the matter.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Does the right hon. Gentleman seriously mean to say that this House is not to have an opportunity of discussing this most important question in connection with the government of the Transvaal; that he can make no promise that some time during the session the House will have an opportunity of discussing it?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No. The hon. Gentleman has made a strange mistake. In the first place, there has never been a precedent, so far as I know, in the many cases in which a Constitution has been granted to a colony, of a special day being allocated for discussing the provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Annexation.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, what is the difference?

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: A Constitution is given by statute.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I think if you go through the history of the Colonies you will find that a larger proportion than are present to the mind of the hon. Gentleman have been obtained by annexation. There is no precedent at all. In the second place, it is obvious that the House will have an opportunity of challenging the course the Government have taken on the salary of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake that the House shall have an opportunity of discussing this before and not afterwards? Will he not undertake that the scheme of government which it is proposed to introduce into the Transvaal shall be laid upon the Table of the House before it is enacted, and that a sufficient interval shall be left to the House to discuss it?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I certainly am not in a position to give any such pledge. I am ready, of course, in deference to the right hon. Gentleman's wish, to consider the matter, but I cannot give a pledge.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that every Constitution in which representative or responsible—certainly representative—Government has first been conferred on a colony has been given by statute of this House, which gives an ample opportunity of discussion?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is a larger Question than that on the Paper.

Cabul Mission.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India, can he state what was the purpose and object of the Mission to the Amir of Afghanistan, Habibullah Khan, which was despatched from Peshawar to Cabul on November 27th last; and, generally, what instructions and what powers were given to its chief; what steps were taken to secure the safety of the Mission during its journey to Cabul, its stay there, and its return to India; what news has since been received of the Mission; has it yet left Cabul on its return; and, if so, when; when is it expected to reach Peshawar; and when will Papers be laid giving an account of its proceedings.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford): The Mission is still at Cabul. The arrangements for its safety while in Afghan territory rest with the Amir, and while on the British side of the border with the Government of India. As I stated on the 16th† in reply to a Question from the hon. Member for West Denbigh, it would not be in the public interest to make any statement at present as to the object of the negotiations, or to publish Papers on the subject.

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† See page 307.

Mineral Deposits in India.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he has any official information on the subject of recent discoveries of iron ore and aluminium in the Central Provinces in India, and if claims are being staked out in the new fields, where it is alleged these materials are found in large quantities.

Mr. BRODRICK: The report on the mineral production of India which the Government of India have recently published contains the latest information as to the deposits of aluminium, manganese, and iron ores in the Central Provinces. I shall be glad to send my hon. friend a copy. During the year ending March 31st last twenty-one prospecting licences and mining leases were granted in the Provinces for various minerals.

Catholic Army Chaplains in India.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a petition has been presented to Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in India, on behalf of the Catholic chaplains in that Army, stating among other matters that some of them had served in India for periods of from twenty to forty years, and had not during the whole period of their divinity been granted leave of absence, while when through illness or other unavoidable cause they were compelled for a few days to relinquish their duties their stipends suffered a proportionate deduction, and that when Catholic chaplains become incapacitated through illness or old age they are dismissed without any pension, whereas Church of England and Presbyterian chaplains are entitled to an annual leave of two months without deduction of salary, and can claim pensions for life after fourteen years service; whether the War Office authorities have any and, if so, what explanation of this differentiation of treatment in the cases of Catholic chaplains and in the cases of Church of England and Presbyterian chaplains; on what ground have Catholic chaplains been placed in an inferior position to Protestant and Presbyterian chaplains; and what steps does the Government propose to take with reference to the granting of the prayer of the Catholic chaplains for equality of treatment and equal rights and privileges with Church of England and Presbyterian chaplains.

Mr. BRODRICK: I am not aware that a petition to the effect stated by the hon. Member has been presented to Lord Kitchener; an inquiry on this point will be addressed to the Government of India. The difference of treatment in the case of Roman Catholic chaplains and in the cases of Church of England and Presbyterian chaplains is due to the fact that the latter are appointed by Government, and form a branch of the public service, while the Roman Catholic chaplains are appointed and controlled by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in India, and are liable to be removed or exchanged by their Bishops without any formal reference to the Indian authorities.

Infant Mortality in Egypt.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that in Egypt one-third of the children of the native population die within twelve months of birth, and that another third die before they reach five years of age; and will he consider the expediency of suggesting to the Government of Egypt that some inquiry should be made with a view to arrest this heavy infant mortality.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.): No, Sir, we have no such information.

North Sea Fisheries Arbitration.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government have received any information as to the finding of the International Commission which was appointed to investigate the responsibility for the deaths of the fishermen in the North Sea last autumn; and, in that case, will he inform the House of its nature and terms.

EARL PERCY: No, Sir; no information on the subject has been communicated to the Government.

Post Office Savings Bank Deficiency.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is the intention of the Government to omit the deficiency in the Post Office Savings Bank from the usual statement of contingent or nominal liabilities given in the Finance Accounts.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): Yes, Sir, this course follows from the discontinuance of the annual valuation of assets, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Select Committee of 1902.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the right hon. Gentleman remember that the omission of this sum this year—an amount of between £13,000,000 and £14,000,000, will entirely falsify the accounts?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: That is a very argumentative question and is a matter for debate rather than for Question and Answer.

Income Tax Collection.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the recent instructions permitting further delay in the payment of income-tax apply equally to England and Scotland; and if he will grant a Return showing the amounts and percentages of income-tax recovered as at January 31st and February 28th for the years 1903–4 and 1904–5, in continuation of Return 129 (Revenue, Collection of Taxes) of April 19th, 1901.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The recent instructions issued by me, under which the Board of Inland Revenue may, on receiving a definite promise to pay at a reasonably early date, grant delay where they are satisfied that the concession is required to prevent serious hardship, and is not likely to be abused, apply equally to England and Scotland. With regard to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, I am informed that the Return for which he asks can be given, but that it would not be possible to have it ready until well on in March. I would suggest that the hon. Member should include the year 1902–3 as well as the year 1903–4, as the latter year was exceptional in England and Wales owing to its being one of re-valuation for Schedules A and B.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Will the instructions referred to in this Question also extend to Ireland?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The instructions in the words I have read to the House apply to all parts of the United Kingdom.

Vaccination Exemption Certificates.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that Mr. James Richards, of Tunbridge Wells, appeared on six different occasions before the local bench of magistrates before he could procure a certificate of exemption from vaccination for his infant child, and, seeing that on each occasion he based his objection on the same ground, will the Secretary of State consider the advisability of directing the attention of the bench of magistrates to the remarks made by the Lord Chief Justice on July 27th last, when addressing the Grand Jury at Birmingham relative to the principle on which the Act ought to be administered.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I have no information respecting the case referred to by the hon. Member. The attention of magistrates has already been drawn, by a circular issued in September last to all justices' clerks, to the remarks made by the Lord Chief Justice at the Birmingham Summer Assizes on the subject of the principles which ought to guide magistrates in dealing with applications for certificates of exemption from vaccination.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Has the right hon. Gentleman observed that the circular has had no effect whatever on the magistrates to whom it was addressed?

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: I do not quite agree with that view. It may not have done so in this case, but in many cases it has been extremely useful.

Poor Law Finance.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will state the date of the Order in which they have prescribed the system of forms and accounts for the Poor Law Unions in England and Wales.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The date of the General Order on the subject referred to, which is in force in most of the Poor Law Unions in England and Wales, is January 14th, 1867.

Heavy Motor-Car Regulations.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board what steps he took before issuing the Heavy Motor-Car Regulations to ascertain whether the safety of the travelling public was adequately protected thereunder.

MR. WALTER LONG: I appointed a Departmental Committee, of which my right hon. friend the Member for East Somersetshire was good enough to act as Chairman, to inquire and report with regard to any regulations which should be made on this subject. The Committee took evidence from persons representing a variety of interests, and the regulations which I have now issued are founded on the Report and recommendations of the Committee.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: May I ask if the Board of Trade concur in the view that the safety of the travelling public is adequately protected?

MR. WALTER LONG: I am not quite sure what my hon. friend means by the travelling public. Is it people travelling by motor-cars or those on railways?

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: Both.

MR. WALTER LONG: As far as travellers by motor-cars are concerned the Board of Trade have nothing on earth to do with them, and as to railway travellers their only concern is as to possible danger in crossing bridges over railways. I have communicated with the Board of Trade on that subject.

School Attendance Officers' Superannuation.

MR. DUNCAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Otley): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board when he proposes to issue the regulations under which school attendance officers, who have contributed to a Poor Law Officers' Superannuation Fund, can continue their contributions and receive benefits as officers of the local education authority.

MR. WALTER LONG: The Order modifying the provisions of the Poor Law Officers' Superannuation Act, 1896, is in preparation, and will, I hope, be issued at an early date.

Local Authorities and the Maintenance of Public Clocks.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been called to the fact that a number of clocks in towers of churches and other buildings abutting on public thoroughfares are not kept going for want of the necessary funds; and that, as the borough councils and other local authorities do not possess the power of defraying the cost of winding them and keeping them in repair, will he consider the advisability of conferring upon them such power in cases in which they think fit to set the clocks going for the convenience of the public.

MR. WALTER LONG: Outside London, the council of any borough or other urban district can, under the powers conferred by Section 165 of the Public Health Act, 1875, provide a public clock, and they can maintain a clock so provided. Further, they can, if they adopt Part III. of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1890, pay the reasonable cost of repairing, maintaining, winding up, and lighting any public clock in their district, although it is not vested in them. A rural district council can, on application, be invested with these powers by an Order of the Local Government Board. As regards London, Section 65 of the London County Council (General Powers) Act, 1903, confers on every Metropolitan borough council powers similar to those possessed by borough councils outside London under the enactments above-mentioned.

Skigersta Pier, Island of Lewis.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he will state whether any progress has been made with the construction of a protecting wall for the Skigersta Pier, Island of Lewis.

*THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): I refer the hon. Member to the Answer given by Mr. Graham Murray to a similar Question on February 17th, 1904.† Since that date the Congested Districts Board have twice asked the county clerk—on July 14th, 1904, and January 11th, 1905—whether the county council propose to go on with the work, but no reply has been received to either inquiry.

Island of Lewis—Report on Social Condition.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if the Secretary for Scotland will state when he proposes to deal with the recommendations contained in the Report on the Social Condition of the Island of Lewis published more than two years ago.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: Steps have already been taken to meet certain of the suggestions advanced in the Report of the Lewis Local Committee. If the Congested Districts Amendment Bill, which will be immediately introduced, is passed into law, the Secretary for Scotland will be enabled to give effect to further recommendations to which he attaches importance.

Skye Roads.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness): I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate, as representing the Secretary for Scotland, whether he is aware that the Congested Districts Board promised the Skye District Committee that they would give a contribution of 75 per cent. towards the cost of the construction of a road to connect the town of Portree with the populous Staffin District, provided that the road was placed on the list of county highways, and maintained out of the public rates; and that, although the county council at their meeting in October last gave the requisite undertaking, and the district committee have guaranteed the balance of the cost of the road, the Congested Districts Board now fail to carry out their part of the arrangement; and, if so, will he communicate with the Board in order that the promised grant may be made.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The hon. Member has been misinformed when he states that the Congested Districts Board promised that they would contribute to the cost of this road. They stated that an assurance as to the provision from local sources of the usual proportion of cost and as to maintenance by the statutory road authority were essential preliminaries to inquiry and consideration. The Congested Districts Board have now intimated that, in view of the state of their funds and the many claims on their resources, they do not see their way at present to consider, in the interests of those living in the congested districts, whether the large expenditure involved would be justified.

Labour Disputes on Dublin Public Works.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that labouring men have been employed at painting work at Newry Bridewell, under the General Prisons Board, and at the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, under the Board of Works; that remonstrances have been directed to both of these public departments on behalf of the regular painters, employers and employed, of the districts mentioned, claiming that the work done by these labouring men belongs to the painting trade; and, if so, whether, seeing that the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland define painting work contrary to expert judgment, and in view of the replies received from the departments concerned, he will represent to the General Prisons Board and the Board of Works the desirability of securing competent workmen to perform tradesmen's work in this trade in accordance with the terms of the Fair Wages Resolution.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxx., 6.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): Complaints were made to the Prisons Board respecting the manner of the performance of the contract for work at Newry Bridewell. The matter engaged the attention of the Board, and instructions were issued with a view to avoid the recurrence of similar complaints. The remainder of the Question concerns the Board of Works, and I would ask the hon. Member to be good enough to address his inquiries to my hon. friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

Land Purchase in County Tipperary—Mr. Delmege's Estate.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that for some time past negotiations for sale and purchase have been in progress between Mr. Stafford Delmege, of Ballymore, county Tipperary, and his tenants in the parishes of Knocklong and Glenbrohane, county Limerick; and, if so, will he say whether the Estates Commissioners have received any communications from either the landlord, the agents, Messrs. Saunders, of Charleville, or from the persons on the townlands of Glenbrohane, Ballingarry, and Garryspillane who are interested in the sale, with the view that the untenanted lands thereon may be purchased by the Estates Commissioners and divided among the labourers, small farmers, and evicted tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM: Representations to the effect stated have been made by tenants and others in the neighbourhood. No originating application in respect to the sale of the estate has yet been lodged with the Commissioners, nor have they received any communication on the subject from the landlord or his agent.

Land Purchase in County Limerick—Synan's Estate.

MR. LUNDON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, can he say whether the Estates Commissioners have received any communications in regard to the purchase by them of the untenanted lands in Carmane Fedamore, county Limerick, from any person connected with the Messrs. Synan, the owners of the property, from the receiver, or from any one of the mortgagees, so that the Estates Commissioners might purchase those lands and divide them among the inhabitants of this congested district.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Estates Commissioners understand that the solicitors having carriage of this property hope to be able to arrange for its sale.

Exchequer Contribution—Labourers' Cottages.

MR. LUNDON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will lay upon the Table a Return showing the amount of the Exchequer Grant apportioned to each of the unions of Ireland; how much of it is now unexpended taken collectively, and how much separately for the various unions; and what do the Government propose to do with those unexpended moneys.

MR. WYNDHAM: The published Report of the Local Government Board for the year ended March 31st, 1904, contains at pages 252–264 full information with respect to the application of the grant and the amount of the unissued balance. I am not yet in a position to recommend an allocation of this balance.

Firearm Regulations in County Longford—Gillespie's Case.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any representations have been made to the Lord-Lieutenant by the County Court Judge of Longford on the subject of allowing a man named Gillespie to have and carry firearms in the parish of Mullinalaghta, county Longford; whether he is aware that at the October quarter sessions this man was convicted of firing at three young men, and bound over; and, if so, what action the Executive intend taking regarding his revolver.

MR. WYNDHAM: This man's arms licence was revoked in November last. His revolver is in the possession of the police.

Edgeworthstown Loan Fund Society.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any relief will be afforded by legislation or otherwise to those debenture-holders in the Edgeworthstown Loan Fund Society who lost their property in consequence of the default of a fraudulent secretary, who led them to believe that the society was under the control of the Loan Fund Board of Dublin Castle, which statement induced them to deposit their savings in the society.

MR. WYNDHAM: With respect to the responsibility for losses sustained by the debenture-holders, I refer to my reply to the hon. Member's similar Question of July 26th last.† A Bill has been prepared on the lines of the Bill of last year, but with such Amendments as it is hoped will meet the views of all parties concerned. This Bill will be introduced at an early date.

Youghal Auxiliary Lunatic Asylum.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that Dr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne, has been permitted by the Lord-Lieutenant, and contrary to the advice and remonstrance of the inspectors of lunatic asylums, to detach 350 lunatics from the County Asylum in Cork and lodge them in an unused industrial school at Youghal, which he had prepared for this purpose, that the Bishop received a capitation grant for each patient, that there is no resident doctor to take charge of these patients, nor any qualified nurses in charge of them, that the house, built and arranged for a doctor, has been handed over to the chaplain, and that the resident medical superintendent of the Cork Asylum has been refused permission to visit the auxiliary asylum; and, if so, will he say what steps, if any, does he intend taking in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: In 1901 the Lord-Lieutenant, under Section 9 (4) of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, signified his approval of the plans for the conversion of an industrial school building at Youghal into an auxiliary asylum, established for about 400 patients under the 76th Section of that Act. The plans, which were submitted in 1900 by the Cork District Asylum Committee, of which Dr. Kelly, Lord Bishop of Ross, is a member, were recommended for His Excellency's approval by the inspectors of lunatic asylums. A capitation grant of 2s. per week is payable for each patient in the auxiliary asylum under Sections 58 and 76 of the Act. There is no resident doctor, as the committee decided to appoint a visiting medical officer instead, but the consent of the Lord-Lieutenant to the appointment of a visiting medical officer has only been given as a tentative measure, which will be open to reconsideration in the event of the arrangement being found defective. The institution has been placed in charge of a community of nuns, who are assisted by ordinary asylum attendants. It is understood that only Catholic patients are to be sent to the auxiliary. The house, built for a doctor, has been handed over as a residence for the chaplain. The resident medical superintendent of the Cork Asylum has not been refused permission to visit the auxiliary asylum, but the committee of management have passed resolutions taking away from the resident medical superintendent all responsibility for the discipline and domestic management of the auxiliary. The committee have been informed that these resolutions are illegal, and have been called upon to correct this illegality.

MR. SLOAN asked whether the nurses at this auxiliary asylum were fully qualified.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxviii., 1214.

Mr. WYNDHAM said he did not think the hon. Member apprehended the facts of the case. These people were harmless lunatics who did not require special nurses. They were gathered out of workhouses and off the hill-side, and were given a comfortable home, such as could not be secured for them in a regular asylum except at a cost to the rates, that was prohibitive.

Captain DONELAN (Cork, E.) asked if it was not the fact that the board of management of the Cork Lunatic Asylum recommended the establishment of the auxiliary asylum at Youghal in order to relieve the overcrowding. Had not the arrangement been productive of great public advantage, and had not the management of the auxiliary branch given satisfaction to everybody?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have no further information to give to the House. It is a point on which controversy may centre, and I prefer not to answer any Question without having had an opportunity of looking into the matter.

Dernageas Grazing Farm.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have made any overtures to Mrs. Ledwith, the owner of the Dernageas grazing farm, for the purchase of this farm and its division amongst the tenants entitled to graze thereon; and, if not, will he now undertake to direct their attention to it.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The reply to the first inquiry is in the negative. I see no necessity for taking the course suggested. If the owner of the lands institutes proceedings for sale, the Commissioners will have due inquiries made.

Sir Antony MacDonnell.

Mr. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury a Question of which he had given private notice—namely, whether during the recent events connected with Ireland the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland had tendered his resignation.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not receive the hon. Gentleman's private notice; but I think he will see that, if we are to admit the right of any Member of this House to cross-examine the Government as to any confidential communications passing between colleagues, as in the case of Lord Dudley—if I were to admit that right in the case of one colleague I should have to admit it in the case of all colleagues, and no Government has ever allowed such confidential communications to be made the subject of Question and Answer across the floor of the House.

Mr. PIRIE: Have the recent events any precedent in the history of Ireland?

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I wish to ask the Chief Secretary a Question of which I have given him private notice—namely, whether any change has been made in the conditions under which Sir Antony MacDonnell holds the office of Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and, if any change has been made, what is the nature of that change and how has it been carried into effect?

Mr. WYNDHAM: No, Sir, no change has been made. I pointed out to Sir Antony MacDonnell that it would be necessary, in view of the criticism of my Department, to take into fuller account matters which might be made the subject of such criticism. This was not because my confidence in Sir Antony MacDonnell had been in any way diminished, but because it appeared to be a necessity of the constitutional position.

Mr. SLOAN: Are we to understand that the situation is exactly what it was before these debates took place?

Mr. WYNDHAM: No, I do not think that that is the inference to be drawn.

Mr. SLOAN: Then what is the situation?

[No Answer was returned.]

Irish Finance—The Post Office and Inland Revenue.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state what is the average amount to be adjusted annually between the Inland Revenue Department in Dublin and the Irish Post Office; why the adjustment is not made at once in Dublin between the Receiver-General of Inland Revenue for Ireland and the Irish Post Office; and what purpose is served by sending the postal and post office orders to London and again returning these papers to Dublin before adjustment is made.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The sums annually adjusted between the two Departments referred to amount to about £207,000. £87,000 of this represents revenue collected by means of free money orders, and departmental convenience necessitates its adjustment in London; but this arrangement does not involve a two-fold transmission of papers between London and Dublin. The larger portion, viz., £120,000, is adjusted in Dublin.

Dublin Post Office—Learners' Pay.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that although there are learners in the Dublin Post Office who cannot obtain more than 6s. per week, employment is found in the sorting office at a higher rate of remuneration for auxiliaries who have no claim whatever on the department; and, if so, will he see that this is remedied, and something done to enable the learners to increase the stipend of 6s. per week. I beg also to ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that there are numbers of young men and young women acting in the capacity of learner in the Dublin Post Office for periods ranging from over one to more than two years, and that notwithstanding that they are fully qualified for some time cannot obtain more than 6s. and 5s. per week, respectively; and, if so, will he say whether he has received petitions from them asking for more pay; and if he is now in a position to state what steps he proposes to take to grant these learners increased pay.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): It will perhaps be convenient for me to reply to the two Questions together. I have received petitions from the Dublin learners for higher pay and am dealing with the matter in connection with the general question of the remuneration of learners. I hope to be able shortly to announce my decision on the subject. I should like to have some explanation of the words "employment is found in the sorting office at a higher rate of remuneration for auxiliaries, etc." I confess I do not understand that.

NEW BILLS.

SMALL HOLDINGS (No. 2) BILL.

"To amend The Small Holdings Act, 1892," presented by Mr. Jesse Collings; supported by Colonel Long, Mr. Goulding, Sir Carne Rasch, Mr. Carlile, and Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence; to be read a second time upon Friday, 10th March, and to be printed. [Bill 56.]

NURSES REGISTRATION BILL.

"To regulate the qualifications of trained Nurses, and to provide for their registration," presented by Mr. Munro Ferguson; supported by Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Haldane, Sir Thomas Wrightson, Sir James Joicey, Mr. Hugh Crawford Smith, Mr. Black, Mr. Eve, and Dr. Thompson; to be read a second time upon Friday, 17th March, and to be printed. [Bill 57.]

PRIVATE BILL PROCEDURE (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Private Bill Procedure in Ireland," presented by Mr. O'Doherty; supported by Mr. Hemphill, Mr. Field, Mr. Patrick Kennedy, and Dr. Thompson; to be read a second time upon Friday, 7th April, and to be printed. [Bill 58.]

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [22nd February] to Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount*).

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But humbly to represent to Your Majesty that the continuous and continuing changes in the War Office are destructive of the best interests of Your Majesty's Army, have gravely disordered the system upon which the Regular Forces at home and abroad are raised and trained, have discouraged the Militia and Volunteers, and disclose negligence and mismanagement on the part of Your Majesty's Ministers, more particularly as to the armament of the artillery, whereby, in spite of the increased cost of the Army, its efficiency for the defence of the Empire has been diminished.'"—(*Captain Norton.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

*COLONEL WELBY (Taunton) said the hon. Member who moved the Amendment to the Address under discussion challenged the position of the Service Members on the Government side of the House, saying that were it not for Party ties they would vote for it. For himself he could only say that in no circumstances would he vote for it, because it would put him into the same illogical position as that in which it placed the hon. Member himself, and because it would defeat its own main object. The hon. Member gave them in the course of his speech a very interesting retrospect of Army changes under the present Government, but during all the time thus covered he believed the hon. Gentleman had always been on the side of change. If he objected to the changes in progress, why did he not set his objection forth in the Amendment; if he objected to "continuous and continuing" changes why had he, during the last ten years, constantly supported those changes, or at any rate the majority of them? The Amendment, as he had said, would defeat its own object. If it were carried it meant a vote of want of confidence in the Government, and then if a new Administration came in what policy was to be pursued? Unless they remained stationary they would either go back or go forward, either of which would be change. The Amendment was not one which Service Members could support. The hon. Member had said that the changes in the last ten years had been made in the interests of Party politics. He was sorry that he should try to make the Army so much a Party question. There was no question on which the Government had won less credit or saved themselves less criticism than that connected with the Army, and it was unreasonable to suggest that the changes were introduced for Party effect. He would very gladly see a continuous policy adopted, not only with regard to the Volunteers but with regard to the whole of our Army, and what he would particularly like to see at the present would be that the leaders of both sides should meet at a round table conference and work out a policy which they believed to be best for the country, working out the principles and leaving the details to be settled elsewhere, but pledging themselves to defend those principles so as to secure a thoroughly efficient service. He was, however, afraid that the day was far distant when they would see the Army treated as he was thankful to say the Navy was treated at the present time in being looked upon as a national question, the object aimed at being the general good of the nation. He had never feared to oppose, and even vote against, the policy put forward by the Government, but he could say with all confidence and pride that he had never criticised nor opposed any change except where he saw a better plan, and as he was not in a position to produce a better plan than the scheme now put forward by the Secretary for War, he was prepared to give it a hearty and thorough support. His only fear was that in view of the conditions of our military service it might be found almost impossible to carry the scheme out practically. He thought, therefore, he might fairly ask whether the right hon. Gentleman could put before the House any information showing that the great changes which he advocated were likely to be practicable and feasible. Was the scheme worked out by him in consultation with his military advisers; were a majority of the members of the Army Council wholeheartedly in favour of it, and could he give more details? Had the striking force been thoroughly and satisfactorily organised; was it ready to be moved anywhere at a moment's notice, or were there young untrained men and horses in it?

Then, again, with regard to the short-service Army, he would ask what the tendency of recruiting had been lately. He had always believed that it was well to see how much cloth was available before a coat was designed, and it must not be forgotten that whatever schemes of organisation were put forward the question always returned to recruiting. Recruiting was the root difficulty of the Army question. The conditions of modern life tended to make recruiting more expensive, and they would never get a satisfactory Army until the people of this country realised that they must pay heavily—either by their pockets or by personal service—for the defence of this country and for the maintenance of the Empire. Speeches had recently been delivered advocating a reduction of as much as £6,000,000 on the Army, but no clue had been given of how it was to be done and the Army kept efficient. The fact was that unknowingly those who delivered the speeches must be in favour of compulsory service. The Government had done their best to deal with the questions of pay, food, liberty, and comfort in barracks, but that was not enough to solve the recruiting difficulty. If the pay of recruits were doubled, even if it were increased to 5s. per day, he doubted whether the Government would be certain of getting men in the numbers and of the quality they required. Yet any such measure would add enormously to our expenditure on the Army. He had always been in favour of economy, but he did not see how it was proposed to maintain the efficiency of the Army and at the same time to avoid the expenditure which it would involve.

Referring to criticisms on the action of the War Office with regard to the Volunteers, he said that hon. Members who were in favour of a great number of Volunteers, Militia, and Yeomanry, regardless of efficiency, were really doing more than anybody else to bring into people's minds

the idea that compulsory service was the only solution of our difficulties. He believed that if we had a force of, say, 100,000 auxiliaries trained, organised, and equipped, on an equality with Continental soldiers, ready to repel invasion, no word would be heard of compulsory service. He viewed with the gravest anxiety the future of our military defence. When he saw the enormous number of highly-trained troops which Japan and Russia had put into the field, and realised how quickly the Russians could move down on the North-West Frontier, he thought the country ought to take the lesson which they were receiving to heart. It was of no use talking about economy when their Empire was at stake. Let everybody realise that we must do one of two things—either pay or serve. He hoped some national policy would be worked out for the Army on main principles on which both sides of the House could unite.

*SIR A. HAYTER (Walsall) said the House and the country generally must be very much indebted to the hon. and gallant Member for Newington for having initiated a very interesting debate, and the Secretary for War would surely welcome that opportunity to allay some of the anxiety which undoubtedly prevailed in every section of the community as to the condition of the Army at large. He had the duty of bringing before the House a subject which not only a Royal Commission, but the Secretary of State also, had declared to be vital to the organisation of the Army, and that was the scarcity of junior officers. He would only trouble the House with the condition of two branches of the service which were most popular and therefore most likely to be full; he meant the cavalry and the Guards. At the present moment there were no less than forty-four vacancies in the cavalry. That number made up pretty nearly the strength of two entire regiments in time of peace. That this scarcity was increasing was shown by the fact that in 1903 there were only twenty-three vacancies. A cavalry officer could not be taught in a day. He must be under drill and discipline pretty well eight months before he was fit to take his place in the ranks, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would have something reassuring to say as to the steps he was taking towards obtaining a proper supply of officers. As to the shortage in the Guards, in the Grenadier Guards there were fourteen vacancies, in the Coldstream Guards seven, in the Scots Guards fifteen, and in the Irish Guards four, or forty in the brigade. In 1903 the Grenadier Guards had over its full strength, the Coldstreams and the Irish Guards were full, and there were only five vacancies in the Scots Guards. He had also looked through a number of Line regiments and found a shortage in them also. Was there any better look-out in the Auxiliary Forces? In an article in *The Times* of February 21st it was shown that there was a deficiency of 951 combatant officers in the Militia and of 2,768 in the Volunteers. Thus, taking the Cavalry, Foot-Guards, Militia, and Volunteers together, there were 3,803 vacancies. Of course, he had his ideas as to the causes of this. A great deal was due to changes of plans and the uncertainty as to appointments and promotions, and there was no doubt that the duties in South Africa were very unpopular, while the threats to the Volunteers and Militia had had their effect. Then there was a great change in the daily duties of officers which had made them more harassing. Whatever the cause was it was a matter that should be probed to the bottom.

As to the changes of plan of the right hon. Gentleman, he was perfectly at sea as to which had been carried out. Had the extra battalions created during the war in such regiments as the Northumberland Fusiliers been disestablished? He understood that large depôts were to be created in place of the linked battalions, but he had not seen anything of the change. Then, again, he did not know whether the disestablishment of the Militia was to be carried out. The right hon. Gentleman ought to tell then what plans he intended to carry out. Too much work was now thrown upon the Adjutant-General's Department and there was some ground for the complaint in connection with the Militia that officers in these regiments were never appointed to adjutancies, all those appointments being given to officers of the Regular Army. Surely it was a legitimate ambition of the young officers in a regiment to attain to the adjutancy. Yet that was refused them. It would have been better if the Auxiliary Forces and the recruiting were retained under separate direction. As regarded the rifle controversy, he was deeply interested in it, as two of the experts who had reported belonged to the regiment which he himself had commanded for nine years. The hon. Member for St. Helens, in his interesting speech, missed the principal point of the matter. The hon. Gentleman omitted to add that the experts unanimously reported that the rifle was badly balanced, because there was too much weight at the muzzle end. There was a "nose-cap," as it was called, of heavy metal, and also a wooden covering which threw the balance forward, while much wood had been taken out of the stock. Then the recoil was heavier; and that would make the recruit shy in firing, and make it more difficult to instruct him. The lengthening of the bayonet, as suggested by the hon. Member for St. Helens, would make the balance worse still. Another objection which had been brought to his notice by an officer instructed at Hythe, and who was now on full pay, was that the rifles were to have three different lengths of butt. In the case of a night surprise the rifles might get mixed, and a tall man might find himself with a short rifle or *vice versa*. There was a charger system of loading without a cut-off, so that, unless the catch were put up, the rifle, when charged, might shoot the man carrying it, because it had to be carried at full cock. The oil can and pull through were in a case attached to the waist belt, and not in the gun stock, and so might be lost. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would pause before pledging himself entirely to the adoption of this rifle. It had never been tried fully. Why not use it as a carbine, and issue it to a regiment of cavalry, and then have a report on it before going to the expense of £3,000,000. The short rifle should not be tried against the old rifle, but against the old rifles with the new improvements.

*COLONEL WILLIAMS (Dorsetshire, W.) said he wished to refer to the question of the Volunteers, because he believed that their number should not be reduced without due consideration. He bore full testimony to the care and attention which the right hon. Gentleman had given to the question; but he would join issue with him as regarded the reduction of their numbers. It was said that mobilisation facilities could not be provided for more than 200,000 men at one time; but it should be remembered that even during an invasion a certain amount of work would have to be carried out in the country and it would not be necessary to mobilise the same number at the same time. The men might be able to change places, and serve for a week at a time if necessary. That was one of the lessons that was learned from the Boer War. Many of the Boers fought in the trenches, and then went back to work. He did not approve of the reduction of the Volunteers; and he believed that the right hon. Gentleman would easily obtain what he desired if he would make the grants conditional on the number of attendances in camp. He attached very great importance to attendances at camp; and he thought if the right hon. Gentleman would permit two periods of four days each a great many more men would pass through camp. And in the case of town corps where the week's camp was a difficulty some such system might be applied as was now in force in regard to public schools—four days camp on condition there were also at least three field days during the year. If some such alteration were made it was possible that the old system of four day camps at Easter and Whitsun might be revived, which would be a great advantage. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would pause before he reduced the numbers of the Volunteers. He knew it was stated that the reduction of the numbers was the only way in which the increased grant could be afforded; but he thought the country would not grudge the expense. The scheme for the reduction of the Volunteers should not be hastily entered on. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would avoid every possible reduction in order that the country might preserve its natural reserve.

* MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) said that although the Amendment was general in its character, the debate had dealt almost exclusively with details—important in themselves, but still details—and he desired to bring the House back to the spirit of the Amendment, which was a direct and deliberate attack upon the constant changes and chances in the administration of the War Office under the present *régime*. That *régime* had been defended in the debate by only three hon. Members, all of whom, extraordinary to relate, voted three years ago for a scheme the direct opposite of the system they were now supporting. It had already been pointed out with conclusive effect that whatever might be said for a policy of delay in re-arming the Army with the new gun, the artillery with which the Army was at present—he would not say armed—provided was in the face of any European force absolutely ineffective and obsolete; while every speech which had been made with regard to the new rifle showed that there was great reason for hesitating before the order therefore was finally given. If the offensive guns were obsolete and the defensive rifles doubtful, the Regular Forces were clearly not in a condition equal to that of any Continental force whatever. Therefore, as a member of the regular Opposition, not only was he justified, but it was his duty to call the attention of the House and the country to the extraordinary variation in the proposals which from time to time had been put forward. In 1902, extreme short service was proposed; the Secretary of State now proposed extreme long service. The scheme of the present Secretary of State for India proposed an enormous increase of the Reserve; the present Secretary of State was cutting the Reserve down to nothing, or at any rate reducing it considerably. The present scheme added enormously to the pay, cost of food, and cost of barracks, while, under the regulations of the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor, the discipline of the Army was considerably relaxed. Officers in the Army viewed this continual chopping and changing with the greatest alarm and distrust. They had drunk the cup of despair to its very dregs, and the deficiency in the numbers of the Army

ought to be a warning not to continue in the path now pursued.

The House of Commons had two duties with regard to military matters: one to the nation, concerning the state of Army finance, and the other to the Army itself, in the preservation of a continuity of policy with regard to the practical particulars of the service, discipline, pay, and numbers. That not unreasonable proposition had been honoured far more in the breach than in the observance during the last ten years. It was unnecessary to trace all this confusion back to the fountain head. It began with the refusal of the late Lord Salisbury's Government to make military preparations in time for the outbreak of hostilities in South Africa, but the military organisation was not to be blamed for a purely political fault, committed possibly with the best intentions. Reference had been made to the dangers of a military caste. The dangers of a military caste might be great, but far greater dangers flowed from civilians playing at being military experts. There was a tendency on the part of the present Government, not merely to direct the general policy of the Army, but to intervene—as they had intervened with fatal effect—in matters which really concerned soldiers alone. The result of this interference had been to render Army reform a war cry essential to the safety of the Government. It was essential in 1900 to bring them into power, and it had been played on since to keep them in power. By their various schemes they had eliminated from the War Office soldiers and Civil servants of merit. They were now attempting to carry out their new policy with a new staff, and the result so far had not been altogether satisfactory. The Secretary of State had, however, done good work by the appointment of the Esher Commission, the reorganisation of the work of the War Office itself, and especially by the formal constitution of the Army Council. But what was his position with regard to the Army Council? Was he working in harmony with, or in opposition to, it? If there were opposing sets of views, which were to prevail?

Let the House contrast the two schemes which had been put forward and note the divergency, conflict, and confusion thereby expressed. Three years ago many hon. Gentlemen opposite voted for the Army Corps scheme, and the then Secretary of State declared that it held the field. But what it would not hold was water, and the whole scheme broke down immediately an attempt was made to put it into practice. The very Gentlemen who supported that scheme were now upholding the proposal to organise the Army on a divisional basis. In 1902 the three years enlistment was safe, judicious, and necessary; last year it was a danger to the Empire. The scheme of 1901–2 was built up on a small army, and an enormous Reserve; the present proposals cut the Reserve down by one-third, and yet was held to be the surest and safest scheme that could be put forward. As to the Auxiliary Forces, the earlier scheme maintained the Militia and created a Reserve; the 1904 proposals abolished the Militia, and did away with its reserve. Under the scheme of 1901 the Volunteers were encouraged to recruit as many men as possible, to have maxim guns and mounted infantry companies; the new proposals swept the whole thing away—except that the pressure of public opinion had induced the right hon. Gentleman to say he would further consider his plans. The same had happened with regard to the Imperial Yeomanry; recruiting had been stopped, and the number in the ranks cut down.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) said the number had not been cut down, but increased to a figure it had never before attained.

*Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE said that under the scheme of the present Secretary of State for India the establishment of the Imperial Yeomanry was 35,000, whereas the right hon. Gentleman had now fixed it at 28,000, which surely was a decrease, not an increase.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: What I said was that the number of Imperial Yeomanry had reached a figure last year which they had never reached before.

*MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE said that the result had been achieved, not under the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman, but under the scheme of his predecessor. In the past there had been no more violent critic of Conservative Secretaries of State for War than the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and his habit of criticism still remained. Therefore, the Secretary of State for War should not grumble when an humble Member like himself criticised his scheme, because in another place the Leader of the Upper Chamber spoke about his scheme as a mere collection of notes for the speech of the Secretary for War, and dismissed the question with that remark. This continual chopping and changing had reduced their military strength to a minimum; it had prevented any real improvement in the Army, had acted as a deterrent to good men coming into the Army, and an inducement to capable men leaving it. He could furnish many instances of distinguished young officers who were going out of the Army because as a career it was not good enough to stay in, the prospects of advancement being so bad. The right hon. Gentleman had divided the infantry into two classes, the home-service Army and the foreign-going Army. One of the Secretary for War's objections when a private Member used to be that the Army was organised only for peace. They had a long-service infantry abroad and a short-service infantry at home, but the moment war broke out they would have to amalgamate those two armies to produce the regiments they would require. They had had examples in the past of the bad effects of such an amalgamation, and this would happen again with the short-service battalions if, unfortunately, the necessity of going to war arose. The new scheme seriously reduced the establishment of the general-service battalions in the Colonies and at home. That establishment had been the result of the experience of a great number of years and numberless campaigns, and although to make them up would make a smaller demand upon the Reserves, they would find that the establishment would have to be increased to meet war requirements as settled by long practice. [MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head but he did not believe so much in practice as in theory.

With regard to India the Secretary for War had sanctioned the reorganisation scheme of the Indian Army drawn up by Lord Kitchener, and that scheme could not have been undertaken without the consent of the Cabinet. That scheme provided for putting 150,000 men upon the frontier in case of necessity. He thought the military reforms of India were much better understood by the people conversant with military reforms than they used to be. The Indian frontier on the East had been rendered practically impregnable, but the western frontier could undoubtedly be turned by an enterprising foe. Ten years ago that frontier could be watched by a police force, but at the present moment that force had to be replaced by something like the strongest Army they possessed. To reinforce that Army, in case of necessity, by troops from this country must be provided for, and he wished to know how far the right hon. Gentleman's scheme met this necessity. The new scheme maintained in India fifty-two battalions at 1,037 men each, but how were the reserves which would be necessary for this force to be provided? They would have to be drawn either from the colours or from the reserves. The colour establishment could not provide any reasonable number of reserves for the Indian Army, and how about the Reserve itself? The right hon. Gentleman professed to be able to find 20.000 reserves for his long-service Army, but he would remind him that the real strength of the reserves provided by the long-service system was only about 7,000 or 8,000. The 20,000 men referred to were based upon a wastage of 42 per cent., but the real wastage was 65 per cent. upon a nine years service. That fact he got from the Secretary of State for India in December, 1902. The consequence was that 13,000 men had to be deducted, which reduced the 20,000 down to about 7,000. Now would any hon. Gentleman opposite contend that 7,000 Reservists were enough to provide for the needs of India in case an emergency arose. The home service provided a large Reserve, but it provided only half the number of the present reserves. Instead of 80,000 it provided only 54,000.

He would like to draw attention to the opinion expressed by the Inspector-General of the German staff, which was published in *The Times* of November 28th last year. He said that the two-years system was a serious disadvantage compared with the three-years system, and caused an increased mental strain upon both the officers and the non-commissioned officers and men, and led to other evils previously unknown. What a commentary that was upon the three-years system which the right hon. Gentleman had attempted to introduce, and it showed them the danger of acquiescing in that system. The late Adjutant-General had re-echoed this warning before the War Commission. Consequently any step to introduce short service or relying upon it for an efficient Reserve for the foreign-going Army ought to be entered upon with the greatest caution.

The right hon. Gentleman's proposals had almost all been based on his previous theories and not on actual practice. It was because he misunderstood details that he misapplied principles, and he had committed himself to a scheme full of details which had never been properly digested by himself or those on whom he relied for advice. The right hon. Gentleman might answer, and it was a plausible answer, that other great Army reformers had experienced opposition to the reforms they had suggested. Mr. Cardwell, when he put his proposals before the House of Commons, was opposed by the old superannuated generals, but he was supported by the young generals and the whole of the Civil staff. Could the right hon. Gentleman quote any such authorities in support of his proposals? Was it not notorious that the whole staff of the War Office was opposed to his proposals, and was it not equally generally believed that a majority of his colleagues in the Cabinet were also opposed to his scheme? The right hon. Gentleman gave a pledge—the hon. Member supposed it was a pledge—to the Conservative Union at Edinburgh that if his scheme were kept in abeyance he would not remain longer in office. Was his scheme in abeyance or not? Was it alive and was it going to be presented to the House, or, as he hoped, was it going to be decently buried? Revolutions took place in South American States but they were not found to be salutory because they became monotonous. Revolutions in the Army had become monotonous. They did not want to shoot the right hon. Gentleman as South American revolutionists shot their presidents, but they hoped he would transfer his ability to some other sphere of energy.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) said he always listened with interest and attention to the hon. Member for East Bristol. The hon. Member had to-day lifted the debate above the minor level at which it was started and maintained on the previous day. Some Members on his side of the House had been taunted with having supported the scheme of the present Secretary of State for India and with now supporting the scheme of the present Secretary of State for War. He was not open to that taunt because he opposed the scheme in speech and writing, and refused to vote for it. Therefore it was not from the Party point of view, but on the broad aspects of the problem that he ventured to offer some observations to the House. Unlike previous speakers in the debate the hon. Member for East Bristol had looked abroad at the Empire as it was. He looked at the military danger as it presented itself to the Empire. Nearly every other speaker from the commencement of the debate had overlooked everything except the defence of this country.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): No, no!

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said the whole criticism of the hon. Member for the Isle of Wight in regard to men and efficiency was concentrated upon a demand for support to the Volunteer force. As the Volunteers were not liable to serve out of this country he could not in the least see why the hon. Member should say "No, no."

MAJOR SEELY said that what he stated was that the Volunteer force should be regarded as a school of arms, because, in point of fact, they did go to war oversea.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he would come to that point presently. Since the introduction of the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for India, a new body had been created to consider the question of the defence of the Empire as a whole—in its naval as well as its military aspects. It had declared, and necessarily declared, that the naval policy dominated the whole of our military policy. The scheme of that right hon. Gentleman contemplated the danger of invasion, though the real business of the Army was fighting oversea. That former scheme ignored that fact practically, though in words it did not. There was great talk of having an Army for fighting oversea, but when they came to the details it was the old, old story—our greatest military danger was the danger of invasion. After all the previous changes which had taken place in tinkering the Army, the broad fact remained that we had never considered what were the real requirements of the Empire, and that we had misconceived the military obligations which rested upon this nation. We were always trying to get an Army mainly to protect these islands from military invasion. Anybody listening to the debate yesterday would have supposed that the Navy did not exist. The re-arming of the artillery was a matter on which they were all agreed, but it was not germane to a debate on the Address when they knew positively that every effort was now being made to re-arm the artillery as fast as possible, so as to meet modern circumstances. Therefore, he could not see the the value of the criticism passed on that matter.

On the question of Army reorganisation he was bound to say that he could not see how any practical good which could come from the Amendment on the Address. In a few days they would enter on the consideration of the Army Estimates when they would have the facts and figures before them, and a full statement from the Secretary of State for War as to the changes which were in progress, what point the changes had reached, and what still remained to be done. He thought they might have possessed their souls in patience for that better opportunity of full discussion. He was not exactly certain how far these changes had gone, and he thought the House ought to know. He wanted to deal with the feature which was most prominent in the debate yesterday—the ignoring of the question of economy. While continual references were made to the improvement of the Volunteers, and abstract references were made to economy, the only suggestions made were such as would largely increase the expenditure on the Volunteers.

MR. GUEST (Plymouth) No, no!

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said the hon. Member who said "No, no" could not have attended to the debate.

MR. GUEST remarked that what he said in the debate yesterday was that if economy were practised in connection with the Regular Army there would be money enough to spare for the Volunteers.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said an hon. Member stated that he wanted £2,000,000 more. He would not go through the speeches of hon. Gentlemen on that point, but there was a general expression of opinion that if the Secretary of State for War would only spend more money on the Volunteers he would get their support. He was sorry to hear an insinuation from the hon. Member for Plymouth that those who did not see eye to eye with them on the question of the Volunteers were actuated by some class prejudice against the Volunteers. He did not think it worth while to discuss such ideas. He never held them and repudiated them. The hon. Member himself had talked about the blue-water school having a contempt for the Volunteers.

MR. GUEST said that what he had stated was that there was a professional contempt for the Volunteers, and he maintained that opinion still.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he understood that the hon. Member had referred to the blue-water school. It was not a question of the blue-water school's opinion, but of the military security of the Empire. They had to provide for military requirements according to some principle, knowing that their funds were exhaustible, and that they must not waste their money. Now, could they rely upon the Volunteer forces for providing those reserves of men who would be available to go where they would be wanted—to go oversea and stay there.

MAJOR SEELY: Hear, hear!

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: Oh, the hon. and gallant Member thought they could. He did not, and he ventured to say that all experience was against that. He presumed they all agreed with the deliberate opinion of the Committee of Imperial Defence that what our military forces were required for was for fighting oversea. If so, the problem presented itself thus: taking the forces created for a totally different purpose, did these lend themselves to such adaptation as would meet the real necessities of the Imperial situation? They knew that the Regular Army was maintained for the special purpose of going anywhere where their services were required. They knew that the Militia was a service created and maintained originally for the purpose of defending these shores against military attack. They knew that the Volunteers created themselves by spontaneous action and patriotic enterprise, and they had now a large force whose patriotism was admitted, and against the individuals supporting that force not a word was to be said. But they had had a war oversea which afforded the opportunity of seeing how far these two forces could be relied on to give the men wanted for oversea service. He was not talking now of the efficiency of the men or their training, but simply of their numbers. If hon. Members consulted the Returns for 1902 they would find some visible, practical proof of the proportion of those forces they were likely to get for fighting oversea. On the outbreak of the war in South Africa the enrolled strength of the Militia was 116,582 officers and men, and of the Volunteers at the same time 231,624. Now, the number of the Regular Forces sent out to South Africa was 246,000; while the Militia of the United Kingdom furnished over 45,000, and the organised Volunteer force of the United Kingdom only sent under 20 000.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury): Does the hon. and gallant Member include the Yeomanry?

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: No, certainly not; and for this reason, that if they looked at the figures it would be seen that it was the patriotism of those men who were called Yeomanry which took them individually oversea. They had no connection with the Volunteers as an organised force.

MAJOR SEELY said that the hon. and gallant Member had fallen into an extraordinary error in making deductions from the figures he had quoted. What the War Office authorities called for was mounted men, and the Auxiliary Forces in this country out of an establishment of 10,000 sent—if he might use an Irishism—30,000 men to the war. If it had been dismounted men that were asked for or required, 200,000 men could have been got.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB said he should be glad to agree if he could with the hon. and gallant Member, for it would be a solution of the whole problem. But what he was dealing with was the organised forces of the Militia and Volunteers as they appeared on the Estimates. Shortly stated, the Militia, out of an enrolled strength, gave 39 per cent., while the Volunteer force only gave 8·5 per cent.

MAJOR SEELY said that that was all that was asked for. They might have got any amount more.

* SIR JOHN COLOMB said that he was not going into speculative figures as to whether the Militia and Volunteers could have done this or that. He was taking the three branches of the service—Regulars, Militia, and Volunteers—as they were trained, and as they appeared on the Estimates; and he held that the Militia gave 39 per cent., and the Volunteers only 8·5 per cent. of their enrolled strength. Of course, if he was wrong, he was wrong; but if he was wrong the Returns were wrong. The Returns showed the enrolled strength in each case, and the number which went to the war; and

he was trying to make some deductions from the figures. And he did not see how his argument was to be met by being told, "Oh! If you had done something else, something else would have happened." He was dealing with the point that we could not risk our Empire by a reliance on forces not liable for service beyond the sea.

MAJOR SEELY said that the hon. and gallant Gentleman's argument was wholly vitiated by the fact that all the men that were asked for were obtained; and the War Office could have obtained 30,000 more if they had been required.

* SIR JOHN COLOMB said he still preferred the Returns and the figures in the Estimates. He confessed that he might have misapprehended hon. Members opposite when they said that we had only to spend more money on the Volunteers and treat them properly and the whole question of discharging the obligation of oversea service for the defence of the Empire would be met, because these men must be trained and ready and willing to go oversea and remain there. He did not think, as regarded the point of remaining oversea, that the experience of the War Office established that. Take the very cream of the Volunteer force which went to the front—the C.I.V.'s—they were brought home while the war continued.

MAJOR SEELY: They were ordered home.

* SIR JOHN COLOMB: At all events they were brought home. He knew he was not taking the popular side and he could not take it. It was not easy, really, to make a connected and clear speech if one was continually interrupted. He knew that if that was frequently done it was not easy to explain his position. Therefore, he could not see that if more money was spent on the Volunteers and their numbers enlarged how the power of discharging our obligation of oversea defence of the Empire was going to be discharged, or our military strength maintained. Consequently, he objected to spending more money on the Volunteer forces. No doubt the problem of the requirements of the military forces of the Empire was enormously complicated, and ought to be faced in a larger spirit than it had been. This he would say, the problem was not to be solved by vague iterations against the changes that had taken place in the Army. Changes had been made under the influence of popular emotion, and it had to be remembered in considering this problem that neither popular feeling nor the opinion of this House would alter the military necessities of the Empire. It was the business of statesmen to look at that problem of the defence of the Empire as a whole, and until the last few months that had not been the business of statesmen. There had been no organised means of doing it. The Imperial Defence Committee had placed the obligation on Ministers to look after all these things and to decide how our military power was to be exercised oversea with success.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) said that in voting for the Amendment of the hon. Member for West Newington those who sat on the Opposition side of the House did not in the least degree desire to make the Army a question of Party politics. That had been done by hon. Gentlemen opposite, who, wherever they went in the country, had arrogated to themselves the title role of the defenders of the Army. What the hon. Member who moved the Amendment did was to appeal for some continuity in Army politics. Nobody doubted the zeal of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State; they did not assail him, but they did and must assail the policy of the Government in regard to Army reform. During the past ten years there had been a procession of War Ministers, all of whom had advocated changes, all of which had been adopted in haste and abandoned in a hurry. As the hon. and gallant Admiral who had just sat down had said, the Government had been too responsive to public clamour. The War Office was being continually reformed, and the only tangible result was that after all these changes they had £29,000,000 on the Estimates for the year. They had preached economy until they had come to the conclusion that it was no use saying anything further about it; they were now face to face with an automatic increase in the Army Estimates, and what was the state of the Army to-day? In the words of the right hon. Gentleman himself, it was imperfectly prepared, wasteful in its methods, unsatisfactory in its results, and one of the most costly machines ever devised. The extravagance in the expenditure on the Army was sapping the greatest spring of our national strength. We did not come out of the Boer War victorious from any foresight of our own, but because we were able to last out longer than the Boers. Another point to which he would draw attention was that the Prime Minister had made himself the fond foster-mother of every struggling infant of the Secretary of State for War. The right hon. Gentleman had said the three great objects were to prepare an Army for service abroad if required, to keep a prepared Army at home if necessary, and to decentralise instead of centralising the control of the Army, and the right hon. Gentleman further said that that could best be done by the six Army Corps scheme. In order to bolster up the scheme recourse had to be had to the Imperial short-service system, in regard to which the Secretary of State for War had said that it did not appear that the Government's calculations had been sufficiently close, and that he had had to extend it. The fact of the matter was that the right hon. Gentleman had succeeded to a heritage of chaos and confusion, the result of nine years of office of the present Government.

He confessed he was somewhat sceptical as to the scheme of the present Secretary of State. One would have thought the Government would have accumulated all the experience possible from men who had served in the late war and applied it to the re-organisation of the Army. Nothing of the kind. First of all there came the six Army Corps scheme, and then the Esher Committee, in regard to which there was one point which struck every one alike, which was that no member of that Committee had had any experience in the South African War, and if anything ought to have been brought to bear upon the re-organisation of the Army surely it should have been the experience gained in that war. What was the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman? Was the right hon. Gentleman going to carry out the scheme he had adumbrated in the House in the previous July? Was his scheme based on military experience and advice; on the best military judgment of the country? Last year very strong debates had taken place upon this question, and in another place the late Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts, said—

> "There are many points in the scheme of the Secretary of State which commend themselves to me but there are others which do not, and which I believe will be detrimental to the interests of the Army."

Were those portions of the scheme to be persevered in? The Government knew perfectly well that the Army Council did not agree with them as regarded the scheme. Neither the Army Council nor Lord Roberts agreed with the whole of the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman, and what he desired to know was, had the right hon. Gentleman modified his scheme so as to conform with the opinion of those two authorities? If not, it ought not to be proceeded with. Was the linked-battalion system to be done away with? Because there was the evidence of the Wantage Committee that the linked-battalion system was one which had done admirable service to the country in the past. He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman was going to start thirteen new depôts at a cost of £3,500,000 in spite of the fact that the Wantage Committee expressed the opinion that the system of depôts could not compare with that of the linked battalions so far as economy was concerned. Would the right hon. Gentleman say whether he intended to go on with his scheme of destroying the linked battalions? At the present moment we had a simple organisation for the Army, Militia, and Volunteers. It appeared to him that the right hon. Gentleman was going to considerably complicate the system. What was to be done with the Militia under the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman? Did he propose to merge the Militia in the regular-service Army? The right hon. Gentleman and those who thought with him had forgotten, apparently, the services done in South Africa by the Militia, but the old scheme was now to be put on one side and in its place they were to have they did not know what.

According to the scheme of [the right hon. Gentleman the Militia was going to be rendered fit for service at home or abroad. Did that mean that the Militia was to be merged in the Regular Forces? The decline of the Militia was, in the previous year, described by the right hon. Gentleman as being the inevitable consequence of the way in which that force had been treated. With that statement everyone agreed. Did the right hon. Gentleman intend to destroy or raise up the Militia? What had been the result of all this tinkering? It was that the Army Corps had been abandoned; that we had artillery unfit to meet anything in Europe, short rifles, hopeless confusion and wasteful extravagance. Was that what the Army existed for? He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would tell the House what the Army did exist for [AN HON. MEMBER: For fighting.] Yes, but where? because an army fighting at home had to be differently organised to an army which had to fight abroad. In the previous year, when the Commission which had to inquire into the efficiency of our military forces was sitting, they asked how many men were required for the defence of this country? The Defence Committee had not then made up their mind upon that point. Had they now come to any decision as to the number of troops required for home defence? Had they made up their minds as to the number required to defend the frontier of India? In conclusion, he asked the right hon. Gentleman to consult the best military authorities and not allow his own theories to run away with him, lest there should be other schemes hastily prepared which would only result in costing the country an enormous amount and give nothing in return. All that the House wanted to see was that they were getting value for the money which was being spent.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton) said he did not propose to speak to-night from the higher level of the Government's general War Office policy, especially as he thought that, after all, it was with questions of detail that the matter to-day had to be chiefly considered. In his opinion the country was far less fitted for war even than it was in 1899. He believed that the reserves were far less, and he much feared, moreover, that his hon. friend had gone astray in losing sight of the value of a large Reserve. The larger we could make our Reserve, the more effective we should be able to make our defence. What happened in the Boer War bore out the contention that we could not always wholly rely on the Regular Army. If we had had, at that time, to rely on the Regular Army alone we might conceivably have been defeated; and it must not be forgotten, in regard to that struggle, that a great proportion of the Imperial Yeomanry, who did so much to decide it, were drafted from the ranks of the Volunteers of England themselves. Personally, he did not see any reason why the present Volunteer system should be altered. For many years past it had been increasing both in efficiency — though slowly, perhaps — and certainly in numbers, and he wished to ask one or two Questions in regard to the Government proposals as to the Volunteers. Under the old system it was perfectly easy to send each Volunteer battalion attached to a Line regiment into its proper line. That led him to the Questions he was going to ask of the Secretary for War. He was sorry not to see him in his place, but he quite realised that he had sat through this debate for a very long time and, really, very patiently. It had been asked in the course of the debate, "Why do you not wait for the Army Estimates?" The answer was simple—that this was a good time for eliciting information, and possibly also for paving the way in some degree for a revision of the proposals of last year. He should like to know, in the first place, whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to abolish the present battalion system. Because, if he did so, we would at once throw into confusion not only the Line battalions but also the corresponding ones in the Militia and Volunteers. He wanted to ask another question, and it was based on his own experience. For a long time Volunteer corps had been under the supervision of brigadiers, who would, perhaps, be in charge of the brigade for seven, eight, or ten years, and would so get to know the corps under them. He had, he thought, been under three Regular officers as brigadiers, and from all those three officers had acquired some military knowledge. They were all good men, and the last of them, under whom he now was, was not only an exceedingly good officer, but took a real interest in the work of the corps which constitute his brigade. He heard now that the present system was to be altered and that everything in the way of these appointments was to go by chance. He thought it was better for a brigadier to be in a position to take an interest for several consecutive years in a battalion under his charge, for they got to know him and he got to know them.

Then they heard much of the desirability of giving encouragement to shooting. The battalion with which he was connected had hitherto done its shooting at Altcar, one of the best ranges in the North of England. How they were to do without that range he failed to see, but an intimation had come to them that they must not look to it as being available this year. On receipt of that notice they went to the officer in charge of the range, but he said he could give no orders, and that it seemed to be a question for the officer commanding the district. To that officer they went accordingly, but could get no satisfaction. This was but a detail, but it went to show what was happening and might happen in other cases. They spent, only a year or two ago, on this Altcar range, which the Government then said would be available to all Liverpool and West Lancashire regiments, £200 for the erection of a shooting pavilion for the use of officers and men, but, so far as he could see, they were not now going to have that range this season. and it looked, indeed, as if—he supposed in consequence of some dispute between the owner and the Government—it would be shut. If they could not have good shooting practice, for which a good practice ground was provided, it was of but little use to talk much of the need of inducing the young men of England to practise rifle-shooting. There was another question he desired to put, as to what the classification would be in future in regard to efficiency. For forty-four years past the Volunteer battalions had been built up into what was now, at least, real efficiency. Were they now going to have two classes of efficiency? Would the battalions all have one correct mark of efficiency, or would there be two classes? That was a very important question, as to which at the present moment no one knew anything. He did not doubt that the Volunteers would loyally accept any arrangement which the War Office might think necessary, but it did seem hard that they should be told in the House that 60.000 Volunteers were to be done away with, and that the force was to be cut down from 240 000 to 180,000. That, in itself, was sufficient to shake the force from end to end, and had, unfortunately, proved sufficient to discourage Volunteer officers from coming forward. What he asked from the right hon. Gentleman was that when he gave his decision, as he would within the next four weeks, he should be specially careful in regard to the facts which Volunteer officers had laid before him in that House in regard to the Volunteer forces. The case for the Militia and the Line had been ably put, and he had not a word to say in regard to that case, except that he endorsed almost every word that had been said. As to the Volunteers —if they could not be improved, then, at least, let them be left alone.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I do not get up to indicate any expression of a desire to bring the debate to a conclusion, but merely to make a few observations and ask a few questions which the right hon. Gentleman later on will be able to reply to. I am not at all surprised, and no one can be surprised, that questions affecting the Volunteers have occupied so large a part of this debate. The Volunteers have been threatened and greatly injured by the threat, and what makes this the more annoying is that the threat was so ill-considered that we are now told that it is not going to be carried out. That haste and want of consideration are at the bottom of nearly all the errors that have been committed in this matter. But I wish to inquire how we stand on the big question of the organisation of the Army. Is there any policy at all with regard to the Army? We are willing to attack or defend the policy, but we want to know, first of all, whether there is a policy. We can at least be told that. Be it remembered that the Government have been in charge of the Army for ten years, I might even say for twenty years, with a short interruption; therefore the Army now is very much what they themselves have made it, and they have had ample time to make it what they wish it to be. Not only that, but it is four years since we had a definite promise and assurance that they would give us a new and vastly improved Army; it is about four years since the last general election when that was promised. It is one and a half years since the right hon. Gentleman himself came into office and told us he knew exactly what was wanted and exactly how to obtain what was wanted. Last year's Estimates were founded not upon any new ideas, but were nominal Estimates founded on what we were told was a doomed system. Then we had another fact in the creation of the Cabinet Committee of Defence, from which great expectations were formed. The next step was that from the War Office were summarily ejected all the old officers who had held positions there, whatever their experience had been; and new minds, we were told, had to be introduced in order to carry out the new ideas. Then the final stage was the laying before the House and the country last year of the scheme of the Secretary of State for War. Now we shall see, no doubt—at least I have formed no other expectation—in the new Estimates which will be laid on the Table as soon as Committee of Supply is set up, the result of the new Army system definitely announced on authority. The Government, we assume, by this time have either accepted or modified or altered the scheme of last year, and they not only will be able to tell us all about it, but they will have founded their Estimates for the coming year on that basis. That is what we expect, and I think it is a reasonable expectation.

An answer will also be given to a question which has been put once or twice in the course of this debate as to what are the real military requirements of the country. Someone said, when this question was asked, that soldiers were wanted to fight; that is hardly what may be called a conclusive and comprehensive answer. We want to know what is the conception of the Government after all these deliberations, all these new organisations of control, and all that has been said, of what the real military requirements are, what the purpose of our Army and other warlike forces is, and what the particular description of force necessary to fulfil that object may be. We have received no information on the subject. A Royal Commission, appointed to inquire into whether the Militia and Volunteers were adequate for their duties, asked the not unreasonable question what these duties were, and they were unable to get an answer. They tried one source after another in the different departments, but as soon as an answer was given it was countermanded and withdrawn, and there the question ends. I think the House of Commons and the country are entitled to that information.

But while we are expecting to hear a definite and absolutely decided and accepted plan in all these particulars, we were rather startled the night before last to hear a new cut-and-dried scheme for the Militia brought forward, totally at variance with all that we have been told before. The Militia, according to the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman last year, were to be obliterated altogether, or at any rate to be fundamentally altered in character, and to be reduced from the prominent position they have hitherto held. Now they are to be put into another form, and every man is to be enlisted with a liability for foreign service, a liability to which he has not been subject hitherto. The Militia has been used for foreign service, but always by volunteering when the necessity arose. There are a few questions I should like to ask, without pronouncing any opinion whether this enlistment for foreign service is advantageous or not. Has any consideration been given to the effect that such a change will have on recruiting? Many a man is quite ready to serve in the Militia under present conditions; but the moment you say he is thereby undertaking liability to be sent abroad whenever his regiment is embodied, and in the case of war, is there not a danger of his being afraid that that would come into conflict with his employer, or his wife, which is much more formidable? Has any estimate been made of the effect upon recruiting of adding the new, certainly serious, and almost terrible obligation to the enlistment of the Militia? The second question I would ask is this:—What effect will it have upon the Ballot Laws with regard to the Militia? Is the ballot to be still alive though never enforced for the Militia after you have made this stipulation? Compulsory service for the defence of the country we could understand. Compulsory service to take the place of the Regular Forces in the defence of certain foreign places we could also understand. But compulsory service, the power of sending a man abroad, in a wide sense has never been contemplated as likely to apply to this country. This is at least a complete change of front, because the Militia was going altogether to disappear, and now it is to be put in the forefront. Why was this very fragmentary reform brought forward in the way it was in Parliament? Why this hurry to introduce piecemeal legislation? Is this total alteration of the Militia to be introduced to fit in with some other scheme or not? What is that other scheme? To proceed to deal in that way with one branch of the service without reference to the effect on others is surely a strange thing. If you were building a house, would it be a wise thing to say, "We will at all events commence to build a wing, trusting that by-and-by we shall build a house which will fit in with our wing?" Suppose the War Office buildings had not been quite agreed upon, and we said, "Oh, let us make a beginning with the Quartermaster-General's department. We can easily fit on the general scheme." That is the way in which the new Army is being built. Hurry is the very worst counsellor you can have. It is to hurry we owe the Army Corps, the short rifle, and the Secretary of State's last year's scheme. How much better it would have been if he had taken another year, if he had said less about it, made fewer promises, gone into the work in a humbler spirit, and said, "I must really have time." Not a bit of it. Within a month or two he must produce a scheme, which, of course, being produced in a hurry, has broken down. These hurried schemes are not only unlikely to produce efficiency, but they are the cause of endless expense. Look at the barracks which have been built on the Army Corps scheme. So also with regard to the rifle, what expense is incurred. The fundamental and fatal mistake has been that desire, first of all, of showing off and making a splash of finding new schemes, and secondly of making a splash in too great a hurry. That is all I have to say with regard to these successive schemes.

We look forward that either to-night or on introducing the Estimates the right hon. Gentleman will be able to tell us exactly what the Committee of Defence have determined is necessary for the country. Recruiting is now going on for nine years, and short-service recruiting has been stopped, temporarily I presume, in order to redress the balance. Long service is destroying the Reserve without the compensating machinery which was suggested last year under the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman. Some men of the very new school and some of the very old may contend that they do not like the short service at all, and that there are great advantages in the long service; but, besides the fact that it is killing the Reserve, it is enormously expensive. The short service was introduced largely to save the expense of long service. If you have a man with his regiment for nine years you must have a large increase in your married service, and that hinders the Army by immobility and by charge in every direction. You have necessarily also the charge for pensions. You cannot keep a man all that time away from his ordinary life without pensioning him. After short service had been introduced, following on a ten-years system, the number of pensions came down to less than a third of the previous number. They were in the process of further reduction when these changes began to be made. This is a very important matter. We must, of course, furnish drafts for India, and we ought to do it in the most economical manner both for India and ourselves. The whole difficulty lies in how to reconcile these things. I venture to hope the right hon. Gentleman will tell us that these nine-years enlistments are only temporarily employed, and that he will soon find himself an opportunity of reverting in one form or another to a shorter service which will give us that system of reserves which we found an undoubted success the other day in the war in South Africa.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said he should not attempt to answer the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, who had had a very wide experience in these matters. His sole reason for rising was because the mover of this Amendment had alluded to the difficulty of obtaining recruits and the very unsatisfactory condition of their physique. The complaint as to the difficulty of obtaining recruits and as to their quality was not at all a new question, for it had frequently been referred to in the House, and in public by some of the highest officers in the Army most qualified to speak upon it, and it was considered to be of such importance that His Majesty's Government a few years ago approved the appointment of a Departmental Committee to enquire into the alleged physical deterioration of the people. That Committee included some very high officers in the Army and men of great experience like the Inspector-General, and they made a unanimous Report. There had been a great error in regard to that Report for it did not find, as some people imagined, that there had been no physical deterioration. What was reported was that there was no evidence upon which that physical deterioration could be established. In regard to the recruits for the Army they came to this decision for two distinct reasons. In the first place, because no records had been kept which would enable a contrast to be made with the condition of recruits at the present time; and in the second place, evidence was given to show that the class from which recruits were drawn varied according to the amount of employment in the country at different times. When there was a great depression of trade in this country a great number of men of a superior order enlisted as recruits. When employment was common and everybody could get work, recruits were drawn from a lower class and their physique was decidedly inferior. The Committee also reported that there were a great number of causes, affecting chiefly the poorer paid classes of workmen in this country, which tended to physical deterioration. The Report contained a number of perfectly practical suggestions, some of which could be carried out by administrative action, and some of which required the assistance of this House in the reform of our laws. He was extraordinarily astonished to learn from answers recently given in the House that no kind of action was to be taken whatever on this Report, and that no legislation was to be submitted to Parliament on the subject. We were to go on exactly as before, notwithstanding the pregnant and important Report of the Committee. If we wanted strong, healthy, well developed men to serve in the Army—and it was the worst economy in the world to take men of inferior health and constitution—proper attention should be given to the conditions under which they were brought up. In India there were about 50 per cent. of the European soldiers constantly on the sick list, so that we had actually to incur the expense of sending out double the number of men required. We had to reckon that half of the number would always be in hospital on one ground or another. What could be more extravagant than a system of that kind if there was any possibility of preventing it?

Evidence was given before the Committee that the degeneracy of the youth of the country was entirely preventable. If growing boys in the public elementary schools were watched and medically examined such measures could be taken as would secure that they would not grow up into men afflicted with rickets and diseases consequent on bad nutrition and bad conditions imposed upon them in childhood. This Amendment did not apply to women, and he would not refer to the training of girls beyond saying that it was also of importance that those who were to be the mothers of future generations should not grow up under bad conditions. Continental countries were more immediately dependent on soldiers for their safety than we were, and they took good care that their boys and girls were brought up under conditions which conduced to efficiency and health. They were more carefully looked after in the schools, and he did not attribute that to any greater humanity on the part of foreign nations, but to the fact that they were compelled from motives of self-preservation to look after matters which we allowed to drift as they liked. He would press this subject on the attention of the House at every opportunity. He would bring it up on the Irish Estimates, the Scotch Estimates, and the English Estimates, and he would entreat the Government for the sake of the nation, the Empire, and numerous other considerations not to neglect the recommendations of that Committee. The Committee consisted of officials of high rank, and they reported unanimously that the question was very urgent and that there were a great many things that ought to be done at once. It was necessary to have legislation to carry out the Report, and if the Government neglected altogether to consider the question they would incur a most tremendous responsibility. What was the good of having an Army if we could not get people who were fit to bear the burdens of military service? He hoped the Government would take these matters into consideration, and that they would not incur the responsibility of neglecting the duty which had been put before them on such high authority.

Mr. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury) said that those who knew the present condition of the Army must realise the importance of the remarks made by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Cambridge University. Some statements were made in the columns of a newspaper a few days ago, on the authority of Mr. Arnold White, drawing attention to the height and weight of our recruits. He hoped the Secretary of State for War would be able to contradict the figures, because if they were facts it was evident that the physical conditions of the recruits now being drawn into the Line regiments were such that the men could not under any circumstances be a credit to the service they joined. It was alleged that the minimum height was 5 feet 2 inches, and the minimum weight 8 stones 3 lbs. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman and the House whether it was worth while discussing the question of long and short rifles when the recruits who were joining the Army were not only not fit to carry a rifle, but not fit to carry a pop-gun. He wished to call attention to the wastage that was going on in the British Army owing not only to the physical condition of the men, but to other factors which were largely due to the policy of continuous change, for which the Government was responsible. In 1902 there were 50,753 recruits attested in the Army. During the same year there was in the United Kingdom an Army, roughly, of 100,000. The number who died was 3,896; there deserted, 7,162; there were invalided, 8,869; there were discharged for misconduct, 2,903; and there were discharged as inefficient, 1,653; making a total wastage under these heads of 24,483. It was one of the contentions of those who opposed the right hon. Gentleman's policy and supported the Amendment that the changes which were continually being made were bringing about discontent and interfering with the discipline of the Army. During twelve months the number of men in the British Army who were in prison was 21,943, or 22 per cent. of the whole of the soldiers in these islands. He thought these figures were alarming and that they should be carefully considered by the right hon. Gentleman.

The hon. and gallant Member for Stepney had stated in reference to the Volunteer force that numbers did not necessarily mean military efficiency and the right hon. Gentleman cheered him. If the facts he had given as to the wastage that was going on in the Army were accurate, it might be said that numbers did not mean military strength. He believed that Members of the Tory Party wished to have a large Army, while Members on the Opposition side of the House desired a smaller but more efficient Army. In his opinion that was the difference between the two sides of the House. He believed that if, under the present system of voluntary enlistment, the Army were increased it would only be at the expense of efficiency. Earlier in the debate a controversy had arisen across the floor of the House, between the hon. and gallant Members for Yarmouth and the Isle of Wight, as to the number of Militia and Volunteers who went to South Africa. The point at issue was that the former asserted that in time of war the gaps and wastage of the Army in the field could not be filled up from the Militia and Volunteers, and the latter that they could be. He thought it would surprise the hon. and gallant Member for Yarmouth to know that there had been drawn from the Militia, Volunteers, and Yeomanry and sent to South Africa no fewer than 101,000 men, and it was common knowledge what excellent service they had performed and that without them the Regular Forces would not have been able to carry the war to a successful conclusion. The Secretary of State for War would, no doubt, when he came to reply, have no difficulty in answering the criticisms made in that quarter. The lines of attack on any policy, and particularly the military policy of a Government, and more particularly when they did not know exactly what that policy was, must be conflicting and divergent. He was certain the right hon. Gentleman must be aware that on both sides of the House, and in the country as a whole, great uneasiness prevailed as to the state of the Army. He did not say that that uneasiness would be necessarily developed in the division lobbies any more in regard to the position of the Army than in regard to other subjects of recent controversy.

The hon. and gallant Member for Taunton told the House that they must cut their coat according to their cloth, but he ventured to think that the policy of both the present and late Secretary of State for War aimed at the creation and maintenance of a larger Army than this country under the present military and financial system could ever supply or support. Two days ago, in another place, the Under-Secretary for War, in discussing a question arising out of the present *status* of the Militia, said that it was a notable fact that only 250,000 troops out of a total of 605,000 men were ear-marked for service abroad. That was to say, that in the noble Lord's opinion 250,000 were insufficient for service abroad. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War himself was even more explicit, for at a dinner at Chelmsford he said in the course of a speech—

"That in the case of India alone, if we are to keep up our Army for war purposes"

He did not know for what else than war an army was kept up—

"We did not want 133,000

—Let the House mark this—

"But four times that number."

That was to say, that in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, and, therefore, presumably in the opinion of the Government, we should require in the North-West of India a force of no less than 532,000 troops. He would remind the House that the North-West of India was not the only land frontier with which this Empire had to deal, and if there was danger there—he admitted that many able authorities said that there was problematical danger on the North-West frontier—the whole House would admit also that there was a problematical danger on the Canadian frontier. And if it was necessary to find over 500,000 men for the defence of India alone, what was the policy of the Government in regard to the whole Empire, and how far were they going on those lines sketched by the Secretary for War? He ventured to think that the maintenance of this enormous land Army was beyond the permanent possibilities both of the voluntary and financial systems under which the country at present existed. If we were to keep a land force fully equipped in all details, ready for active service in the field, on the lines suggested by the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman, the financial burden in itself would be greater than the people of this country could bear and we would have to adopt a protectionist policy, not for the purposes of protection but for the purpose of raising revenue to meet the expense. And if we asked the country to supply a sufficient number of recruits to feed an Army of the kind sketched, we would have to abandon the system of voluntary enlistment and adopt the Continental system of conscription. He thought it possible and probable that a good number of hon. Gentlemen opposite would not regret to see the adoption of protection for revenue purposes or of conscription for military purposes. Neither policy, he believed, was one, in the opinion of those on his side of the House, which would be of advantage to the country or the Empire. Therefore, if we were to keep our military forces within the financial abilities of the people of this country, and voluntary enlistment, it was high time that we cried "Stop" to military expenses and did something to show the country that, at any rate in the opinion of hon. Members on that side of the House, it was not necessary to maintain for the services of this country and the Empire even so large an Army as at present existed.

*CAPTAIN JESSEL (St. Pancras, S.) said he did not believe that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War or the noble Lord the Under-Secretary intended to advocate the extension of the standing Army to the very large body of men mentioned by the hon. Gentleman opposite. Their only wish was to draw attention to the elementary fact that it might be necessary to mobilise and recruit a very large body of men. Considering that in this country and the Colonies and dependencies we had over a million of men under arms in one shape or form, he did not think it was very wrong of the right hon. Gentleman and the noble Lord to point out that we could, under existing conditions, only send a quarter of a million of men for an oversea campaign. The recent campaign in Manchuria had shown us the probability of very large forces being employed. The North-West Frontier of India required a much larger Army than was thought possible before. It was the paramount duty of the War Office and those who advised the Secretary of State for War to be prepared with a sufficient number of men to meet any possible emergency. When it was remembered that the Under-Secretary stated that we could only send across the sea 250,000 men, he did not think the War Office could be blamed for taking steps to make that number stronger if the occasion arose. The Amendment set forth—

> "That the continuous and continuing changes in the War Office are destructive of the best interests of His Majesty's Army."

[OPPOSITION cries of "Hear, hear!"] He was somewhat surprised to hear that cheer from hon. Members opposite considering that year after year they had denounced the War Office and all connected with it. The recommendations of the Esher Committee were approved of by every Member of the House with the exception of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, and now the Government was blamed for attempting to carry out the changes so urgently demanded. There was another very curious thing; the system of Army Corps initiated by the Secretary of State for India divided this country into various districts for the better organisation and decentralisation of the various troops in the different commands. This system was condemned, whereas administrative commands of the Esher Committee answering the same purpose were approved. He was sure the House would agree that the War Minister was wise in introducing changes which created a general staff. For many years complaints had been made that there was no general staff in the Army and the Intelligence Branch existed only as a sort of post office and the letters did not always reach the proper authorities. But they had now got a proper general staff. In his opinion it was not quite big enough, but he felt quite sure that they were now proceeding upon the right lines.

He had listened very attentively to the debate yesterday, and what impressed him was that so many hon. Members spoke about the Volunteers. He believed in the efficiency of the Volunteer Auxiliary Forces, but it was rather hard when the War Office wished to make a change in their condition that so much comment should be made. The Volunteers had grown up in the past in a sort of hap-hazard fashion. In Scotland there were fourteen regiments of Volunteer artillery for which no possible place could be found upon mobilisation, and therefore it seemed to him that such corps must be redundant. He did not think the House would approve of spending money upon redundant units. He agreed, however, that they should keep up the Volunteers and make the most of them as a very useful reserve force. A most important announcement had been made in another place as regarded the conditions of service in the Militia. He thought that if the Militia were liable to be sent abroad without volunteering it would free the heads of the Army from a vast amount of anxiety in time of need. It seemed to him that this policy in regard to the Militia needed very careful inquiry, because it showed a somewhat remarkable change of front on the part of the War Minister. They would remember that last year the Militia was going to be ended and abolished, but now it was to be placed in the forefront, and he hoped that this would have the effect of creating a more useful force. The more troops they were able to send abroad and across the sea the better would be the forces of the British Empire.

There was another point upon which a mistake seemed to him to have been made. They had increased the pay of the private soldier. The hon. Member who spoke last and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University had called attention to the low physique of many of our recruits, and notwithstanding this they had increased the pay of the private soldier by nearly one-half. Was that a satisfactory state of affairs? He was not satisfied with the prevailing condition of things, because he had been told that by this increase of pay they had not attracted very many more men, and the money which the men got was of no benefit to them under the present system. The men got their money and they spent it in a way which did them no good at all. He would suggest that it would be a good plan if part of this money could be earmarked for an old-age pension, and this they would be able to hold out to the men as an extra inducement which would really help the soldier when he left the Army. It might be said that this principle had been tried before in the shape of deferred pay, but his idea was that this pension should not be paid in a lump sum but should be paid weekly or quarterly so that the soldier would have something to look forward to. It was a great pity, in his opinion, that money should be wasted in this way, and he did not think the War Office had shown the necessity of so very largely increasing the pay of the soldier. Attention had been drawn to the want of officers in the cavalry and the Guards, and he thought the question of the pay had something to do with that state of things; for they could not expect men under modern military conditions, where leave was not so readily obtained as it used to be, and when the duties were much heavier, to join the Army, where they had to work so hard, if they did not give them proper pay. There was no doubt a very sincere feeling that the expenses of an ordinary officer were much too high. He did not think, however, that in most regiments that was the case. No doubt a certain amount of economy could be practised, but, on the whole, the standard of life was not at all superior to what those officers enjoyed in their own homes. If they were going to have a professional Army they must pay the officers properly and in accordance with the same standard of pay which they would get in other walks of life. He did not think 5s. 3d. a day for a second lieutenant was sufficient for a man of twenty years of age to live and dress himself upon. He knew that in most professions men did not make sufficient money at the start to keep themselves, but the difference between what an officer in the Army got and what they would get in other professions was so marked that if the Government did not see their way to increase the pay of the officers and extend to them other advantages he was afraid they would still go on experiencing this scarcity of men in the commissioned ranks. Then, again, very little consideration was given to the officers or the men in regard to their movements. He knew an instance where, recently, a cavalry regiment was ordered for service abroad and where the officers sold their horses and the non-commissioned officers got rid of their furniture, and just before they should have left this country the order for them going abroad was cancelled. That sort of thing did not make soldiering popular. If any regiment were sent abroad earlier than was expected it threw out of order the arrangements of all the regiments on the roster, and placed them in very peculiar difficulties.

The Leader of the Opposition had touched upon the terms of enlistment. The three-years system of enlistment had broken down because it was incapable of furnishing sufficient men for the foreign drafts. A great deal of abuse had been put upon the unfortunate head of the late Secretary of State for War because he had introduced this system. He remembered the Army debates which had taken place in this House, and if there was one question which had been pressed upon the attention of the Secretary of State for War in the past it had been the question of a short-service system. The Leader of the Opposition, when he talked about nine-years service, appeared to forget that in his time the ordinary period for any man serving abroad or in India was eight years; and therefore very little change was being made. It was true that the nominal period was seven years with the colours and five years with the Reserve. But if a man happened to be abroad during his seven years service he was detained for eight years. He agreed that sooner or later it would be possible to enlist men for the shorter service because of the importance of keeping up the Reserve. At the present time they were sending out men to India who had not served two years, and some who were under twenty years of age. With regard to the artillery they knew it was to be re-armed. It might be argued that the Secretary of State for War might have done this before, but he thought, when he gave his explanation, he would be able to furnish them with very good reasons why this re-armament of the artillery had not taken place before.

There was only one other matter which he wished to refer to. He wished to ask what the meaning of reducing our garrison on the colonial stations was. In Egypt the cavalry regiments had been taken away and they had been replaced by a troop of military police. He should have thought that near a great town like Cairo would be a suitable place for mounted troops. In India they always kept a number of mounted troops near the large centres of population. He hoped that when the right hon. Gentleman considered the cost of the Army in Egypt he would be able to see his way to induce the Government of Egypt to contribute to the cost of the British force there. He wished to know for what reason the garrisons all over the British Colonies and Dependencies had been diminished. He was afraid that debates of this kind did not lead to very much except finding fault, because at the present juncture it was impossible to criticise the real military policy of the Government. Last year they had a plan sketched out at the end of the session, and they did not yet know what had been the effect of that plan, what progress had been made with it, or how they stood as regarded recruiting. They did not know what the real intentions of the Government in regard to the Volunteers, the Militia, and other branches of the service were. He was perfectly sure, however, that in the Secretary of State for War they had a man who had earnestly studied the various problems of Army reform, and they could rely upon him doing his best. He was sure that they would listen with a considerable amount of interest to the right hon. Gentleman's summing up of the various points which had been made in the debate.

*SIR MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire) said he spoke upon this question with some knowledge of the Volunteers, because he happened to have had the command of one of those fourteen Volunteer artillery regiments extending over the three southern counties of Scotland for which the hon. and gallant Member for South St. Pancras had stated there could not be found a place in any mobilisation scheme of the Army. He desired to make a few remarks upon this branch of Army reorganisation. In the first place he hoped that the number of men would not be reduced, and he trusted that some steps would be taken not only this year but in succeeding years to provide for their efficient maintenance. It was no doubt true that the older Volunteers might never be able to lie in a trench all night as was necessary on active service, but their presence in the corps gave stability to it, and induced the younger bloods to join. He should have no objection to a system under which there would be two standards of grants to Volunteers, one for the younger men who were fit and able for war, and who ought to have a good capitation grant; while the grant to the older men need not be so high, but sufficient for men who were doing useful work in affording others a good example, and giving an air of respectability to the corps. In this way the Volunteers would take the bottom step in the Army ladder, and if called upon in time of war they would be able to give valuable help to the Regular Army. He thought that his suggestion in regard to two standards of capitation grants would encourage the patriotism of the country, and induce the young and strong to join. With regard to camps, he spoke as a large employer of agricultural labour, and he knew how difficult it was to spare men to go to camp at certain periods of the year. In his district, however, they had got over the difficulty by having the camps in the early spring as well as in summer, which enabled certain hands who could not leave later in the season to go. They were very thankful to hear that no reduction was to be made this year, and he also hoped that no reduction would be made next year. He would like the right hon. Gentleman to explain in more detail the district barrack depôts of Militia which had been created at very great expense. A fear existed that these depôts were going to be done away with, but he hoped that in future they would continue to use them. What the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University had said as to the physique of the men was very important, but they all knew that the Volunteers from the country were of better physique than those from the town, for they were stronger and better able to shoot. He hoped something would be done to encourage the young men in the country districts to join, because unless some further inducement was offered them they were apt to remain outside the force. He trusted that the capitation grant would not be reduced unless they were prepared to adopt more than one standard. He thought that was a very important matter. He also asked for information as to what changes were likely to take place with regard to University candidates for commissions in the Army. It was most important that they should do all they could to induce young men to join the Army straight from the University. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would recognise that it would be somewhat dangerous to reduce the strength of the Volunteers.

*CAPTAIN ELLICE (St. Andrews Burghs) thought the argument that we must either pay for our Army or serve was fallacious. The hon. Member for Taunton had asserted earlier in the debate that we must either pay or we must serve—either we must pay for our dinner or else we must cook it ourselves. No one objected to paying for a good dinner, but a sovereign was too high a price to pay for a mutton chop and a pint of ale. What he complained of was that we paid too much for the result attained. In 1896 the Militia establishment was 191,000 men, and those enrolled amounted to 117,000, whilst the expenditure was £500,000. In 1905 the establishment was the same, the number of enrolled men 96,000, and the expenditure £817,000. How was it that in 1905 we were spending nearly double what we spent in 1896, and were only getting 96,000 instead of 117,000? We were spending more on the Army every year and getting less for our money. That was one of the strongest reasons for attacking the Government on the inefficient way in which they had tackled this problem. With regard to the shortage of officers, no doubt on their return from the South African War our officers thought they were entitled to a period of rest, and that they could serve their country in a more peaceful way, but instead of there being a period of rest there had been a succession of changes; officers had no idea what was coming next; and the consequence was, instead of keeping our officers we lost them by retirement. There would be no reform in the Army until these constant changes ceased. He sincerely hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consult the convenience of the officers, and make them love the service instead of hating it as they did at the present time. He believed both the problems of the Militia and that of the scarcity of officers could and would be settled if the Secretary of State would himself take the matter in hand.

*MR. PEEL (Manchester, S.) drew attention to the fact that from both sides of the House there had been a considerable amount of criticism upon the schemes of reform that had been brought forward during the last five years, but he thought from what he had heard to-day and yesterday that, were any misfortune to happen to the present Government, the House would be faced with yet another scheme introduced by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Many hon. Members had congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the way he had carried out the reorganisation of the War Office, and upon being able to carry out many of the recommendations of the Esher Commission, whilst other Members stated that owing to the many changes in it the War Office was in a state of chaos and confusion. In fact, anybody who talked about the War Office immediately plunged into almost Oriental exaggeration. What he himself wished to know was whether the change could now be considered complete, and whether the recommendations applying to the organisations of the different staffs both at the War Office and in the districts were being carried out, because those two things were complementary to each other. He would also like to know what the Secretary of State himself thought about the new arrangements for decentralisation which were part and parcel of the reorganisation of the War Office. Was the right hon. Gentleman satisfied with the progress made? He hoped the observations of hon. Gentlemen opposite with regard to the recruits we were getting into the Army were exaggerated, because if, after all these changes as to pay and so forth had been made, we were getting no better men than before it seemed almost hopeless to improve the class of men who entered the British Army. A rumour was going about—whether true or false he did not know, but at any rate it was a disturbing rumour—that the Committee who considered the question of the new rifle had not absolute freedom of choice as to the best kind of rifle which could be obtained, and that they were limited, especially in respect to the length of the rifle—a most important limitation. He wished to know about that. It was stated that their anxiety was to produce a rifle that could be used by the cavalry as well as the infantry. He was told by cavalry officers that they were pretty well satisfied with the rifle as a cavalry carbine, and that it was an improvement on the old carbine. In view of the criticisms of the new rifle, many of which came from expert sources, he wished to know whether the Committee had absolute freedom to select the best possible kind of rifle.

Under the present scheme were we to rely entirely on the Volunteers and Yeomanry for home defence? In the previous scheme it was not so, but there was to be a stiffening of the Regulars to supplement the Volunteers and Yeomanry and to occupy, he supposed, the most difficult position. As to the reduction of the Volunteers, of course there were several ways in which that could be done, and the method by which it might be done was quite as important as the reduction itself. It was one thing to reduce the inefficient members of the Volunteers and to say that there should be a higher standard of drill attendance, or of physique, and another thing to reduce the number of corps into which the Volunteers were divided. If it was the first course, he thought the Secretary of State for War would find it far less difficult than if he were to reduce the number of corps. At what point of efficiency did the right hon. Gentleman actually aim? They knew from the Duke of Norfolk's Commission what were the changes and improvements to which the Volunteers as at present constituted might fairly be called upon to submit in order to fit themselves to fight foreign troops. What was the assumption of the Committee of Defence? Of course it was impossible to provide for everything in war, but there should be some hypothesis. Were they to go on the hypothesis that a certain time was to elapse before these troops would be actually called upon to take the field to meet a foreign army? If so, how many weeks or months were to be allowed to give a further polish to these troops? He quite understood that in producing his scheme the right hon. Gentleman was hampered a good deal by the legacy of his predecessor, and that it was very difficult to pay the death duties upon it. The figures had been given in another place as to the number of men who had been enlisted up to February 11th for service in India or long service on the nine-years system. He quite understood that until the Indian drafts were provided, and the security of India made perfect in that way, it was impossible for the Secretary for War to commence the new system at all. He wished to know how soon they might expect the Indian drafts to be provided for, so that they might know when the new system was likely to be ready.

Perhaps the most important and vital matter in the scheme had reference to the Militia. The idea last year was to abolish the Militia, and now it was to so alter that force as to make it available for service abroad in case of necessity. That was a far-reaching change indeed, and they had to look to the effect which a change of that kind might have not only on the recruiting of men, but on the condition of the officers who would be put in a very different position from that which they occupied under the old system. He would like to have more information on that matter from the Secretary of State for War, because it bore on another important point, namely, the depletion of the Militia during the last few years through men passing from the Militia into the Line. If the Militia was to be made a foreign-service force it was quite clear that that temptation would no longer exist except for the purpose of attracting Militiamen to the Line long service battalions. That would have an immense effect on the position of the Army. It would be very convenient now if the right hon. Gentleman would give a little more information about his whole scheme. A most important point was the precise relations between the territorial Army and the foreign-service Army. How were they to be connected as regarded change of officers, non-commissioned officers, and grouping, because the proposed territorial regiments, the long-service battalions quartered at home were not for home defence, but for foreign service? They were only separate armies in time of peace. Would there not be a tendency in those separate armies for one to regard itself as superior to the other? The whole future of the Army depended on the connection and the training of those two armies; therefore it was most important to know the relation in which they were to stand to each other. He hoped the Secretary for War would very frankly explain these matters so as to enable the House to discuss, on the Estimates the new ideas as to the relationship between the territorial and the foreign-service armies.

*MR. LLEWELLYN (Somersetshire, N.) said he wished to devote his remarks to matters connected with the Militia. The hon. Gentleman who had last spoken had expressed his views in regard to the advisability of compelling men to enlist for foreign service in case of need. For a long time he had had an open mind on the matter, but he thought the weight of evidence was in favour of the proposal of the Secretary of State for War. It was somewhat dangerous to postpone the decision whether the battalion should go on foreign service or not till the emergency arose. During the late war nearly every regiment was only too willing to go, but there were others not willing, and pressure was put on them not to volunteer. He should prefer to have a small number of regiments enlisted for foreign service in case of necessity. The present uncertainty as regarded the future of the Militia service was very much against the efficiency of the regiments, and recruiting generally. It was perfectly true that the physique was not satisfactory. Mere boys came up for enlistment, and although they conformed to the requirements at the time, they were an unsatisfactory lot. However, what with the training at the depots, good food, and good housing their condition very soon greatly improved. He knew that a very large proportion of Militia recruits passed into the Army, and that was supposed to be unsatisfactory. From the point of view of officers commanding Militia battalions, it was not satisfactory that out of a hundred of their best recruits seventy passed into the Army. But it was good for the Army, as they went of their own free will and became admirable soldiers. He thought that the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield and other Volunteer colonels were apt to take too narrow a view in connection with the position of the Volunteers. They should look at the usefulness of the force generally and not be content to count the noses under their own command. Occasionally great sympathy was expressed with the Volunteers, especially when an election was approaching. That, he thought, might have something to do with the criticisms of his hon. friends with reference to the reduction of the Volunteers. He himself did not hesitate to say that the Volunteer force might be reduced by one-half, and still be as valuable as it was at present. An hon. Gentleman opposite said that it was unnecessary to pay a soldier £10 a year when a Volunteer could be got for £6. There was, however, such a thing as having a Regular Army too cheap and a Volunteer force too dear. What was the present difficulty? It was that they were now taking into the Volunteers men who were not intended for that force at all; men who required to be paid; and who would be much better in the Regular Army or the Militia. The fact must be faced that at present patriotism was penalised. Why should one man give up his holidays for the good of the country, and another man do nothing? Why should one employer allow his employees to join the Volunteers and another not? That was a source of danger. He could not see how the Volunteers were treated badly. Last year an hon. and gallant friend of his stated in this House that he found the capitation grant sufficient for his expenses, and they all knew that his regiment when he commanded it was one of the best. As to shortage of officers, was it not to be accounted for in the fact that amusements were now more general, and the facilities for attending them were greater than when the Volunteer force was established; and, also, Volunteer officers were now called upon to bear expenses which they ought not to be asked to defray.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [February 22nd] to Main Question [February 14th], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But humbly to represent to Your Majesty that the continuous and continuing changes in the War Office are destructive of the best interests of Your Majesty's Army, have gravely disordered the system upon which the Regular Forces at home and abroad are raised and trained, have discouraged the Militia and Volunteers, and disclose negligence and mismanagement on the part of Your Majesty's Ministers, more particularly as to the armament of the artillery, whereby, in spite of the increased cost of the Army, its efficiency for the defence of the Empire has been diminished.'"—(*Captain Norton.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

*Mr. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow) said it seemed to him that the new short rifle it was now endeavoured to force upon the infantry had been condemned, not only by experts outside the War Office, but by all who were fond of rifle-shooting and knew anything about it. Except that the new rifle was one and a half pounds lighter to carry, it had nothing to recommend it. For the last twenty years there had been no improvement in the shooting power of the rifle. When the new rifle was fired there was a very distinct flash to be seen, which was in itself a very great disadvantage, because it would point out to the enemy the exact place were the men who were firing were, and show them the way to get round their flank. The great horns which were put on as sight protectors must, in his opinion, of necessity interfere with the sight of the man who was looking down the barrel, one of them being large enough to obscure a man's head at 200 yards, and such a thing must militate against quick and correct shooting, for which the rifle was particularly designed. In fact, it was pretty generally acknowledged that the old rifle, in spite of the absence of the improvements which had been made in the new, was even now the better shooting weapon. However, they were told that the War Office knew best, so that all that they could do would be to take what the

War Office gave, although it was not so many years ago that the War Office discovered that the rifle they were then manufacturing was absolutely useless after they had turned out 100,000. It might also be recalled that this same Department sent out rifles to South Africa sighted to shoot inaccurately, and bandoliers that shed their cartridges directly the men began to trot and scattered them on the ground like shelled peas, which cartridges were picked up by the natives and sold to the Boers. He knew that the present Secretary for War was not responsible for these things or for the new weapon, as it had been decided on two years ago. Still, hon. Members on the Government side ought to intimate to the right hon. Gentleman that unless he could show that the new rifle had been fairly tested in all ways, they would feel unable to follow him into the same lobby on the Army Estimates. As the feeling of the country was dead against conscription, he thought boys should undergo a certain amount of military discipline and training for two or three years before they left school. They might also be taught shooting with an air-gun, which was practically the same thing as teaching them to shoot with a small rifle. He had tried the air-gun for boys at an elementary school, and he could say that the results were very satisfactory. He thought they should also teach boys the enormous extent of the British Empire and the sacrifices their forefathers had made to secure it, and the easiest way to do this would be to get Mr. Rudyard Kipling to write a history of the British Empire, somewhat in the style of the Jungle Book. He thought that with the encouragement of rifle and air-gun clubs they might get a million riflemen with a certain amount of training, and it need not cost more than 26s. per man per annum. If they had had a million good marksmen during the war they need not have sent to South Africa men who could not hit a galloping elephant at 100 yards. In conclusion, was it well that the men of this country should be encouraged to believe that it was neither their business to guard against starvation in time of war, nor their duty to defend their country in time of peril?

*Mr. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross) hoped that none of them would ever live to see the blood tax of conscription adopted in this country. The hon. Member had suggested the use of the air-gun, but he did not know what use that would be against galloping elephants, although it was sometimes used against cats in the back garden. He did not think it would require a Rudyard Kipling to inspire our youth to shoot either galloping elephants or tom-cats with an air-gun. As an old Volunteer officer, he associated himself with all that had been said as to the lamentable falling off in the Volunteers, and he thought something might be done to encourage that force. He called the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the tribute that was paid to the City Imperial Volunteers by Lord Roberts, and he only took the City Imperial Volunteers as an illustration, because what was said of them could be said of all the Volunteer force. Speaking of the City Imperial Volunteers, the late Commander-in-Chief said they had done magnificently; that they were clever fellows and that they got better as time went on; that he would like to lead an army composed of such men. The Volunteer forces had now decreased by 50 per cent., and he thought they should be encouraged and not snubbed as they had been in the past. Was it fair that during the late War the Colonial Volunteers received 5s. a day, while our Volunteers only received 1s. a day? That was a colonial preference of which he did not think the late Colonial Secretary would approve. He suggested a medal for Volunteers of ten instead of twenty years standing, and possibly a bar for every extra five years, and a brighter ribbon. Everything should be done to encourage the force. As to the merits of the long and short rifle, it must be remembered that shooting was not the only thing for which the rifle was required. What chance would the man with the short rifle have if it came to the bayonet? He asked whether or not the inoculation against enteric had been found to be effective, and whether it was intended to make it compulsory?

***SIR ALBERT ROLLIT** (Islington, S.) complained of the indiscriminate criticisms of the Volunteers made by the hon. Member for North Somerset, and said the measure of their value could be estimated from the assertion of the hon. Gentleman that Members of this House were prone to support the Volunteers in order to get their votes at elections. Upon a question of such vital importance surely no such consideration could apply, especially in the case of men a very large proportion of whom were young fellows without votes at all. Since the formation of the Volunteers in 1859, when he joined, he had had many opportunities of taking part in their work and of observing the progress of various corps, and he believed that as a general rule the Volunteers deserved well of the country. If the matter were put to the test there would doubtless be found throughout the land a volume, not of depreciation, but of appreciation, and a determination to maintain what was at once a cheap, and with ordinary encouragement might be made a most efficient, force. In 1859 the formation of the Volunteers probably deterred a contemplated attack on this country, while their conduct in the recent campaign, although the duty had been discharged under most invidious conditions as to comparative pay and so forth, was of the most patriotic character. It should never be forgotten that to the Volunteers was probably due that intense feeling in favour of national defence which their establishment evoked and which had since been retained, and also the escape of the country from conscription.

The suggestion that the Volunteers should be reduced, on the plea of smaller numbers and greater efficiency, was curiously coincident with a depleted Exchequer, and he could not help thinking that probably the latter fact was a potent factor in the decision. He believed, however, that in this matter parsimony would not be economy, and that a reasonable expenditure might be made most productive to the country. Further consideration was to be given to the question, but he hoped the force would not be kept for a whole year in its present condition of uncertainty and suspense, which was doing vast injury, especially to metropolitan corps. People were apt to forget the great sacrifices made by officers and men, and the debt due to them for their maintenance of the spirit of duty instead of the spirit of leisure and pleasure. The Volunteers had done their duty to the State; had the State done its duty to the Volunteers? Whatever had been achieved had been effected in the face of every form of sentimental and practical discouragement—obsolete guns, which made training unreal, lack of or inaccessible ranges, insufficient grants for transport and equipment which had to be supplemented by the officers and themselves, and so forth. The regulations of 1901, prefaced almost by an insult, showed an utter lack of knowledge of the country and a failure to realise local conditions on the part of the War Office. The real remedy was decentralisation and more trust in the officers commanding, who knew their men and the point of efficiency they had achieved. The real requirements in a Volunteer were a knowledge of shooting, ability to march twenty or thirty miles without undue fatigue, a spirit of discipline, and some drill, but by no means the amount of parade drill hitherto exacted. If those cardinal qualities were secured a force of excellent soldiers could be turned out in a comparatively short period equal to the discharge of the duties of home defence, in regard to which they had been unduly discouraged. If instead of wasting money in the many directions in which it could be shown to have been wasted, a little more liberality were shown with a view to preventing officers and men suffering actual out-of-pocket loss, much more good would be done than by the proposed reductions. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman, who had expressed sympathy with the force, would take into careful consideration all that had been said on this matter, and come to a wise and speedy conclusion, but if he underestimated public feeling in the matter public feeling might become a very potent factor in the solution of the question.

He desired to ask the right hon. Gentleman what was intended with regard to the Militia submarine mining divisions, in one of which he was serving, the instructions for the continuance of training having been countermanded in the South of the country for this year. He also referred to what he thought was an inadvertent injustice inflicted on a class of University students who had served their country well, but who under the new regulations as to Army commissions were unfairly treated. The University of London had been reorganised, and now consisted of internal and external students, but according to the regulations only students in residential Universities were eligible for the commissions, the internal students being regarded as residential, which they were not. This, in a sense, made a distinction between the richer and the poorer classes, and he submitted that knowledge, wherever obtained, if it was able to secure the stamp of the University, ought not to have placed upon it a different value from that given to knowledge acquired by the more fortunate men who could afford to attend residential Universities.

MR. OSMOND WILLIAMS (Merionethshire) said it was unnecessary for Members of the Opposition to condemn the Government for their management of the Army; their strongest critics came from their own ranks. After nine years of Unionist control the Secretary of State was able to inform the country that the Army in its present condition was unsuited for the requirements of the nation, unready for war, and unable, as regarded either composition or numbers, to satisfy the needs of the Empire. Our Army, imperfectly organised, wasteful in its methods, unsatisfactory in its results, was one of the most costly machines ever devised. The history of the last five years abundantly attested to the truth of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks, and they were borne out by the evidence of such authorities as Sir Ian Hamilton, Lord Roberts, Lord Wolseley, and Sir Frederick Treves. Here was the stewards' account of their stewardship, and yet the Prime Minister had asked at Glasgow, What had the Government done in regard to the defensive position of the country? What they had done was obvious. They had concealed at one and the same time the almost incredible confusion of their administrative ideas and the dangerous tendencies of their foreign policy, and were now claiming as a merit that they were re-arming the artillery, and that in two years time the Army would have a gun fit for modern use. After all these years they were commencing to reform the War Office and to provide suitable guns. These were, indeed, great performances, such as no other Government could hope to excel. The same condition of affairs prevailed with regard to the Navy. The country had recently been told that the Fleet was to be disposed in the best strategic manner. The men who put that forward as a virtue had no claim on the approval of the country. Why had not the Navy always been disposed to the best advantage, and why should it ever be disposed in any other way? As to the claim that the War Office was now approaching the state of absolute perfection, it was an absolute delusion. In the opinion of experts the War Office and the Army had been changed for the worse by the Esher-Forster scheme, and he certainly did not think the nation could have any confidence in the critical sense of Ministers who had declared that the rejection of the discredited Brodrick system would be a crime against the country.

* MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I shall have a somewhat difficult task in addressing the House to-night. I feel in the position of Mr. Midshipman Easy in his triangular duel, with the boatswain on one side of the House, and the purser's mate on the other. I can only hope that, in spite of these difficulties, I shall escape unscathed this evening. The fact of the matter is that we are discussing not one Amendment, but three Amendments. I greatly regret, in view of the interest of the subjects, that these Amendments could not have been separated. I asked the hon. Gentleman the mover of this Amendment whether he could not adopt that arrangement, but he was unable to do so. I say that not by way of reproach, but to explain why it is that I find myself called upon to deal as best I may with three important, but dissimilar, subjects which have been attacked from very dissimilar points of view by the hon. Members who have spoken. I am very glad to have this opportunity of saying to the House what I have to say on all these questions. I have always been

frank with the House, and I think if I have sometimes presented a doleful view, a discouraging view, of Army matters, I think they might take that as an earnest that I shall not mislead them, intentionally at any rate, if I represent some things as not being as bad as they would have us suppose, and if I give them some encouragement, which I am afraid very few of them have found for themselves.

There have been two branches of attack. One has been general and the other, which again divides itself into two parts, has been specific. Let me remind the House what this attack is. We are told, in the words of the Amendment, that the policy of the Government has been "destructive of the best interests of His Majesty's Army, has gravely disordered the system upon which the Regular Forces at home and abroad are raised and trained, has discouraged the Militia and Volunteers, and discloses negligence and mismanagement on the part of His Majesty's Ministers, more particularly as to the armament of the artillery, whereby, in spite of the increased cost of the Army, its efficiency for the defence of the Empire has been diminished." I intend to traverse by a direct negative every one of those assertions. I propose to traverse them in general and in detail. I propose to assert and to prove that not one of those propositions is correct.

I will deal first with the general attack. We have been told that the Regular Army has been disordered, that the Auxiliary Forces have been discouraged, and that the efficiency of the Army for the defence of the Empire has been diminished. I am going to endeavour to prove to the House—and I think I shall prove—that the Regular Army is not disordered, that the Auxiliary Forces are not discouraged, and that the efficiency of the Army for the defence of the Empire is not diminished. I do not say now, I have never stated in this House, and I am not likely to say, that either the Army or the Auxiliary Forces are as efficient as they ought to be, or as efficient as we should desire to see them. The whole *raison d'etre* of my being here at all, as far as I know, is that I have done my best in the time that has been given to me to alter a state of things of which I, in common with most of the Members of this House, do not approve. My point is, and always has been, that our forces are not in the state of efficiency that they ought to be in; and my endeavour has been—and I think I shall show I have endeavoured with some success—with the aid of my colleagues on the Army Council, to make them more efficient than they were. Let hon. Members recall one small circumstance. I had not been long in the office I now occupy when, in July last, I was permitted to submit a proposal for the reorganisation of the Army, and much earlier for the reorganisation of the administration of the Army. Now I ask hon. Members whether seven months is a very long time wherein to perform a task of that kind? I ask hon. Members to remember when they charge me with being dilatory—for that is one charge, while another is that I have been too hasty—that up to this moment I have not been able to submit Estimates since I made my proposals to the House, and to remember that the whole of the Army and the Auxiliary Forces are serving under engagements, and that anything you can do to alter these must take a long time. The work of putting the Army on the basis on which we should like to see it will occupy the House and the country for many long years. The most I can hope to prove—and I have this hope—is that during these seven months I have been able to devote to the reorganisation of the Army I have not been idle, and that the comparatively longer time devoted to the reorganisation of the administration of the Army has been equally well occupied.

I should like to say a word or two about the administration of the Army. We have been told that we have disorganised the whole system. Let me briefly recount what has taken place. At the beginning of last year the Esher Committee reported, and I was appointed to carry out the recommendations made. The Committee recommended the institution of an Army Council, and that Council has been formed; the appointment of an Inspector-General, with the subordinate officers necessary to carry out his duties, and these appointments have been made, the officers carrying out with satisfaction the duties entrusted to them: while a staff of Directors has been appointed, their functions defined, and they are now working harmoniously and successfully in their separate departments. The whole of the financial department, in pursuance of the Committee's recommendations, had to be reorganised and decentralised. I do not know whether hon. Members suppose this can be done in a day. I can assure them it was a laborious and complicated operation. These are early days, and I am not so sanguine as to prophesy that the system now instituted for the whole of the United Kingdom will work as successfully as we hope it will, but it has been a very difficult and elaborate piece of work which we have at length brought to a conclusion. The House has expressed a preference for a division of the Army not into Army Corps. I never personally attached so much importance to that system as others did, and my only objection was that the name was inaccurate, for the divisions did not correspond to what is known in military language as Army Corps. It has been the work of the War Office to replace this organisation by a divisional organisation more suited, as we believe, to the needs of the country. We were charged with the creation of a General Staff, and we have formulated the whole of the duties of the staff, their emoluments have been approved by the Treasury, and their duties defined. We have not made the whole of the appointments, for I think we could not make a graver mistake than to hasten in a matter of this kind. We must take care to get the best qualified men and to have a General Staff worthy of the name. The Intelligence Department has been practically doubled, and many new branches have been added. The Leader of the Opposition spoke of the heavy cost of barracks, but I may remind him that we have given effect to our promise, and have already stopped barrack-building to the extent of £1,500,000; we have created a new barrack-building organisation at the War Office, and we have put the business of barrack-building under the supervision of an experienced civilian, who has had the control of the erection of such buildings as the Rowton Houses in London and Birmingham. The experience he has had well qualifies him for devising barrack accommodation for the comfort and welfare of the soldier. The hon. Member for Ilkeston asked whether we have made any progress with the medical service. When I tell him that not only have careful observers made themselves acquainted with developments during the Russo-Japanese War, but we have at last commenced the erection of the medical college in which he is interested, I do not think there is altogether a bad record for the first half year of the work of the Army Council. I can assure the House these things take considerable time. I will not say more of the Army Council than that I believe it is destined to be of enormous value to the Army. I also believe that the Selection Board, which is part of the organisation, has given to officers and men of the Army an absolute assurance that recommendations for promotion will be influenced by no other considerations than the recommendations of the officers acquainted with the men who are serving under them.

Now, we are told that the efficiency of the Army has been diminished and the cost increased, and I counter that by a denial, and will prove that the cost has not been increased but diminished, and that efficiency has been increased. Hon. Members have said there has been a great increase in cost since the period before the war, and that there has not been corresponding efficiency. Now let me deal with that. Is it true that there has been a large increase of cost since the war? A great deal has taken place since the war. We have learned a great deal, and hon. Members who deprecate any change seem to forget the charges brought by the War Commission in respect of nearly every branch of the Army. The expenditure before the war was £20,617,000; now it is £28,830,000. That, of course, is an increase in expenditure. But we are told that there is no increase of efficiency, and I will, therefore, point out what has been the increase in efficiency corresponding to this increase in expenditure. I am speaking of the period before the war. There has been added to the Royal Artillery, in obedience, I believe, to the opinion of every military authority, sixty-six units of Artillery, batteries or companies, and twenty-two and a half troops to the Royal Engineers. There had been a deficiency in the technical departments of the Royal Engineers. New needs have caused new developments, and telegraph and bridging troops, post office and wireless telegraphy men, have all had to be added to the Army. The infantry has been increased by fourteen battalions, the Army Service Corps has been increased by 1,263 men and the Army Medical Corps by 462 officers and 1,210 men. Is that not some value for the money we have spent? We have added 35,000 men to the Army during that time; and when you put that result against the expenditure I think that it is not an unsatisfactory equivalent. But a great deal more has been done. An hon. Member spoke of a deficiency of stores. What has happened since the war? We have put the British Army in regard to stores in a position it has never been in since it was an Army. The whole of the Mowatt programme has been initiated and carried out to the last item. Is that no addition to the efficiency of the Army? What has happened in recent years? Has there been no reduction? The normal Estimates of 1903–4 were £29,800,000; last year they were £28,830,000, or a reduction of £970,000.

I think, therefore, that I have proved to the satisfaction of the House that we have got value for the money we have expended. But I cannot prove that the expenditure as it now stands is the expenditure as it ought to be. I believe that, despite what has been said to-night and last night, when every speech delivered was one in favour of more expenditure. Last year I said that the first rule we have to lay down is that true economy consists in making a machine to do our work, that anything short of that was a waste of money, and anything in excess of it was extravagance. I by no means assert that our Army is perfectly adapted to our needs; and in so far as we are spending money on things we do not want we are wasting money. It is my desire to do everything I can to produce a state of things wherein the expenditure shall be on the right thing and for the right purpose. I desire reduction of expenditure but you cannot make great changes in six months, or perhaps in six years. The whole of our Army is serving on engagements, and when suggestions are made for disbanding hon. Members must remember that any step of the kind would immediately mean an increased cost in the Estimates for the remuneration we have to give to the men whose engagements are suddenly broken off. This process must be in all respects gradual and consistent. If we are to reduce the cost of the Army I think I can show that there is but one way, and that is to reduce the number of men in the Army. Until you make up your minds to do that there will be no serious reduction in the expenditure on the Army. It is said in the Amendment that the Army is inefficient. The strength of the Army now stands at 275,551 men. I believe that in every material particular, except one, our Army has never been more efficient than now. The Leader of the Opposition made a statement which, if it had been true, would have been serious. He said that we were sacrificing the Reserve for the Army. That is a misapprehension. I am positive that the present administration of the War Office would never have taken any step so fatal as that would be. What are the facts? In the last six months the Army Reserve has increased from 74,000 to 77,673 men; and during the coming year there will be an increase in the Army Reserve larger, I believe, than has ever been made to it in the same length of time. So far, therefore, from its being true that the Army Reserve is falling, I say that it is increasing by leaps and bounds, and bids fair to become the largest it has ever been.

I do not, therefore, think the charge that the policy of the Government has rendered the Army inefficient has been established. But there is a point which is a weak one. It was thought necessary during the war to create a new species of enlistment. It was suited to the circumstances of the war, and it brought the men that we required. It carried us through the crisis. But the crisis has passed, and the need has gone for a system not suited to our present requirements. I mean the system of three years enlistment. The result of the three-years system has caused the War Office very grave anxiety, so grave that it has had a very marked effect upon the policy of the War Office. It is our primary business before we undertake any changes, even if they be improvements, to keep the Army fit for war; and if we had allowed the three-years enlistment to go on unchecked the Army would have become totally unfit. What were the conditions to which some of the battalions were being reduced by the continuance of the three-years system of enlistment? One battalion at home had 623 men under two years service and 42 per cent. of the men under twenty years of age. Another had 700 men under two years service and 44 per cent. under twenty years of age. Another had 77 per cent. under two years service and 55 per cent. under twenty years of age. Some of the battalions in the Colonies were in the same case. There was a battalion in South Africa which had, out of a total strength of 842 men, 391 under two years service and 233 under twenty years of age; another that had 38 per cent. under twenty years of age and 65 per cent. under two years service. So serious was the condition of things that when we came to arrange for the Indian drafts we found ourselves face to face with a condition which it was impossible to continue. There was a battalion that required 483 men for the Indian drafts, and had 78 men available to fill the drafts. Another required 263 men and had 25 available for the draft. It was necessary to take immediate steps to remedy this great deficiency. The Army Council took those steps. I was gravely warned that the step would be a failure, and would be productive of most serious consequences. But my anticipations were favourable, and they have been absolutely realised. We decided that as a temporary measure—and it is temporary only—we would have a system of nine years enlistment for the infantry. Hon. Members have spoken of that as a long term. As a matter of fact it is but one year longer than the ordinary term which it superseded. The seven-years term was, as regards two-thirds of the Army, and all the Army that went to India, in reality an eight-years term. But we have decided, for reasons which I think I could show to be adequate, on a nine-years term, and what has been the result? We have already taken over 7,500 long-service men for the infantry, and in a few months we shall add 30,000 long-service men to the infantry; and I hear from every side that the quality of the recruits shows improvement. Were we not justified in taking that step? It has also had the incidental advantage of wiping out the serious deficiency in the Brigade of Guards. The Army is thus being strengthened and is being brought back after the war to a position to furnish all the Indian drafts, and the Brigade of Guards has been brought up to full strength. But this process has had one inevitable consequence. It has put off the commencement of short-service enlistment. That would have been a grave thing indeed, if it were not for the immense influx into the Reserve which has taken place and which is to be increased in the coming year. Because we shall have an unparalleled entry into the Reserve in the coming year, it has become not only safe, but most desirable, to continue this long-service recruiting; and we shall continue it until we have restored the full measure of the long-service element in the Army necessary to furnish the Indian drafts.

A word about the Militia, the Leader of the Opposition commented upon the Bill which has been introduced in another place, and he asked whether the utilisation of the Militia, or the taking of powers to send the Militia abroad, would affect the ballot. No, Sir, that is not the case. Militia enlisted under the ballot are under a different Act from those enlisted for ordinary purposes. They are called the territorial Militia; and the possibility of recruiting men compulsorily for service abroad can never arise. I have been somewhat misrepresented with regard to this question of the Militia. It was stated by several hon. Members that I had proposed to get rid of the Militia. There is no foundation at all for that statement. I had expressed, and I have always entertained the view, that it would be far better to ally a portion of the Regular Army with the Militia as the territorial Army of this country; and I have little doubt that that will be the ultimate solution of this problem. But I said last year that I was not in a position to make that proposal to the House. On the contrary, I said—

> "We must maintain the Militia; and we must endeavour to make it effective for its work. . . . In a great national force of that kind no Minister can effect a change like this unless he has the good will of Parliament and of the nation. . . . If it be the will of the House that we should maintain the Militia, then we must do it; but on one condition only—that the Militia must be made effective for the purpose of war."

I also said, and I repeat—

> "We must cut off from the Militia those units whch are plainly redundant for our requirements."

That was my intention then, and it is the intention of the Government now; and we have given an earnest that we do intend to make use of the Militia by introducing this Bill, which will add the Militia to the ranks of the Army for the purpose of fighting over-seas. We have given another earnest of our intention. We have raised the physical standard for the Militia. I do not myself think that these steps alone will be sufficient to make the Militia all that the Militia ought to be. I am inclined to agree with the hon. Member for Bristol when he said that even a two-years period was too short to make a soldier. That is an opinion which is entertained by the vast majority of soldiers; but if that be so, then I think we shall have to consider carefully whether a period so short as we now impose on the Militia is enough, under any conceivable circumstances, to qualify them for taking the field against a foreign enemy.

I now come to the question which has really occupied the whole attention of the House during these two days. I have been astonished to find that two not unimportant parts of our military forces have been almost entirely left out of sight. I dimly realised from one or two references that were made that we had a Regular Army. I did not realise and I heard nothing to make me realise, that we had a Navy. [Mr. SEELY: This is an Army debate.] That is precisely the point. It is because we will persist in discussing the Army as if it had no connection with the Navy that so many of our mistakes have been made. I come now to the matter which has excited so much attention in the House—the Volunteers. I have had many counsels in regard to the Volunteers. My hon. friend the Member for the Isle of Wight told us that the Volunteers were not intended for the defence of this country, but that they were to preserve the military spirit. They were to be a school of arms, and they were to be chiefly utilised for going across the sea in time of war. I do not quarrel with that application; but I confess that I do not exactly see at the present moment that the Volunteers are calculated to fulfil that particular purpose. I have a view from which I have never varied in regard to the Volunteers. If they do fulfil, and so far as they do fulfil, a real purpose, it is our business to make them as efficient as we can, and if they do not fulfil that purpose or are in excess of that purpose we must face the fact. We have heard it stated on evidence to which there is no contradiction that there is in the Volunteer force a large number of men who ought not to be in it; that the Volunteer force in its present condition is not fitted for war. Let us get it out of our heads at once that there is any distinction between war with a foreign enemy and war with any one else. If our troops fight any one it will be a foreign enemy, and if they do fight that enemy he will be under the best leadership and under the conditions most unfavourable to ourselves. If the Volunteers cannot undertake that task they are not fitted to perform service for this country. But I believe the verdict which has been pronounced upon the Volunteers is not a final verdict, or one which we ought to accept. I believe that we ought to deal with the Volunteers so that it will be impossible for any Commission to say in the future that they are not fit to face foreign troops; and it is the desire and intention of the Army Council so to deal with them that it shall be impossible to say in the future that they will be unfit to face foreign troops. I have had to face this problem from the point of view, not only of a person responsible for the Volunteers, but for the whole of the armed forces of the country, and also as a member of a Government and, indeed, of a House of Commons absolutely pledged to a reduction, or at any rate a curtailment, of the expenditure on the Army. I ask, is it really contended that we should reduce largely upon the Regular Army, that we should reduce expenditure upon the Navy, and on the Militia, and that the one purpose for which large additions are to be made to the Army Estimates is the Volunteers? I do not believe that that is a proposition which any one in his cooler moments will sustain. I believe that when this House comes to consider what are the needs of the Regular Army and the calls upon it, they will determine that those needs shall be filled in the first instance. They will insist upon economy and reduction, but they will not rob the Regular Army even for such a laudable idea as increasing the Volunteers. The hon. Member for Sheffield spoke of some words of mine with regret. I am sure no words of mine could bear the construction he put upon them. I was explaining to a gathering of Volunteer officers—and many Volunteer officers have given me their confidence—what I believe to be the real truth of the situation. I believe every Volunteer officer, with very few exceptions, who cares about the force, who understands its difficulties, and who is anxious about its future, agrees with me that it would be wise and well for the Volunteer force to consent to a reduction in its numbers in order to obtain an increase in efficiency.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): No.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: At present you have a vicious system existing in the Volunteers under which the capitation grant is so allotted that it is absolutely the interest of the commanding officer to take in men independently of their merit or efficiency. Now that is a system which, I think, stands self-condemned. It is a system which we ought to alter. We ought to make it the duty and the interest of a commanding officer to make his battalion as good as it can be made, and at the same time to make him certain that by doing so he will not lose the money which is necessary for the purpose. That is what I believe we can do, and what I believe we ought to do. Here again I come to one of those direct traverses which I have had to make so often of what has been said. My hon. friend the Member for the Isle of Wight spoke of the Volunteers as dwindling away.

Major SEELY: I said the officers of the metropolitan forces.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Well, I am glad to accept his limitation, and I am very glad it has been made. But I should like to point out that, so far from its being the fact that the Volunteers are dwindling away, the Volunteers, who have been so discredited and ill-used, have increased during the last year by no less than 4,000 men, and during that year the regulations which have been so trying have resulted in 175,000 men—a larger force by far than we have ever had before—going into camp. Now, Sir, there must be some slight exaggeration in the charges made in regard to the Volunteers.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: Does my right hon. friend not remember that the officers are 2,700 short?

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, I remember it well, and I am going to speak of it in a moment. That is the really serious question in regard to the Volunteers, not only in regard to the Volunteers, but in regard to the Army generally. But it is not correct to say that the Volunteers have dwindled or are dwindling. So far from that being the case, I have reports of increased enlistments in the force.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: No, no!

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No one knows the Volunteer force, or at any rate a portion of it, better than my hon. friend doe[illegible]nd he has said that certain of the L[illegible] Volunteer corps have suffered. He has spoken of what are known as the special corps, and he has suggested that some special treatment should be applied to those corps. Well, I am not quite prepared to agree with that proposal, because I think that special treatment involves differentiation among the corps, which is very hard to frame, and which I think produces jealousies and difficulties. But I do believe that the object which the hon. Member has at heart can be obtained without classification of that kind. While I am speaking about classification I should like to say, for the comfort of those members of the Volunteer force who have so greatly disliked the idea of classification—which, by the way, exists now—that I do not desire or propose to press this plan of dividing Volunteers into two classes. I have taken the advice of Volunteer officers, and taken it all the more readily because I believe that we can arrange matters so to their entire satisfaction that this classification will take place of itself. Let me state my proposition. We cannot add money to the Army Estimates. I do not believe this Government or any other Government can do it. We can, however, enormously add to the money available for the effective Volunteers. The Vote for next year is really a Vote in arrear, a Vote on account of the expenditure of last year. It is impossible to make any large changes during the coming year. Something we can do; something we intend to do. The hon. Member spoke of the difficulty of getting ranges. It is an enormous difficulty. If you cannot get the range to the men you must get the men to the range. We hope to make much larger provision than hitherto for assisting Volunteer corps to take men to the ranges. We hope to increase the grant to the Militia and Volunteer artillery. But those are small matters, and the large matters, the really important matters, can never come until there are ample funds available for granting those increases. I have taken a great deal of counsel with Volunteer officers; and I ask every one in this House whether I do not correctly interpret their views when I say that the present needs of the Volunteers are more officers, better trained officers, more ranges, more firing, both rifle and artillery firing, more training of non-commissioned officers, larger contributions towards the expenses of the officers in camp, a longer time in camp, greater freedom as to going into camp and stopping out of it, and, at any rate, the embryo of a transport organisation and a divisional organisation. Those things, I believe, we could get if there is only reasonable co-operation on the part of the Volunteers, as I am persuaded there will be. We can get all those things, and more, if this reduction—not a large reduction, I speak of a moderate reduction—of the Volunteer force be effected. It will involve a change in the incidence of the grant. It will be impossible to continue the grant which brings in as a matter of finance a number of men who are not required in order to keep the force going. I think, and I hope we shall in the future—we cannot commence this year, the expenses are far too great—be able to get that liberty of going into camp for a fortnight which is now accorded to only a few special corps. We ought to give to men who go into camp a much larger allowance than a man can get for one week; and if this reduction be effected we can give the whole of that allowance, which comes to as much as £4, in addition to the capitation grant for a fortnight's camp. It will involve a sacrifice in respect of those men who do not go to camp at all; but I have gone very carefully into the case of nearly every Volunteer regiment, and I assure hon. Members that if this is accepted and put into operation there will be no loss to regiments which can fall in, with any reasonable closeness, with the duty which I think we are entitled to ask them to face.

An hon. Member has spoken of there being some want of confidence between the Director of Auxiliary Forces and myself. That is a dream. It is perfectly true that the Director of Auxiliary Forces said he hoped all uncertainty with regard to the Volunteers might soon be swept away; but it was not in his power, or in my power, to forestall the decision with regard to questions of finance, over which he has no control, But to suppose that the Director of the Auxiliary Forces and myself are not in constant and confidential communication with regard to all matters concerning the Volunteers is an entire mistake. I have made a very short and imperfect statement about the Volunteers; and I should like to go into the matter more fully on the Volunteer Vote when we reach the Estimates. I maintain, however, that we are entitled to ask the Volunteers to submit to the same reduction we desire to enforce in other branches of the Army.

If they submit to that reduction we can place at their disposal in a reasonable time all those advantages which will tend to make them what I know they all desire to be—a real contribution to the defence of the Empire. I must at the same time call attention to one view of the Volunteer force, with regard to the truth of which it would be unfortunate if the House were led astray. It has been suggested that the Volunteer force is by itself an immense contribution to the Army in the field. That is a delusion. I am not blaming the Volunteers, who have other calls and duties to meet. I would remind hon. Members what took place during the South African War. There were three calls for Volunteers. We obtained first 11,000 men, then we obtained 5,300. The war still went on and the whole Army Reserve was called out, and men were brought from every part of the world. We then obtained 2,580 Volunteers. What had happened in the meanwhile? The Volunteers had increased by 40,000 men. I do not blame the Volunteers for a moment; they are enlisted for work in this country; but it is an absolute delusion to suppose that they can be relied on for furnishing those great additions which war would certainly demand for the Regular Army.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Does the right hon. Gentleman include the Volunteers who joined the Yeomanry to the number of many thousands and the number who joined the Regular Army?

* MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I have not included those who joined the Yeomanry, because many joined merely for the purpose of going out at 5s. a day. The number who joined the Yeomanry was 6,209.

I will summarise what I have said in regard to this part of the indictment. It is not true that while the Army has increased in cost it has diminished in efficiency. I deny that it is disordered, that it is less efficient for the defence of the Empire. But I must not forget that I have to meet not only one Amendment, but two or three Amendments.

I must say something on two very important questions. The first is the question of field guns. No one can doubt the importance of this matter, but I do believe there has been an enormous amount of misconception in regard to it. What has taken place? It has been said that every other country in Europe has quick-firing guns and that we have not quick-firing guns. As a matter of fact, the United States of America have not quick-firing guns. Austria is supposed to have adopted a design, but it is not known that any guns are actually under manufacture. Belgium is still making trials. France and Denmark have a quick-firing equipment. Bulgaria has adopted a quick-firing gun, which is under manufacture. Germany recently armed with a gun that is not a true quick-firer, and that country is consequently in great difficulties, as expense prohibits re-arming again. It is now proposed to mount these guns on long recoil carriages and so convert them into quick-firing guns. Italy partially re-armed in 1901–2 with a gun which is not a true quick-firing gun. Portugal has adopted a gun, which is under manufacture. Russia obtained a gun in 1901–2 that is not quick-firing. In Switzerland and Turkey the gun is still under manufacture. Spain is still making trials. These facts do not quite bear out the statement that the whole of Europe except England is already armed with quick-firing guns. As far back as 1900 inquiries were begun as to whether a new gun should not be substituted for the old one. In January, 1901, a Committee was appointed and a Report was received on May 8th. In July, 1901, conditions were formulated and designs called for. In February and March, 1902, orders were given to the trade and Ordnance Factories for trial guns, in August and September the guns were supplied, and in December, 1902, four experimental batteries were ordered. In September, 1903, the trials of the guns began, and in October a report was made that alterations were necessary owing to the weakness of some of the designs of the carriages. On March 30th, 1904, the equipment was finally recommended. It may be said that this experimental period was unduly prolonged. I will give the opinion of one of the most powerful and urgent critics of the Government—

"It may seem that two-and-a-half years was an inordinate time for the Committee to have taken in submitting its recommendations, but only those who are acquainted with the minute details of modern equipment and the work involved in manufacturing a specimen gun of a new type can appreciate the difficulties of coming to a decision on the several points involved and the inevitable delay before the trials could have taken place. It would undoubtedly have been a mistake if the War Office had at once come to a decision based on the sample guns at first produced. . . There can be no doubt that the guns eventually recommended by the Committee are as good as any that can be produced at the present day, and are probably superior to those with which any other European army is equipped."

The Report of the Committee was received in March last, and on May 5th an order was given for the manufacture of the guns. The preliminary processes are exceedingly long and difficult, but the manufacture of the guns was proceeded with as rapidly as possible after the necessary preliminaries were completed. I said last year that we were going within the space of one year to produce 126 of these guns at a certain cost. We are going to produce 126 guns at a less cost. It appears to be supposed in some quarters that no order was given until late last year. That is an absolute delusion. An order was given for all that could be made, and I still think the factories may be unable to earn all the money we may be able to pay them within the time. We anticipate that by the end of the financial year we shall have 126 guns with almost all their wagons, by July another fifty, and that within thirty months of the first order we shall have nearly 1,000 guns with eighteen wagons per battery, 1,000 rounds of ammunition per gun, all spare parts, and the harness. The idea that we were going to wait years to get these guns is an absolute myth. There has been, and there will be, no delay, and I think that if hon. Members who criticise the War Office would look a little further they will find that the record we are making is not a bad one, when I say that in the United States the completion of the gun programme will have taken six years, and that the number of guns produced will be 160, and fifty of these made in Germany.

Now, Sir, I come to the question of the rifle. Here, again, I do not think the whole of the facts are fully in the possession of the House. I trust the House will not think I am insensible to this important question. Within a fortnight of going to the War Office I wrote a memorandum to Sir Henry Brackenbury, and I put to him a whole series of questions with regard to the rifle. He answered them in a way entirely reassuring, and the rifle then decided upon was allowed to proceed; but it is impossible for any one to be insensible to the great variety of opinion on this question. I do not over-value, but I do value, the reports of experts; but I think that men who are firing with their own rifles and under all the Bisley conditions are not the best judges, perhaps, of the real military value of a rifle, and it would, perhaps, be more interesting if in that report we had had some details of the actual results arrived at. It is not the fact that this rifle was produced primarily as a cavalry rifle. It was originally designed in response to a request for a shorter and lighter rifle for the Army as a whole. The Committee recommended the rifle on that basis, but the operations of that Committee came to an end on the outbreak of the South African War. During the war the Commander-in-Chief, recognising that a short rifle was most desirable, requested that the work of the Committee might be taken up where it had been dropped, and a short rifle produced. And the short rifle was produced, and, with many improvements, it is now the rifle which is being issued. But I am as sensible as any Member of this House of the theoretical advantage of a long over a short rifle. Against that advantage you must put the advantages which are claimed by soldiers for short rifles. Hon. Members seem to suppose that no trial has been made, but we have issued large numbers to seven different regiments. We have had reports from the officers in command of the men who have had those rifles, and in every instance, with only some exceptions as to technical details which always occur in such cases, their report has been most favourable to these rifles in the hands of the men. We have sent the rifle to India, and Lord Kitchener telegraphs—

"As far as I have been able to test it the new rifle fulfils the requirements. In my opinion it is a better balanced, handier, as well as lighter, weapon, and more suitable for war on the Indian frontier than the long rifle."

Another telegram from the commanding officer of the Seventh Division, dated February 22nd, says—

> "Practising daily with short rifle since 11th. All ranks speak highly of it. Other reports from regiments all favour it in comparison with the long rifle. With so short an experience can hardly express definite opinion. Its merits appear to be lightness, handiness, better sighting, balance, and pull off. Defects principally in cavalry, weak safety catch; bolt and rifle should be connected, lower band attachment insecure, these can all be easily rectified."

In the face of that and of the universal recommendation of every military authority whom I have consulted it would be a rash act to accept the adverse view of the rifle expert; but I do not under-value the enormous importance of certainty in a matter of this kind; and I assure the House that we intend to make the fullest and most exhaustive trial of this rifle in the hands of the troops before we commit the country or the Exchequer to the large expenditure which the adoption of the rifle would involve. We must adopt it for the mounted troops. We shall continue to manufacture rifles sufficient to supply the wants of the cavalry and artillery; and in the time that must elapse before these have been manufactured we shall have carried out most exhaustive trials both at home and abroad which will put beyond a shadow of doubt all question as to the merits or demerits of this rifle. I do not believe the House of Commons can demand less; I do not think it could require more. Another feature is the cost of converting the long into the short rifle. It is possible it may be desirable, when the time comes for considering the conversion of the long rifle to a short rifle for the use of the Auxiliary Forces, it may be deemed better, as the Volunteer force would not be campaigning in foreign countries, to content ourselves with adding the charger-loading instead of converting the barrel as well. That, however, is not a matter which affects the immediate present, but the comparatively distant future. If the War Office is then as at present there will be no slackness in experiments which will leave no doubt whatever that we are taking the right course. I have tried to rebut as far as I was able the charges brought against His Majesty's Government. I said at the outset and now repeat that we have done something, but far less than must be done before we have reached anything like the position which we consider essential.

If I were to put one question above all others which must occupy the attention of the Army Council it would be the question of officers. It is the question of the Army. We are doing our best to solve that question. It is not correct that the change in the Army is discouraging officers or is depriving us of a supply. In the Guards there is a lamentable shortage, due to causes easily explained. I hope we may be able in a few weeks to propound a plan by which this emergency may be met by what I may call emergency measures, and a proper number of officers found for the brigade of Guards. But as regards the Army generally, the difficulty is not reluctance of officers to come forward. It is an unfortunate fact that no fewer than 400 young men properly qualified could not be taken into the Army because the accommodation for them at Sandhurst and Woolwich is not adequate. That state of things we must remedy at an early date; and not only must we get more officers into the Army, but we must have a large reserve of officers, because the demand for officers when war comes will be enormous. We must, in preparing the Army for peace, contemplate the contingency of war. We have to keep up an Army on a basis on which no other nation in the world keeps up an Army—an Army which has to perform in peace the duties other armies perform in war—an Army serving abroad. We require a very large number of officers for the Army, and we shall require in war time an increase of officers which has to be counted by thousands. That is one of the points now engaging the attention of the Army Council. We have already arrived at a conclusion, and I shall make a proposal before long with regard to a reserve of officers for the cavalry. We have appointed a very well-manned and competent Committee to inquire how we can increase the reserve of officers we already possess for the Regular Army. We are fully alive to the need for getting more officers for the Volunteers; and the way we can get them is by making them feel they are wanted, by making their regiments efficient, by making them feel there is need for them in the military scheme of the country, and by relieving them of the cost they are now called upon to undertake.

I have seen much criticism, and some of it, no doubt, has been just. A great deal of it, I think, has not been just. I have been asked whether I took military opinion with regard to the conclusions I have formed. I think, perhaps, I have been somewhat unjustly accused in that matter. I should like to read to the House the views of a military officer of distinction, who has a knowledge of the Army, and who has a knowledge of the War Office; and, speaking of the proposals I have the honour of laying before the House, and which have been so much criticised, he says—

> "The evils stated exist, one and all, and it has been long patent to anyone who would see, that the condition of matters in the Army have been going from bad to worse; and further, that nothing short of very drastic measures, which it was not hitherto thought that any Minister or Government would have the courage to adopt, could give us a satisfactory Army, and one at all commensurate with the public money expended on it. Matters have gone from bad to worse ever since the Cardwell reforms with their unpractical and impossible schemes were set on foot, and all attempts at reform which have since been adopted have been at the best new patches put upon rotten cloth. The present scheme is a complete one as far as the infantry is concerned, the backbone of the Army, to whom the other arms are subsidiary. For years past most men who have thought much on Army matters have watched the decadence of the Army under the present system, and have come to the conclusion that our only chance of meeting our military requirements in a satisfactory manner lay in our having a long service and a short service Army, the former for general service at all times, the latter for home service, except in the case of serious war. This, I am convinced, would be the solution of our difficulties. The Militia question is far more difficult. No one can doubt but that sixty such battalions as proposed will be worth as a fighting force far and away more than the whole of the present Militia force, which by sundry means is being killed. The proposed system would change all this, and raise the *status* and efficiency of the Militia to a very high degree. The scheme appears to be quite sound, but the difficulties appear to be the abolition of a number of Militia units. On every occasion on which it has been proposed to disband a depleted Militia unit, or to amalgamate two weak ones, strong opposition has been raised, and, as a rule, the county influence, backed by a Member of Parliament, has been too strong, and the unit has been left. The plan of making the battalion a home for the men throughout their service is excellent. The establishment of the large depôts is the only sound way of feeding the battalions abroad. The territorial system has been, as stated, hitherto a sham; if it is to be otherwise, the county battalions should be as far as possible in their counties, and only away from them for manœuvres. The strength which would be attained under this proposed scheme is highly satisfactory, and no previous system has given anything like the number of men who have had so much training. The establishment of the ready or striking force has long been felt to be a necessity. No one has, however, hitherto attempted seriously to arrange it. I venture to consider the scheme as one perfectly adapted to fulfil the needs of our most difficult and complex system, and the only considerable difficulty I foresee is that of making clear to the public that sixty battalions of such Militia as proposed are infinitely preferable to the present force, which, out of an establishment of 3,400 officers, has a deficiency of over 800, and out of one of 123,510 Militiamen has a deficiency of over 31,000, to make good either of which under present conditions passeth the wit of man."

[Opposition cries of "Name."] The name was that of General Sir Alfred Turner.

I apologise for keeping the House so long, but I have had to deal with a variety of subjects. I maintain that the position I have maintained from the first has been correct. I believe my crime, if I have committed one, is that I have attacked this matter too zealously. I do think that an Army which is not thoroughly serviceable is too expensive a luxury for this country to keep up. An hon. Member has said that Volunteers had ceased to have any fun, and, therefore, were going out of it. I do not believe that is the spirit of the Volunteers at all, and I think that is a very dangerous spirit in which to approach Army matters. I believe absolutely in two main propositions. We must, in the first place, have a reduction of expenditure, and, secondly, we must have greater efficiency; and I can see no way of arriving at these two conclusions other than by cutting down expenditure and by altering organisation. If the House is content with the state of things that existed after the war there will be no change; if they are content to pay a larger sum on the Army Estimates they will maintain the present organisation: but if they do believe that economy is essential we must at any rate have very clear ideas as to how that economy is to be obtained. Hon. Gentlemen who believe that a change is necessary and economy essential will be as struck as I have been during these debates by the want of any constructive plan of anything but criticism, of any proposal that could result in economy or contribute to the efficiency of the Army. I contend that every item of the indictment is incorrect—that we have not diminished the efficiency of the Army, that we have not disordered the Regular Forces at home or abroad, that we have not discouraged the Militia and Volunteers, that we have not been negligent in the matter of the re-armament of the artillery, that we have pursued a perfectly reasonable course in regard to the armament of the infantry; and on all these grounds I may truly say that the efficiency of the Army for the defence of the Empire has not been diminished, but has been increased.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) said that the House would readily acknowledge the lucidity and the earnestness of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, and he believed that from that side of the House there was a very sincere desire to spare him, as far as possible, unnecessary trouble and anxiety at a time when his physical strength caused some concern to his friends. He must submit to the House, however, that the right hon. Gentleman had not made any real reply to the main outlines of the charge contained in the Amendment, and in the speeches of the mover and seconder. The right hon. Gentleman had told a very fine and glowing tale of the multitudinous activities of the Department of which he was the head. He had given glowing accounts of almost every branch of the military service, and one would have thought from his language that the War Office was at the present moment a very near approach to a heaven upon earth. But if they were to judge from private accounts of the condition of the Army, very different language would have to be held. The right hon. Gentleman's tale was full of promises and of glorification, but they had heard this sort of thing more than once before in the course of the present Parliament. Almost every year when the time came round to discuss Army matters they were offered something entirely new which occupied the attention of the War Office, but after a few short weeks these new proposals vanished into nebulous, but usually costly, obscurity. Those statements should always be judged not at the moment they were made or in detail, but by main results spread over a period of years. Four years ago, when the present Parliament was elected, military matters were necessarily paramount, and the number of military men returned to the House was necessarily more numerous than on former occasions. He would point out the great power which had been bestowed on those gentlemen. The whole fortunes of the Army had been placed in their hands. Nothing they asked for had been refused; every scheme brought forward, however grotesque and costly, had been carried through by force of the Government's obedient majority. Well, as they had had all the power, so must they have all the responsibility.

He should like to notice one or two main facts which seemed to him to derogate from the general statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War as to the efficiency and economy of the Army. There had been a great lack of continuity in our military policy during the last four or five years. Nothing was more important than continuity in the policy of the Army. It was not a limited liability company which could be recast or reconstructed in accordance with the state of the money market; and if subjected to frequent and violent changes very grave and grievous consequences might ensue, which it might take years to repair. He asked the House to notice one or two of these changes in policy. Of course there was the Army Corps scheme, with large staff organisation, barracks, and so on. All that had been swept into the past. Four years ago the late Secretary of State for War proposed to add the garrison battalions to the Army at a cost of half a million of money. These battalions were added, but where were they now? No sooner had they been created at great expense than they were swept away. Four years ago the late Secretary of State for War increased the Militia to a nominal strength of 450,000, increased the pay, and offered a bounty, which added to the cost of that force £200,000 a year. Now that increase had been knocked off, and the strength of the Militia reduced. Four years ago the late Secretary of State for War created a Militia Reserve, and the Prime Minister, in winding up the debate on the matter, spoke of the great Militia Reserve as the strength of the Army! Not a single man ever enlisted in that Reserve! Then there had been in the space of these four years two complete sweeps of the War Office from the highest official down to the messenger boys. He wondered if the new staff was an improvement on the old. He did not wish to say anything disrespectful of it, but he believed that it was not untrue to say that the present administration at the War Office was less representative of the ability and experience of the Army than any preceding administration.

The vital foundation of any Army system was the period of enlistment. Foreign nations hardly ever changed the period of enlistment, but during the last four years it had been five times altered in this country. In 1901 we had seven years service with the colours, and five in the Reserve. It was altered in 1902 to three years with the colours and nine in the Reserve. Last year, at the end of the session, the present Secretary of State for War proposed a long period of enlistment for the foreign-service Army, and two years with the colours for the home Army with six in the Reserve. After Parliament had risen he changed it to a uniform nine years service with the colours and three years with the Reserve; and there might yet be a departure from long service and a resumption of short service at some future date. Five separate changes within that brief period of time! Of course, it was quite true that during that period there were two different Secretaries of State for War and, they were naturally not responsible for each other's proposals and not bound to carry them out. But there had been only one Leader in the House of Commons, who was not there at present, and it was perfectly true to say of the right hon. Gentleman that he had consistently supported each and everyone of these inconsistent changes. The Prime Minister had been loyal to everybody and to every plan. When they remembered the exalted terms in which the Esher Committee spoke of the military talents of the Prime Minister, they could only regret that talents so distinguished and so rare had been so unhappily applied. One result of all this was the lack of continuity of policy as very fairly expressed in the terms of the Amendment. In fact, he thought that the Secretary of State for War should himself vote for the Amendment, and the only reason why he would not was probably because he was too modest. If the right hon. Gentleman had had the drafting of the Amendment he would have probably made it more violent, concluding with some such phrase as that the condition of the Army really constituted a very great danger to the existence of the Empire. He could not think that it was a very wise thing for the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War to talk as he had done in the hearing of foreign nations about the demoralisation which the administration of his own Government Department had produced in the Army; that the Army was not suited to the requirements of the country or adapted for war. He might have added that it was an Army with no properly organised staff, equipped with obsolete artillery and with bad rifles. The right hon. Gentleman did not realise what a bitter reproach that was to his own colleagues.

It could not be fairly urged against the taxpayers that they had grudged the money which was said to be necessary to put the land forces into a state of efficiency. We went into the South African War with a £20,000,000 Army. The country had now got a £30,000,000 Army. The £10,000,000 difference in the cost was a very big sum. It would make a difference in the comfort of every householder. For another thing, it would go a long way to enable the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham to redeem his pledges with regard to old-age pensions; or in adding to the Development Grant in Ireland. Two principal causes had led us into this deplorable administrative and financial catastrophe. First, we had tried to keep up too large an establishment in time of peace. There had been hitherto a reduction of the military establishment after every great war. Secondly, we had acted in much too great haste. It would have been much better for the cause of reform if in 1900 the right hon. Gentleman the present Secretary of State for India had said, as he could have said with perfect force, "I have got to finish the war; I cannot reform the Army until Lord Kitchener and other distinguished generals come home," and no Party in the House would have challenged that attitude. But the prudent counsels which the experience and precedents of the past might have suggested, and the circumstances of the moment almost dictated, were brushed aside by the Government. Expenditure was popular; the House of Commons was what the Prime Minister called "in a hot fit," a phrase which he thought rather revealed the Prime Minister's processes in regard to political principles. In order to satisfy this hot fit something had to be produced, and it was—the Army Corps scheme was produced. The Resolution of that Army Corps scheme was still on the books of the House, one of the most solemn, elaborate, and enduring mockeries that could be imagined. That Army Corps scheme had gone, and so completely that they were reproached for suggesting that it had ever existed. The Secretary for War alluded to it tonight as the "so-called Army Corps scheme," and last session the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "Why worry about a name? You might as well have called them Sunday-school districts."

Yet it was only two years ago that some of them were vehemently asserting that the Army Corps were real Army Corps, and that the right hon. Member for Guildford, with great rhetorical skill, was strenuously asserting that they were, in fact, real Army Corps equipped for war. And the right hon. Gentleman published in support of his theory a White Paper which showed three Army Corps complete, horse, foot, and artillery, a force which he believed was to come into existence on April 1st. They were all gone now, the great organisation which the right hon. Gentleman devised, down to the Teutonic headgear which his fancy suggested. All the great officers who were concerned in preparing that scheme had been scattered far and wide over the surface of the globe, the right hon. Gentleman himself had been translated to another sphere, and that fertile imagination which used to call forth armies so easily was now condemned to a chilly exile in the frozen deserts of Tibet. That was another instance of the lack of continuity in Army policy.

As to the remedy proposed by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, they had waited all last session to know what his plan was. At the end of the session he detailed an extensive and revolutionary scheme of Army reform, and embodied his proposals afterwards in a Memorandum. Was that scheme operative or not? The right hon. Gentleman had addressed the House at length on all sorts of subjects, but he was at a loss to know whether the scheme embodied in his Memorandum last autumn was an operative scheme at this moment. One word would clear up the mystery. If it were operative it proposed a complete revolution. It proposed to divide the Army into two armies, the home Army serving two years with the colours and six in the reserve, and the foreign Army serving nine years with the colours and three in the reserve; to disband nineteen battalions existing at present, and to add to the Army thirty-three battalions carved out of the Militia, thus making a net increase of fourteen battalions, or 175 battalions altogether, exclusive of Guards, as against 161, which we had at present. The right hon. Gentleman had made out the Estimates for the year, and must, therefore, know what was to be done. Last year he said he would not hold office unless he was able to carry his scheme. The scheme at first contemplated two kinds of Volunteers—that had been abandoned. It still contemplated two kinds of soldiers—fighting soldiers, who were to go abroad, and other soldiers. It also involved a great increase of skeleton cadres, which, he thought, should be avoided. The right hon. Gentleman added fourteen battalions, as the result of his economies, to the cadres of the Army. There was not one single particular in which those battalions were not inferior to the battalions which the—he believed the word was "rotten"—Cardwellian system produced.

What was the financial result of this extraordinary military revolution proposed by the right hon. Gentleman? The right hon. Gentleman had published a table in which he showed all the economies which his scheme would produce. Five of the items which he claimed as economies which his scheme would produce were economies which could be produced without any of the alterations which his scheme required—they could be effected under any scheme. The total net balance of economies, if we had this extraordinary military revolution, this turning of the Army upside down and inside out as it had never been turned before, was no more than £63,000. When they considered the results of the disastrous experiments in the past, he thought they had a right to ask the Government, for the sake of such a small economy, not to embark on such a surprising adventure.

The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the statement contained in the Amendment that the Auxiliary Forces had been discouraged was not true. It was true, and if anything could prove it that debate had proved it. And if that were not sufficient he would point to the reduction of the strength of the Volunteers. In the period since this Parliament began the Volunteers had been enormously reduced. They were 288,000 men in 1900. They were less than 240,000 men to-day. And the officers which, as the hon. and gallant Member for Sheffield had pointed out, were deficient in 1898 by 1,300, were to-day deficient by 2,700 from the number properly required. If they poured buckets of cold water upon the Volunteers, as the right hon. Gentleman did in speech after speech, if they made their intention perfectly clear to boil them down into a sort of bastard infantry of the Line, without the intelligence of the Volunteers and without the cohesion of the Regulars, if they put them into a state of uncertainty, the natural, the inevitable effect was that they discouraged all those spontaneous forces of patriotism in the country which had led to the creation of what was a unique force, and one which contributed largely to the greatness and security of these realms.

And what about the treatment of great officers under this Government? What had been the relations of the Government within the lifetime of this Parliament to the great officers of the Army? He did not remember the Wolseley epoch, though he was told that the name of Lord Wolseley was one to conjure with when Ministers were in difficulties. Yet he had heard, in another place, Lord Lansdowne doing his best to demolish any reputation Lord Wolseley had achieved. Then came the Buller epoch. The Marquess of Salisbury once said that his confidence in the British Soldier was only equalled by his confidence in Sir Redvers Buller. He was not going to examine whether that confidence was misplaced or not. Sir Redvers Buller was not dismissed and disgraced because he lost battles. It was not until he made a silly speech that the War Office came forward as severe disciplinarians who would not brook, even in a popular hero, the smallest infraction of military etiquette. Then came the epoch of Lord Roberts. For two years the Government lived upon Lord Roberts. Every scheme, no matter how fantastic or doubtful, was commended to that House by the simple expedient of the Secretary of State's observing, "I may add that in all this His Majesty's Government have the support and concurrence of Lord Roberts." But there came a day when Lord Roberts had been made responsible for too many of these schemes, when he had been made the scapegoat of too many failures and misfortunes; and when he arrived at his office one morning he found a piece of blue paper on his table, which had been thoughtfully placed there by the right hon. Gentleman, directing him not to trouble to come back to the office on any following morning.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: That statement is absolutely without foundation.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said that at all events he was accurate in stating that Lord Roberts only heard of his dismissal on the day when that dismissal took place.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The hon. Gentleman is entirely misinformed.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he would withdraw the piece of blue paper with the greatest satisfaction. The Government had by these various methods lost the confidence of the great officers of the Army, and they could not get any great military name in support of this new scheme. The right hon. Gentleman had been reduced to appealing to them to adopt his policy upon his own authority, and in the name of General Turner, whose victories he did not remember to have heard of, but who seemed to be very anxious to write polite letters to the right hon. Gentleman. Last year they recognised what was due to a Minister who had just taken office, and permitted the Army Estimates to pass through the House without adequate scrutiny. This year they would examine the Estimates with the closest and most unrelaxing attention. He would advise the right hon. Gentleman not to worry too much about details, because, after all, there would be an election some day, and when it came the waters of the boundless ocean would come in and all the castles on the sands would be washed completely away. The Opposition would take no responsibility for any of these new and extravagant schemes. They were under no obligation to put forward alternative proposals, because only Governments could put forward large constructive schemes. Five years of thrifty and unostentatious administration would be required before the injuries lately inflicted on the military system would be repaired. Even then there would be an abiding reminder of the extravagance which now existed in the shape of taxes burdensome to the masses of the people and to the trade of the country. He did not deny that that was a partisan indictment. But even if the Government took credit to themselves for the highest motives and the best intentions, there would still remain a record of profusion and flagrant incapacity, on which the nation, and not the House of Commons, would finally have to decide.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 207; Noes, 254. (Division List No. 8.)

AYES.

Abraham,William (Cork.N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Daves, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,CaptEC(S.Andrw'sBghs)
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans,SirFrancisH.(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James

Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hn. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Johnson, John
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.)
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Rt. Hn. John (Montrose)
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R (Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills, Arthur Walters (N Dorset)
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, Sir J T (Huddersf'd)
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Captain Norton and Major Seely.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hn. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D (Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart

Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,RtHn.SirJ. (Manc'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay,SirR.B. (Inv'rn'ssB'ghs)
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon,Hn J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,MajEvans-(Tr H'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hon. G. Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirEW (B'rySEdm'nds)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,Marq. of (L'nd'nd'rry
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F.Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath,SirJames(Staffords N.W
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford. W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hn. JamesHenry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain HerbertMerton
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt.Hn. Col.W.
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar(Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H.L.W.(MileEnd
Lawson, JohnGrant(Yorks NR
Lee,Arthur H(Hants.Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis(Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hn. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver,Sir Lewis (EdinburghW
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell,Rt.Hn.SirH.E(Wigt'n
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morgan,DavidJ (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel,Hn.Wm. RobertWellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hn. James
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel,SirHarryS. (Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East
Smith,H.C (North'mbTyneside
Smith, RtHnJ. Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hn. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond,Rt.Hn Sir William H.
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E. (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(Yorks. E.R
Wilson-Todd, SirW.H. (Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Main Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the debate stood adjourned. Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 24th February, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—Highland Railway.

And also the Certificates that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Rhymney Railway [H.L.]; South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways [H.L.]; Commercial Union Assurance [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Clyde Navigation Bill [H.L.]. Presented, and read 1^a.

Barry Railway Bill [H.L.]; Hessle Gas Bill [H.L.]; Leeds and Liverpool Canal Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Mortgage Insurance Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed.

NEW BILLS.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the provisions of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897, as to the style and title of the Commissioners, the execution of deeds by them, and the application of the fund constituted by the said Act. Was presented by the Marquess of Linlithgow; read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday next. (No. 14.)

ADVERTISEMENTS REGULATION BILL [H.L.].

A Bill for authorising local authorities to make bye-laws respecting the exhibition of advertisements. Was presented by the Lord Balfour; read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Thursday the 9th of March next. (No. 15.)

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Appointed. The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee—

M. Salisbury.
(*L. Privy Seal.*)
D. Bedford.
D. Marlborough.
D. Northumberland.
M. Lansdowne.
M. Bath.
E. Derby.
E. Denbigh.
E. Chesterfield.
E. Jersey.
E. Lauderdale.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Cadogan.
E. Howe.
E. Amherst.
E. Camperdown.
E. Dartrey.
E. Lytton.
E. Carrington.
E. Crewe.
V. Sidmouth.
V. Knutsford.
V. Churchill.
L. Zouche of Haryngworth.
L. Barnard.
L. Balfour.
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Colchester.
L. Poltimore.
L. Kintore.
(*E. Kintore.*)
L. Belper.
L. Brougham and Vaux.
L. Kinnaird.
L. Fermanagh.
(*E. Erne.*)
L. Herries.
L. Monkswell.
L. Newton.
L. Welby.
L. Ludlow.
L. Glanusk.

All petitions relating to the Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present session referred to the Committee unless otherwise ordered.

HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.

Select Committee appointed. The Lords following, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—

D. Northumberland.
M. Bath.
M. Cholmondeley.
M. Ripon.
M. Breadalbane.
E. Clarendon.
(*L. Chamberlain.*)
E. Chesterfield.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Spencer.
E. Mount Edgcumbe.
E. Belmore.
E. Cawdor.
E. Camperdown.
E. Cranbrook.
E. Ancaster.
V. Gordon.
(*E. Aberdeen.*)
V. Hampden.
V. Cross.
V. Peel.
V. Knutsford.
V. Churchill.
L. Windsor.
L. Balfour.
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Colchester.
L. Rosebery.
(*E. Rosebery.*)
L. Kintore.
(*E. Kintore.*)
L. Belper.
L. Tweedmouth.
L. Monk Bretton.
L. Macnaghten.
L. Welby.
L. Burghclere.

Committee of Selection. The Lords following, viz.:—

E. Chesterfield.	V. Churchill.
E. Waldegrave.	L. Ribblesdale.

with the Chairman of Committees, were appointed a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the Five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill.

Standing Committee. Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of such Public Bills as may be committed to it by the House.

Committee of Selection for the Standing Committee appointed. The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:—

E. Cowper.	L. Balfour.
E. Stanhope.	L. Ribblesdale.
E. Waldegrave.	L. Kintore.
E. Carrington.	(*E. Kintore.*)
V. Churchill.	

RESERVE FORCES BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, this is substantially the same Bill as that which your Lordships passed last year, and it embodies the Amendments that I was glad to make to meet the views of my noble friend Lord Monkswell. I do not think it is necessary to explain the Bill at length to your Lordships, having done so last year, and I will therefore content myself with formally moving that it be read a second time.

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2ª.—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next.

BISHOPRIC OF BRISTOL BILL [H.L.].

Order of the day for the House to be put into Committee, read, and discharged.

SEAMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' FALSE CHARACTERS BILL [H.L.].

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 24th February, 1905.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 62 COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 62 has been complied with, viz.:—Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill; Brompton, Chatham, Gillingham, and Rochester Water Bill; Central London Railway Bill; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill; Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill; Epping Gas Bill; Gas Light and Coke, South Metropolitan, and Commercial Gas Companies Bill; Great Eastern Railway Bill; Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill; Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill; Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 2) Bill; Great Northern Railway Bill; Great Western Railway (New Railways) Bill; Higham and Hundred of Hoo Water Bill; Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill; London and North Western Railway Bill; Midland Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill; Nottingham and Retford Railway Bill; Southampton and Winchester Great Western Junction Railway (Abandonment) Bill; South Metropolitan Gas Bill; South Suburban Gas Bill; Ulster and Connaught Light Railways Bill; Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Bill; Whitechapel and Bow Railway Bill;

Wrexham Gas Bill. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 63 COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 63 has been complied with:—Andover Lighting and Power Bill; Weybridge and Walton-upon-Thames Electric Supply Bill. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PETITIONS.

JURORS' SERVICE.

Petition from Streatham, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

JUVENILE SMOKING.

Two Petitions from Edinburgh, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF CLOSING).

Petition from Bath, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

OUT-DOOR RELIEF (DISFRANCHISEMENT).

Petition from Poplar, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RE-VACCINATION.

Petition of the Cumberland County Council, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

RAILWAY, ETC., BILLS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 23rd February; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table; and to be printed. [No. 58.]

WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUES.

Abstract Accounts presented, for the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 59.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Claims against Venezuela.

MR. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any Report has been published, and, if not, can any statement be made of the proceedings at the Hague in regard to the claims against Venezuela.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The hon. Member will find the award of the Tribunal in Venezuela (No. 1, 1904).

Annual Reports of the Hague Tribunal.

MR. MOON: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if any Annual Report or Reports of the Hague Tribunal, under Article 28 of the International Convention, has or have been issued.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The Reports have been issued annually since 1901, and are communicated to the contracting parties.

Armour for Cruisers.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty when he expects that orders will be issued for the armour required for the three dockyard-built cruisers included in the programme of the current year.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The prosecution of the work on the three dockyard-built cruisers, laid down as part of the further programme for the current year, has not yet necessitated the ordering of their armour. Specifications of this armour are being prepared, and the invitations to tender will be issued as soon as they are ready. It is not anticipated that any armour for these ships will be actually ordered till early in the next financial year.

Belfast Post Office.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can state why, and under what circumstance, a male learner at Belfast, who recently submitted a simple application regarding his transfer from one department to another, was severely taken to task as to the authorship of the application, and made to state from whom he had sought and obtained assistance in the drafting of the application.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I will inquire into the matter.

Belfast Post Office Medical Officer.

Mr. SLOAN: To ask the Postmaster-General if he has received a communication recently with reference to the performance of the duties of the medical officer at Belfast; and, if so, what steps it is proposed to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The reply is in the negative.

Erection of Buoy at Tuns Bank, Lough Foyle.

Mr. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state the cause of the delay by the Commissioners of Irish Lights in the erection of the gas and bell buoy at the Tuns Bank entrance to Lough Foyle promised by him two years ago; and if he will make representations to the Irish Lights Commissioners with a view to accelerate their action in this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The Commissioners of Irish Lights informed me in November last that the delay in placing this buoy in position has been due to difficulties in obtaining the necessary supply of gas. After vainly endeavouring to obtain it in the district they found it necessary to manufacture gas themselves for this and other buoys. The Commissioners now inform me that the buoy was completed some months ago, that since then the bad weather has been the only cause of delay, and that the buoy will be placed in position as soon as possible.

Russian Import Duties on Indian and Ceylon Tea.

Mr. PARTINGTON (Derbyshire, High Peak): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the import duties on tea from India and Ceylon into Russia have been increased since the Sugar Convention was signed; and, if so, whether, with the powers possessed by the Government, any retaliatory measures are in contemplation.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative, so far as the European ports and frontiers of Russia are concerned, but there was no increase of duty by Vladivostock and the other Pacific ports, by which Indian teas were admitted to Russia before the war. With regard to the second part of the Question I am not prepared to make any statement, so far as India is concerned.

Dredging of Burtonport Harbour.

Mr. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when the dredger which has just been constructed for the Board of Works will be available for the improvement of the harbour at Burtonport, county Donegal.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) I understand that a number of previous applications have been made for the use of the dredger, and that there is little prospect of it being available for Burtonport this year.

Irish-Grown Beetroot.

Mr. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on analysis it has been found that Irish-grown beetroot is superior in quality to that raised in Germany; and, if so, what steps, if any, the Board of Agriculture intend to take towards encouraging the growth of that crop in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The average analyses of sugar beet grown on small plots in selected districts have shown that beet of good quality can be grown in Ireland. There is no evidence, however, to show that this crop if grown widely in Ireland would yield a profitable return when the comparatively high cost of cultivation and of the necessary apparatus are taken into consideration. At present the Department do not feel that they would be justified in recommending beet as a general crop.

Dublin Police Commissioner and Irish University Education.

Mr. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can say if, in the negotiations stated to have taken place between Dublin Castle and Lord Dunraven in regard to Irish University education, the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police took any part, and, if so, to what extent.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I am informed by the Chief Commissioner that the reply to this Question is in the negative.

Marine Works in Ireland — Expenditure of Grants.

Mr. O'DOHERTY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether all the moneys voted by Parliament under the Marine Works Act have as yet been allocated; and, if so, how; if not, what is the surplus remaining, and how does he propose to allocate the same.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The estimated cost of approved works, apart from local and other contributions in aid, is £30,663. Negotiations are proceeding in respect of other works estimated to entail an additional charge on funds provided by the Act amounting to £56,100. The reserve, £13,237, will be required to meet possible excesses on estimates.

Case of Nurse Holland of Monaghan and Cavan Asylums.

Mr. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the Report of Inspectors of Lunacy which was submitted to a meeting of the Committee of Management of the Monaghan and Cavan Lunatic Asylums on the 16th instant, in which Nurse Holland was condemned as unfaithful and untrustworthy in the discharge of her duties, and was found guilty of perjury against another official; and, if so, will he consider, in the interest of the public service, the advisability of demanding Nurse Holland's resignation.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The inspectors in their report expressed the opinion that Nurse Holland, on whose statements the charge against one of the other asylum officials was based, is entirely unfitted for her position having regard to her faithlessness in the discharge of her duties and the untrustworthiness of her statements. The Committee of Management by a majority decided, however, to retain her services. The matter is engaging the consideration of Government.

Nationalist Procession through Coagh.

Mr. DOOGAN (Tyrone, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a meeting of magistrates was held yesterday at Coagh, county Tyrone, with the object of having a proclamation issued to prevent the free passage of the Nationalist bodies of Arboe, in accordance with immemorial custom, through the village of Coagh to attend a public meeting which is to be held at Drummullen, near Cookstown, on St. Patrick's Day; and whether, if such proclamation has been recommended, the Irish Administration will refuse to deprive the people of a Nationalist district of their right to traverse the public thoroughfares on their legitimate business.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) There was no meeting of magistrates on the 23rd instant. The hon. Member presumably refers to their meeting on the 14th instant, when they expressed the opinion that a Nationalist procession through the district of Coagh, which is predominantly Orange, would be calculated to endanger the preservation of the public peace, and would in all probability lead to rioting and serious disturbance. It is incorrect to say that it has been the immemorial custom for such processions to march through Coagh; on the contrary, it has been the recognised rule for many years to abstain from marching through the district. Government is unable to entertain any arrangement which contemplates a departure from this rule.

Encouragement of Thrift in the Army.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that the United States of America, with a view to encouraging thrift in the Regular Army, urge non-commissioned officers and privates instead of drawing their pay at short intervals to leave it with the Government, receiving interest thereon at 4 per cent. per annum from the day it is due; and, if so, whether he will consider the advisability of adopting a similar system in the British Army.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) I am acquainted with the system adopted in the United States Army for the encouragement of thrift among the soldiers. In view, however, of the advantages and general accessibility of the Post Office Savings Bank it does not appear necessary to adopt a system similar to that of the United States Army.

Whites Employed in Transvaal Gold Mines in 1905.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what was the number of whites employed in gold-mining operations in the Transvaal in January, 1905.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The figures asked for have not yet been received, but Lord Milner has informed me that the further increase of white workmen in the Witwatersrand mines in the month of January is officially returned as 527.

Chinese Labourers and Kaffir Women.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been directed to the disturbances in the Transvaal on the 11th and 12th December last between Kaffirs and Chinese, alleged to be consequent on the interference of Chinamen with women in Kaffir kraals, resulting in several deaths; whether a report on the circumstances which caused these disturbances has been or will be called for; and whether His Majesty's Government is satisfied with the extent to which the provisions of the Chinese Labour Ordinance as regards communications between Chinese labourers and outsiders are being enforced.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have seen a newspaper account of the disturbances, and I will call for a report on the circumstances in continuation of previous reports which I have received. With regard to the alleged cause, I may say that the information I have received at a later date than their occurrence is that no real difficulty had yet arisen out of the relations between Chinamen and Kaffir women, and that no serious trouble is apprehended in the future. I am not aware that there is cause for dissatisfaction in regard to the enforcement of the provisions of the Labour Ordinance to which reference is made.

ADJOURNMENT.

Resolved, That this House, at the rising of the House this day, do adjourn till Monday next.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament." — (*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said he wished to move as an Amendment to the Address, at the end, to add—

> "But we humbly beg to represent to Your Majesty that, in view of the continued depopulation of rural districts and of the overcrowding and lack of employment in large towns, it is expedient to promote the more thorough cultivation of the land and to extend agricultural employment by legislative and administrative measures to give more security and freedom to agricultural tenants, and to encourage combination in the effective and economical working of the agricultural industry."

He had read the actual words because he wished at once to draw attention to the omission of words originally in the

Amendment referring to small holdings. As there were now two Bills on that subject before the House it was not in order to discuss that question on the present occasion. He also wished to point out that the Amendment had been expressly drawn in the form it was in order to remove any idea of its involving censure on the Government. They had recently had presented to them most lurid pictures of decay and impending ruin as threatening all manner of industries, but these had been promptly white-washed over by the figures issued by the Board of Trade. But the agricultural position was somewhat different, and those of them who had followed the varied fortunes of agriculture knew it had really suffered heavily during the last twenty-five years. The main fact on which the Amendment hinged was that the existing and the continuous depopulation of the rural districts was a real solid fact staring practical statesmanship in the face and demanding a solution. Whether the House looked at the subject as it affected the national physique or as it tended to aggravate the industrial problem and the social misery of the great towns—which he was heartily glad to know the Government were preparing to deal with in some form by extending the powers of the local authorities—rural depopulation was one of the most serious problems confronting reformers of to-day.

The causes of it were plain enough. He had the honour of acting with a gentleman whose absence from the House they all mourned—Mr. James Lowther—who was opposed to a great many of his views, and together they drew up a report to the Central Chamber of Agriculture on this very question of rural depopulation, indicating causes which were familiar to the minds of most hon. Members. He was aware that it would be improper for him on that occasion to introduce into that discussion any considerations of the fiscal question, and he would therefore only allude to it in order to express his own opinion that rural depopulation had not been caused by free trade and could not be cured by protection. Free trade had helped farmers even in the past almost as much as it had hindered them, and it had done immeasurable good to the agricultural labourer. He turned in other directions for his remedy, because he had come to the conclusion that the various suggestions made by the Tariff Reform League meant in their present form a heavy loss to the farmer, and absolute ruin to the more progressive branches of the industry. These proposals would compel the farmer to pay £3 additional for every £2 that was added by increased prices, while they would hang round the neck of the labourer an additional income-tax of 4d. in the £. At present agriculture was emerging into something like a state of equilibrium from a long and desperate period of depression. There was a modest and limited well-being, but agriculture was to a large extent starved both of capital and labour: it was only carried on—except in special and highly organised branches—at a minimum of profit. This greatest of national assets, the land, was being worked at far less than its true value if dealt with in a rational manner. What really stood in the way of agricultural prosperity could be summed up in two points—the insecurity of tenure and the lack of business organisation. Such a state of affairs would be deemed to be absolutely impossible in any other industry in this country. No one doubted for a moment that the land could be made to produce vastly more than it was now producing, and it might carry a very much larger population and give a very much larger range of employment. We had in our great centres of population practically inexhaustible markets for any amount of supplies were agriculture carried on under proper conditions. He did not believe in hot-house methods or in the State trying to create prosperity by ukase. We should never get what we wanted till we stimulated the strongest human motives, till we organised our methods scientifically, and till we created a solid hope of greater and more certain returns from capital and from labour.

They had before them the astounding fact of the enormous growth of Danish prosperity within the last twenty years. The Danes were actually exporting at the present time from £9 to £10 per head of the entire population of agricultural products alone, whereas we, even in this record year of industrial exports, were only exporting from £6 to £7 per head in all kinds of exports. How had it been done? Exactly on the principles he had laid down. The Danes had security of tenure, and were thus enabled to throw their skill, their energy, and their capital into the endeavour to bring out better results year by year. Most of them were of course freeholders, but there was also in Denmark a landlord class, and in the relations there between landlord and tenant there was harmony and freedom. There was no such thing as confiscation of improvements; no such thing as running out the fertility of the land in order to reduce the rent, but landlord and tenant worked side by side, joining in the most energetic effort to stimulate and expand the progress of agriculture. There was a solid business position and an absolute community of interests in Denmark. And then, too, there was the wonderful spirit of combination which had enabled them to attain the highest standard in stock and products, and a most thorough systematisation of the grading and placing of products on the market so as to minimise the cost of production and marketing. These were the corner-stones on which this miracle of progress had been built up. It might be asked why they could not have just the same results in England. Though the soil of Denmark was thin and unproductive, and the original stock of cattle was below the level of that possessed by most nations, the Danes had quadrupled their agricultural exports in the last twenty years, and raised themselves to their present astounding position. Here we had a soil twice as rich as that of Denmark, with millions of consumers close at hand in our great towns, a race as industrious, intelligent, and masterful; and we had too in this country the highest spirit of co-operative enterprise together with the widest understanding of co-operative methods. It might be said that co-operation was a slender reed to lean upon. But he had talked with some of his friends who had made a study of what was going on in Denmark and who had described experiments there in agricultural co-operation. In this country, as the right hon. Member for Bordesley knew, experiments in the farming of a single farm by a number of men had sometimes proved disastrous economic failures, but every one knew that the co-operation practised by the Danes was something of a wholly different kind. While its object was to work up to the highest point every detail of the industry by combined action, the system rested on individual force and energy of character in working the land. He was glad to see the hon. Member for Chester in his place who was rendering such great services through the Agricultural Organisation Society, of which he (Mr. Murray) was also a member. This was not a Party question. He was glad to do honour to such agricultural reformers as the late Earl of Winchilsea, Sir Horace Plunkett, the hon. Member for Chester, and other Gentlemen belonging to the Party opposite. He had divested his Amendment of anything like a Party aspect.

Sir WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston): If you carry the Amendment, you turn the Government out.

*Mr. CHANNING said the hon. Member might rest assured that that result would not happen. He had expressly disclaimed any Party hostility, and the Amendment would only be made hostile by the Government themselves. He might be expected to offer some practical suggestions. He did so with great diffidence. In inserting the term "administrative measures" in his Amendment he had wished to point to direct or indirect action of Government Departments in stimulating organisation of this nature. He hoped that his hon. friend the Member for South Molton would, in the course of the debate, throw some light on the proceedings of the Departmental Committee on Railway Rates. That was a very important Committee. He was not sure as to the scope of its reference, but he did trust that the initiative which had very wisely been taken by the Board of Agriculture in this matter might lead up to something more than mere fixing of railway rates. He wished to see the service of our railways simplified and cheapened so as to secure to the British producer the most direct command of his gigantic and inexhaustible markets, and if this Departmental

Committee could recommend a way of organising the collection, grading, packing, and despatching of the produce of the land, in truck loads or train loads, they would solve a double problem; they would increase the dividends of the railway companies and they would enable a large reduction to be made in railway charges. They would also solve the vexed question of the preferential treatment of foreign produce. He invited them to follow up this good example and he would suggest to the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, who represented the Board of Agriculture in this House, that they should hold conferences, to which the best men in each district should be called; that, if possible, those conferences should be held in connection with the great agricultural societies, and that their object should be to discuss, formulate, and start combined action in regard to the whole systematising of the collection, grading, and forwarding of articles of agricultural produce. He would advise similar consultations for better systematising the methods of stamping out cattle disease and for raising to a high uniform level the qualities of the stock and produce. The report obtained from Denmark for Sir Horace Plunkett's department by Lord Ikerrin's Committee showed how societies could help individual agriculturists to raise the level of the quality of their stock and produce to the highest point. The hon. Member for South Molton had taken a very active part in the question of agricultural education, and he would not, therefore, touch upon that beyond pointing out that there was obviously a field for useful activity on the part of the Board of Agriculture in stimulating and helping to organise these various reforms which could but develop the strength of the agricultural community. Agriculturists did not want State help, but State direction and the removal of unnecessary difficulties. The key of the success attained in Denmark had been reliance on self-help and mutual help. They could not import into England the mere Danish methods. They had only to learn this lesson and apply it to English conditions in their own English way and according to the conditions and limitations with which they had to deal with agriculture in this country.

He had ventured to allude to two or three lines of administrative action which ought to be taken to encourage agriculture, and doubtless other hon. Members might later on suggest additional points. The whole of this group of combined activities for the benefit of agriculture was a work of peace, getting rid of the conflict of interests and cementing the interests of the various classes engaged in agriculture, and harmonising the relations of landlord, farmer, and labourer so that they might all join together in building up the common interests and in working for the welfare of the whole community. That, he thought, was a noble object for statesmen to aim at, and he trusted that whatever Party might be in power in the near future some such policy as he had put forward would be initiated and carried through. But it was mere folly to talk about any such policy for agriculture; it was to build a house upon the quicksands unless there could be laid down a solid foundation of absolute security for the individual workers. Sir James Caird, one of the wisest advisers agriculture ever had, had said that it was time that land tenure should not be any longer a matter of mere sentiment, but should be placed on a business footing. This view could not be better put than in a passage of the Report of the Welsh Land Commission, drawn up by one of the wisest and most generous landlords in the country, Lord Carrington—

> "The partnership was unbusinesslike and unfair. In practice it secures to one partner the whole of such larger share of the profit as he may, under the disguise of re-valuation or re-fixing rents, choose to exact, while there is this curious feature, that either partner may determine the arrangement by a year's notice. Looking at it from the tenant's side, after carrying on the business for twenty years with perhaps only a very moderate profit, just when times have become better, and partly because of his long continued attention to his farm, he finds himself at last in a position to make a larger profit, he may then be met by a demand from his partner for such an increase in rent as will absorb the additional percentage he reasonably expected to enjoy, or else have to give up the business under circumstances which entail an inevitable shrinkage of his capital. We cannot conceive a more unjust arrangement from a true business standpoint."

He (the hon. Member) was not one of those who wished a revolution in the existing land system; he had no sympathy with those who desired to tax landlords out of existence. He held that if there was to be a new system, a re-arrangement of land tenure in this country, it must grow up, like the present system, out of the instincts of the people, and from conciliation and kindly feeling between the different classes interested in the land. On many large, historic estates, and on many small estates, too, tenants were as safe as if they were freeholders; rents had been fixed not by reckless competition, but by fair estimate of the productive power of the holding at the current prices, and tenants had gone on continuously doing their best by the land. But it was unfortunately the case that in many districts the tenants held their holdings on a very precarious tenure. Leading tenant farmers from all parts of the country gave evidence before the late Commission of the insecurity which allowed the tenants' capital in one form or another to be transferred to the pockets of the landlord, not always, or even generally, from ill will or injustice on the part of the landlord, but rather from the operation of a system which was unworkable and undesirable in itself. The record of the long depression had been of the keeping up of rents long after they had ceased to be earned by the land. Mr. Wilson Fox prepared a table from an analysis of a large number of farmers' accounts in Lincolnshire, which showed that the rent instead of being from twice to three times the tenants' profit, as was estimated for income-tax, ranged in a period of depression from seven to nearly fifty times that profit. That indicated a considerable transfer of the economic burden of loss from the landlord to the tenant, and of the value of the tenant's improvements and capital to the landlord.

One of many illustrations was the laying down of permanent pasture by the tenant. In many cases the only remedy to secure compensation the tenant had was to tear up the land and take a couple of white crops before his term was out. That was reckless farming, and worked injuriously to both landlord and tenant. He submitted that when there was a change in the term of the tenancy a fair calculation should be made of the amount each partner had put into the concern as a going concern, and some method provided of paying over to the tenant the value he had created. The landlord then could fairly charge the full rack-rent value of the land. There ought also to be additional compensation where a tenant farmer had worked the land right up to the hilt, and by continuous good farming had considerably added to the value of the landlord's property. An effective check ought to be put on unreasonable interference with the tenant's enjoyment of a holding which, with his skill and capital, he had been cutivating to the best of his ability. There was no point on which an amendment of the law was more needed than in the direction of thus strengthening the position of the tenant so as to give him a fair chance in bargaining with his landlord. It had been calculated that the loss by removal might be from 10 per cent. to 40 per cent. on the valuation, while if the removal was at very short notice the loss might be even greater, because a pressed sale inevitably led to stock and implements being sold at much below their value.

Then, too, the over-preservation of game was a thing against which protection should be given to the tenants. And there could be unfortunate and serious interference with the civil and religious liberties of tenant farmers. In the past, in Wales, in the Lothians, and other parts of the country, there had been unjust and cruel exercise of power on the part of landlords, who, mistaking their functions as the owners of great estates, had arrogated to themselves the right to dictate to their tenants what they should do and think and say in their daily life, altogether apart from the plain agricultural obligations which landlord and tenant had entered into. In these days, when there was such a strong tendency amongst all Parties to unity and goodwill in promoting the development of agriculture, and when such wide and inspiring conceptions of a new future seemed to have been brought within our reach by the efforts of such men as Sir Horace Plunkett, and of many others who were working for the common interest, which all might take their part in building up, it seemed to him to be a very sad anachronism that they still had an antiquated survival of a feudal order of things cropping up. Within the last few weeks attention had been drawn to a very ill-judged letter written by a noble Lord claiming authority to show how his tenants should vote at a certain election. They had also recently had a case which affected a right hon. and gallant Member of this House. He thought that any one who had known him during the twenty years he had been a Member of this House would know that the last thing he would wish to do was to make a personal attack or to say a word which would give offence or pain to any of his colleagues. With regard to the case to which he referred there was this striking circumstance that the right hon. and gallant Member had admitted that his tenant, Mr. Horne, was an excellent farmer of whom he had no reason to complain. He had received a letter from Mr. Horne expressing approval of the right hon. and gallant Member's provision of buildings and cottages upon his estate. This was a case in which both sides had discharged their duties in a proper spirit and in the way that such a duty ought to be discharged as regarded an agricultural contract. But these two gentlemen happened to be very keenly opposed to each other in politics. Mr. Horne not only felt very strongly upon political questions generally, but he also felt very strongly upon the question of land reform. He wished to lay this matter before the House in a temperate spirit and simply as a definite matter of principle. The question was solely this: whether Mr. Horne was to be free to argue the case of tenant right in his village meetings, and to urge reforms he thought essential for farmers like himself, or whether that course was to involve him in disability and loss. That would be, in his opinion, carrying the claims of landlordship too far. It seemed to him that it was wrong to import into a purely agricultural contract an obligation that the tenant farmer was to hold his tongue upon questions in regard to which he happened to feel most strongly. This was a practice against which he felt bound to enter a most emphatic protest. It was true that the right hon. and gallant Member did not give Mr. Horne notice to quit, but when the right hon. and gallant Member wrote to all the other farmers on his estate that for Mr. Horne to advocate such reforms as those he had ventured to lay before the House to-day, reforms which the best tenant farmers in the country, men whose names were household words, had expressed themselves in favour of before the Agricultural Commission, and at the same time to retain his farm, upon which he was admittedly doing his duty under his agricultural contract, would be contrary to self-respect, the action of the right hon. and gallant Member came as near to evicting his tenant as could very well be done. It made it impossible for a high-spirited man to retain his holding. He had a letter from Mr. Horne in which he stated that a paper was signed between himself and the agent in which Mr. Horne while offering the option of immediately giving up his farm, or of leaving it in twelve months time, he recorded his own willingness to stop, and his own appreciation of the farm, the ultimate result was that he was obliged to look out for a farm elsewhere and to part with his stock at a moment's notice, and undoubtedly at great loss to himself. He had not made any personal attack on the right hon. and gallant Member opposite, nor had he imputed motives, but he wished to make in the House of Commons an emphatic protest against the importation of this sort of consideration into purely agricultural contracts. It was absolutely impossible for them to arrive at the satisfactory results which most agricultural reformers wished to see if a tenant farmer, as a condition of holding his farm, had to surrender convictions which he rightly or wrongly conceived it necessary to advocate on behalf of the men engaged in the same industry as himself. It was possible to attach too much importance to such action, which naturally tended to correct itself. It was against the spirit of the times. He only alluded to it as a jarring note in the general tendency to the harmonious working out of the agricultural future. In view of the present position of agriculture, and in view of what had been done by small communities like Denmark and in Ireland by combination, conciliation and self-help, he appealed to the

Government and to the House to receive favourably this amendment, and to welcome and push forward the reforms which he had endeavoured to lay before the House.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said his excuse for speaking upon this question was that ever since he had taken an interest in politics the question of the land, and its relation to the economic welfare of the country, had been one of the chief spheres of his interest and study. If he were to say what he intended, he should throw himself counter to what was evidently going to be the mainstring of this debate. He agreed with his hon. friend the Member for Northamptonshire in every one of the minor agricultural reforms which he had raised, for they were every one needed in order to improve the agriculture of this country. He was one of those who thought that any or even all of these minor remedies would not do very much good in the direction of solving the land question of this country unless they went very much deeper and further than was now suggested. Why was it that Denmark, as they had been told, was able to produce and export in agricultural produce alone a larger amount per head of its population than this country was able to export with all its manufactures? There was only one answer which he had been able to discover, and it was that the land system of Denmark was infinitely better than our own. The land in Denmark and the climate were not so good as ours, and yet that country furnished an illustration of prosperity which had been built up in about twenty years by the industry of the people, because those who laboured enjoyed the results of their labour. He did not hesitate to say that in this country they had the worst land system of any civilised country in the world. This state of things had come about because when they were going through the period of transition from the feudal system to the present system, unfortunately, largely by an accident, the land was enabled to escape its proper responsibilities, whilst at the same time it was allowed to retain its privileges. That, in his opinion, was the reason why they could never hope to put the land of this country to the use it ought to be put to, and never obtain from the land the produce which they ought to get until they had brought about a fundamental alteration in the system. He was not going to labour that question, because it was quite clear that the debate would be devoted mainly to the question of minor agricultural improvements.

He would just take one illustration which he thought would enforce what he had been saying. It was a case which he came across a few weeks ago in Scotland, where they had been developing a new fruit-growing industry. The new industry of fruit-growing was entered upon in Perthshire. The land had been originally rented at £1 an acre, but for this new industry the rent was doubled. When the industry had proved a success the landowner was enabled to ask for and to obtain £10 an acre for the land required for the extension of the industry. It was obvious that so long as that could exist it was a direct barrier in the way of increasing the produce of the country. He was talking the other day to a farmer who, complaining bitterly about the state of agriculture, was inclined to go in for the quack remedies of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford in the way of protection. He asked him what was, on the average, the amount that would remain to him after his hard labour on the land, and he replied that for the expense of his household it was less than £200. The rent of that man's farm was £400 a year. The hon. Member had never been able to see what principle of justice there was in a system by which the man who worked received only one-half from the result of his labour as compared with the person who happened to own the land on which he was permitted to work. During the period of the Corn Laws in this country, rents went up 150 to 200 per cent. above what they were at the end of the preceding century. Taking this country as a whole, rents had never yet returned to a proper economic level, and if we required to turn out in this country the amount of produce of which the land was capable we should have to alter our system in such a way that land would come into the market upon a free-trade basis, so that it would go at its real value to those who could use it best.

He was one of those who believed there was a close and intimate connection between the condition of agriculture and the unemployed in our large towns. He did not mean to say that he believed that the present industrial population could be removed from the towns and placed on the land with any great economic advantage, but he believed that the evils of our land system were very real. We had almost perpetually a large class of unemployed in our large towns, and a large number of them were in poverty. So long as it was in the power of a class to control land, and to deny the access of labourers to land which they ought to have, it was natural that many people should be kept practically in perpetuity below the level of proper existence. A remedy was tried in one of our Colonies a few years ago which, in his opinion, would be more effective in this country than any that had been recommended. It was to take off the shoulders of those who worked the land the burdens they at present unjustly bore and to place them on the ownership of the land, in order to give a motive to all owners that their land should be put to the best possible use. In New South Wales that took the form of a small tax on the capital value of the land, and the result of that reform had been very striking in relieving the burdens of those who occupied the land. He quite agreed that there were many burdens on the shoulders of agriculturists which they ought not to be called upon to bear. It was in 1896 that this reform was adopted in New South Wales, and he had seen a report giving the results which had arisen from it. In the four years prior to the adoption of this change the number of unemployed registered in New South Wales was respectively 18,606, 12,145, 13,500, and 14,000; but in the three years immediately following the numbers fell as follows—6,400, 4,100, and 3,400. He did not know of any influence in the colony during that period which could have brought about that result except the change of which he was speaking. In one year after the adoption of that Act a great speculative estate known as the Peel River Estate, which had previously been withheld from use, was broken up into farm lots and offered at auction. During the three years following the adoption of the Act the area of land under cultivation increased by 905,000 acres—50 per cent. over the entire area previously under cultivation. He believed we should have to adopt some such remedy in this country in order to relieve the farmers of the burdens which at present were placed on the practical machinery of their industry, and which ought to be borne by other parties. He did not suppose these views would find the support of a majority in the House at the present moment, but he was glad to have the opportunity of seconding the Amendment in order that he might say so much on the security of the tenants, and the bringing of the land into agricultural use at its real value. These two things were required to enable us to make the land as productive and useful as that of Denmark.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly beg to represent to Your Majesty that, in view of the continued depopulation of rural districts and of the overcrowding and lack of employment in large towns, it is expedient to promote the more thorough cultivation of the land and to extend agricultural employment by legislative and administrative measures to give more security and freedom to agricultural tenants, and to encourage combination in the effective and economical working of the agricultural industry.' "—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY (Lincolnshire, Horncastle) said he noticed that the present Amendment had a feature in common with the others which had been moved on the Address. It contained a number of propositions which, no doubt, did great credit to the framer of the Amendment, because by those numerous propositions an effort was made to draw into the net all those who were in favour of the various propositions put forth. There was a suggestion in the Amendment that efforts should be made to bring more people back to the land. It was suggested that there should be greater security, that fixity of tenure should be granted, and that the system of combination should be encouraged among the farmers of this country. Though several of these propositions were good, he was afraid that, unfortunately, they were mutually destructive. It appeared to him that by establishing another lot of owners, or half owners, on the land, they would make the acquisition of small holdings and the bringing of the people back to the land far more difficult than it now was. The supporters of the Amendment appeared to desire the Government to set about land reform, and to entirely alter the land system of this country, giving existing tenants and occupiers practically fixity of tenure, freedom of cultivation, free sale, and all those other reforms which some gentlemen were very anxious to see carried. He was bound to say that if they carried any such scheme as that they would make the task of bringing the people back to the land and the establishment of small holdings far harder than it was at the present moment. Speaking from pretty large experience he could state that frequently one of the difficulties in providing allotments for labourers was the difficulty of getting out the tenant and meeting the heavy tenant-right he demanded for clearing out. So far as his personal experience was concerned, he could say that his tenants had behaved well in that respect. They had given up land on several occasions, but many of them had required a deal of pressing to do it.

He was not surprised that a certain confusion of ideas existed in the minds of some gentlemen on this subject. It was only the other day that the Leader of the Opposition made a speech on agricultural questions to a deputation which came to him to ask for the repeal of the law by which Canadian store cattle were admitted into this country. The reply of the right hon. Gentleman showed the same confusion of ideas. He said he was in favour of the repeal of the Act which admitted Canadian stores into this country. So far, so good; that was a matter on which there might be difference of opinion. The right hon. Gentleman said that that would bring back the people to the soil. Now, he believed that that was a fallacious argument. He should have thought that the introduction of cheap Canadian store cattle would have sent the agricultural labourers to the towns, because more land would be laid down in grass and less would be kept under the plough. From his own practical experience he could say that land laid down in grass employed fewer people than land under the plough; and if he could buy Canadian store cattle cheap he would put land now under the plough under grass. There was often a confusion of ideas on the part of those who advocated agricultural reforms, which were very pleasing in theory. No doubt he would be told that he was going on wrong lines. The mover of the Amendment, in his able and temperate speech, argued that if greater security were given to the sitting tenant or occupier he would be more inclined to use his capital, and by that means to employ more labour. Did the hon. Member really know of any concrete case of a tenant who did not now receive ample compensation for his improvements? The hon. Gentleman had quoted a case from Wales where the landlord was an authority on this subject, and a noble relation of his own.

MR. CHANNING said that the whole of the evidence he had laid before the House was given before the English Agricultural Commission, on which he had the honour of a seat.

*LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY said he had not heard all the hon. Gentleman's speech, and he certainly did not hear him quote an English case, only a case of Lord Carrington's, who was a statesman that had stuck well to his Party. But passing to the question of security for improvements and the capital expended on a farm, he would ask any hon. Gentleman opposite who had taken a farm and had paid the outgoing tenant compensation for seeds, manure, etc., whether he considered he had disgracefully robbed the outgoing tenant. Was it the case that when he came to reap the first year's harvest he thought it was a shame that the outgoing tenant had got too little money? Could a single tenant farmer be got who would give evidence that the money he had paid to the outgoing tenant was not sufficient? After all, that was the best test of whether the existing system was a just and proper security for the improvements, work, and manure the outgoing tenant had put into the farm. He was sorry to say that his experience was just the reverse. It had been his fate to take a good many farms, and on every occasion he had had to pay the outgoing tenant very heavily; and so far from feeling that he had done him injustice in what he had paid for cake, seeds, permanent pasture, and winter crops, he found that on almost every occasion his first year's return resulted in a loss or a blank failure, and in addition he had to pay the outgoing tenant compensation for much that he did not want. Practice wae better than theory. At the present moment what happened in Scotland in the case of an outgoing tenant of a sheep farm? Both the outgoing and the incoming tenant appointed a valuer, and they appointed what was called an oversman to give a sort of final decision. The three gentlemen laid their heads together and said that the value of the sheep stock was so much. In almost every case the incoming tenant had to pay a third more for the sheep stock than it was worth. He himself had taken over the sheep stock of a farm for £3,000, and after having kept the sheep for four or five months he had sold them at Perth auction mart for £2,000. These were facts. This system of valuation affected the whole state of agriculture in this way. The incoming tenant had to take over the sheep stock worth £2,000 at the price of £3,000, and, therefore, he had to farm his holding under similar conditions as a company whose undertaking was over-capitalised.

There was another aspect of this question. The system advocated by the Amendment would amount practically to the establishment of dual ownership. The seconder of the Amendment went into the whole principle of the land tenure of the country and asked whether the landlord was right or wrong in trying to get as much out of his estate as possible. He would not go into the ethics of the question, but why should not a man invest his money in land and try to get as much out of his investment as a grocer tried to get the best out of his investment in his shop? If it was right for the grocer, why was it wrong for the landlord? Why not apply the same principle to a newspaper proprietor, or to a large and successful grocer like Sir Thomas Lipton? An hon. Gentleman opposite said that the land system of England was the worst in the civilised world; but would any gentleman say that dual ownership was better than the existing system? The precedent of Ireland did not encourage the adoption of such a system. It had been given a fair trial in Ireland, and when it was first started they were told that it would cure the Irish land difficulty. They knew that it had had exactly the reverse effect. It had, indeed, been found such an utter failure that recourse had again been had to single ownership under the recent Irish Land Act. There could not possibly be a better case for not altering the present system to dual ownership.

But could not anything be done to assist agriculture as a whole? His own opinion was, and he had often heard it expressed on the other side of the House, that they would never be able to get agriculture into a proper position until they had some real security under the existing system with some finality about it. He had heard hon. Gentlemen opposite saying on Army and tariff reform questions that the very greatest disasters were being caused by the uncertainty; that trade was being unsettled, and that there should be an instant appeal to the electorate. It was acknowledged that agriculture was not in a satisfactory condition at present, and the uncertainty as to the future of the agricultural system caused by the suggestions contained in the Amendment was unprecedented. He did not know whether it was the recognised policy of the Opposition to alter the present system of land tenure if they were returned to power; but as long as uncertainty existed there would be hesitation in investing money in land. He was absolutely convinced that it would be an enormous benefit to this country if the number of small freeholders were increased. The question that was to be solved was how that could be brought about. That excellent result would never be achieved by taking away from the landlords a certain number of rights and handing them over to the tenants. Then there would be two joint owners. The question of increasing the number of small freeholders was one of enormous difficulty. He knew in his own experience that when tenants were asked to purchase they replied, "Oh, no; we would much sooner remain tenants and make the best bargain we can with the landlord." That was perfectly easily explained. If a man wished to buy a small holding he required a certain amount of capital. But what would be his position? One bad year would very nearly break him, and two bad years would certainly accomplish it. If the roof of his farmhouse were blown off in a storm he would have to borrow more money to replace it. If he were a tenant the landlord would have to bear the expense, but as a peasant proprietor the man would have to stand the racket himself. Again, a man with a small capital could farm many more acres than he could buy. Therefore, although he desired to see a greater number of small freeholders, he was afraid it was only a dream except on certain land specially adapted for small proprietors.

A great deal had been said by the mover of the Motion with reference to co-operation and combination. The other day he attended a meeting convened by his hon. friend the Member for Chester, to whom all honour was due for his efforts to promote this excellent object. He himself was only too anxious to assist this movement, and should be delighted to hear from the Government that they were prepared to help it forward. But he did not believe that any immediate good would be obtained from this movement. Old customs were hard to get over, and no people were so conservative as farmers. The system of paying by instalments and payments in kind was engrained in them, and it would require a great deal to get rid of it. What was wanted was a better understanding with the railway companies. It was admitted that preferential rates were given for bulk; and it was stated that if the farmers combined they might be able to beat down the railway companies. He did not charge the railway companies with dishonesty; but undoubtedly they carried foreign produce at a far cheaper rate than home produce. What was the reason? It was because the railway companies had spent millions in erecting docks and warehouses at ports in order to encourage foreign trade. Had the railway companies spent even a thousand pounds in erecting warehouses in country towns where produce could be stored until there was a full train load? In conclusion, he would say that there was no advantage in tinkering with our land laws He was not a protectionist; all he wanted was free trade and equality with foreign producers. Until they were placed on an equality with foreigners they could never hope to compete successfully. He hoped that the Government would look with more sympathy on the question than previous Governments had done.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) could not help thinking that when the noble Lord referred to the confusion of ideas existing upon the question of the importation of Canadian stores into this country, that the confusion of ideas rested with the noble Lord himself. He understood the noble Lord to argue that the importation of Canadian stores into this country encouraged the laying down of grass on English farms, whereas it had the exactly contrary effect. As a matter of fact, Canadian stores were imported into the arable districts, where the ground was ploughed up for the very purpose of providing them with food stuffs. It was the stoppage of the importation of the Canadian stores which had resulted in the laying down of land to grass, because farmers had now to depend upon home-bred stock, which required a certain amount of grass upon which to feed. He had in his mind several farms, where, after the importation of Canadian stores was prohibited, the land was laid down to grass, and cows were kept. It had been realised in Canada itself that the prohibition of the importation of this class of animal had been of great advantage to the agriculture of that country, because instead of sending this stock straight from the prairie, as before, it was now fed in Canada and imported into this country in the shape of beef. He very much doubted whether, even if the prohibition were taken off, there would ever be that free importation of stores which there had hitherto been, because to-day it had been found to be more profitable to feed them at home and export them as beef. There was no ground for the fear which the noble Lord had expressed. The feeling of uncertainty in the minds of the farmers with regard to the future of agriculture in this country must be looked for in other directions. He rather thought those fears had their foundation in the Tariff Reform Association and its programme, rather than any other source.

The Amendment before the House raised a point, however, which must appeal to all, whether they agreed on the question of Canadian stores or not, and that was the depopulation of the country districts. That question had been used as an argument for a change in the fiscal policy of the country, but the depopulation of the rural districts was not a sign of the failure of agriculture in the country. Probably at the present time there was no country where agriculture was so prosperous or where the system of small holdings, which was the real cure for rural depopulation, had been extended with greater effect than in Denmark. Denmark was a free-trade country, and in no other country was agriculture more prosperous, or did people make money more regularly out of it. Small holdings brought them to the question of the way in which tenure effected the population of the country districts. He did not think that the alteration of tenure of land in this country would affect the question of population, though much might be done by the extension of small holdings. If they wanted to encourage small holdings the simplest method was to try and preserve those which existed, and, if possible, to have a valuation rent of every holding under £50 a year—every holding where the work was done mostly by the occupier and his family. He believed that the bulk of the farm valuations in Scotland or in this country were conducted with perfect regularity and honesty. He himself had had valuation rents fixed on farms large and small, and he believed that those valuations had been fixed with the utmost fairness, and therefore he did not assume that, because the sheep valuations of Scotland had been conducted on an improper basis in the past, it was impossible to fix these valuations rents as he suggested on a fair basis. There was nothing in the Motion that suggested that the sheep farm valuations should be adopted as a basis of the valuation here.

He thought the encouragement of small holdings with the view of checking the depopulation of the country districts was the first step to take into consideration before touching the general question. It was not always the case that the large tenant farmers desired to remain on one farm; some of the most enterprising farmers in Scotland were those who liked to change their farms frequently, who would go to a farm and build up a good stock and then have a sale, because they knew they could get a good price for the stock which they had, and then go to another farm and have another sale. So far from these being farmers who ran away from their farms, they were among the most enterprising agriculturists in Scotland. Apart entirely from the question of small holdings and the creation of small holdings, he thought the scale of unused improvements ought to be revised as a knowledge of their value became greater. We knew a good deal more now about unextracted manure and unexpired improvements than when the scale was evolved, and the Board of Agriculture ought to avail itself of the increase of such knowledge so that it might alter the scale.

There was another point which required attention, and that was the damage done by game, not only furred but feathered. Now that pheasant breeding had become almost universal, game inflicted a considerable amount of damage on farmers. He had always looked upon the death of the late Mr. Hanbury as a great national loss. He had just made a start at the Board of Agriculture and its methods when he died, and it would be a most deplorable thing if the impetus which he gave to this matter should be lost. The literature which the Board of Agriculture sent out with regard to improvements of agricultural methods and the introduction of scientific and business-like methods in the prosecution of this industry was admirable, but he thought the Board might do a great deal more for the industry in the way of object-lessons, for which we now had to go abroad. He regarded the rural depopulation of the country as a grave danger. They had heard that day much of the self-reliance of agriculturists, and he trusted that that self-reliance would always be a leading characteristic. But, at the same time, let them have along with that intelligence and industry, which had been so remarkably demonstrated both in the old world and the new, that efficiency in methods of collection of marketing and agricultural produce which was the real root of success in the agricultural system of any country. There had been a great revival of agriculture in many foreign countries, and a far greater revival amongst ourselves. It was far more difficult for a Government Department here to give agriculture that assistance which it received in other States because it had no control over the railways, but it might foster combination and it might take a direct interest in experiments which were made. It might show a little of that activity which was shown by corresponding departments in America and on the Continent, and in so doing it would eventually check that process of depopulation which was a matter of great concern to them all.

Mr. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock) said he shared the regret of the mover of the Amendment at the continued depopulation of the rural districts, and the consequent overcrowding and lack of employment in some of our large towns. One of the evils involved lay in the fact that the scarcity of men left in the rural districts led to a limitation of the output of our food supply, with the result that our position was made more precarious in that we were rendered more dependent on foreign supply in time of war. Another consequence of the movement of the population from the country must be the physical degeneration of the race. One of the chief causes of the exodus seemed to him to be the greatly reduced prices of agricultural produce, and another was the present system of education in the rural districts, which had not hitherto been of a character likely to make boys and girls take an interest in rural pursuits. He expressed a hope that the recent Education Bill, by placing education under the control of people acquainted with the needs of the districts, would do something to remedy this, and to secure for rural lads and girls in agricultural neighbourhoods an education better calculated to induce them to follow the normal pursuits of the districts in which they lived. With respect to the reduction in the price of agricultural produce, he pointed out that while the annual value of such produce sold in the country in the six years 1872 to 1877 was £255,000,000, the value of such produce sold in the period 1892-97 was £175,000,000. Such a falling-off must seriously affect employment in the rural districts and tend to force the people into the towns. The agricultural classes had, of course, shared with other sections of the community the advantages of cheap food, but it was evident that upon an industry so reduced there could not legitimately be placed burdens which were no doubt just and equitable in times of greater prosperity. The average British agriculturist had, he ventured to say, received during the last twenty-five years no interest whatever on the capital invested in his holding, but had simply gained a bare living as the result of his labour and often that of his family.

One remedy for the evil seemed to him to be in making it better worth while for the rural classes to stay in the country districts. Many would say that a return to protection would be the most effective means of bringing this about, and he was inclined to agree that it would do much to increase the well-being of the rural population, but he doubted the expediency of increasing the income of the agricultural community by a tax upon the necessities of life required by the whole of the population. And, apart from that, he thought much could be done by giving greater security for capital invested in a holding by a tenant. A farmer could hardly be expected to make a free expenditure of capital on his holding unless it was made clear to him that he would have security for that capital. An important step in this direction had been taken by the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1900, but there were still directions in which he thought it would be wise for the Government to expand the principle which underlay that measure. He thought it was also reasonable to ask that the burdens at present borne by the agricultural community should be reduced on the lines of a re-adjustment of the basis of local taxation. When the present basis was adopted there existed little but real property in certain districts, on which contributions could be levied for police, education, and road maintenance. Now personal property was valued, perhaps, at more than real property, and yet the owner of personal property—one, for instance, whose money was invested in the Funds and who, very likely, was better off than many men who had the same amount of capital invested in land—contributed nothing directly to such local expenditure as had been mentioned, though he derived as much benefit from it as the real property owner. It was high time a re-arrangement of the basis of local taxation was made, for it was in such a re-arrangement that the chief hope of a return of agricultural prosperity lay.

He congratulated the Government on the success of their efforts to stamp out pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth disease, and trusted that they would continue to prohibit the importation of cattle from foreign countries where such disease existed. Farmers were entitled to greater consideration at the hands of the railway companies, and it seemed to him that better arrangements should be made to enable the former to send their goods to market more conveniently, and at somewhat less expense and consequent disadvantage as compared with the foreigner. He approved the action of the Government in extending to the agricultural labourers the principle of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The Friendly Societies Act of last year had also been of service, but more needed to be done in regard to the securing of better housing accommodation for agricultural labourers. The better housing of the working classes was a most important question, and the extension of the period for the repayment of loans, as proposed by the Government, would greatly assist landlords to provide cottages at rents which labourers could afford to pay. He was glad the Government had promised the re-introduction of the Butter Bill, and he hoped it would be pressed to a successful issue, for, although he did not ask for protection for the agriculturists, he thought they ought not to have to compete with adulterated articles from abroad, while they themselves were liable to prosecution if they placed anything impure upon the market. Other directions in which assistance could be given to the interests of agriculture and at the same time of the general community would occur to all practical men, but one of the main hopes of prosperity must rest in the cordial co-operation of landlords, tenants, and labourers. Rural depopulation was a menace to the social well-being of the State, and he hoped the Government would continue their efforts for the amelioration of the lot of the agricultural community. The greatest help the Government had given was by the passing of the Agricultural Ratings Act, and he was grateful for the announcement of their determination to renew the measure during the present session. Personally, he wished the measure of relief had been larger, and he would suggest that a re-arrangement of the basis of local taxation offered the best hope of a remedy for the agricultural depression and rural depopulation deplored by the Amendment, and that the Agricultural Ratings Act was a recognition of the reduced paying powers of the agriculturists.

He wished in conclusion to make it clear that he must vote against the Amendment, because its result, if it were carried, would only be to turn out the Government and replace by another Party which had, on every possible occasion in the past, done its best to deprive the British agriculturist of the measure of justice accorded by the Agricultural Ratings Act. Indeed, he believed no better means could be taken of aggravating the evils under which the agricultural community laboured, and of still further embarrassing its position, than for the House to pass the Amendment before them.

*MR. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Oswestry) said that although it was true that rents had fallen during the last thirty years, and that possibly a holding then worth

£130 would now fetch only £100 rent, it should be remembered that the purchasing power of £100 now was about equal to that of £130 in the earlier period. If, however, landlords had over-mortgaged or over-charged their property on the basis of the valuation of 1870–1873 they had only themselves to thank for it, and it was no argument for the State stepping in to assist them. As to the suggestion that personalty should be rated, that was an old proposal which Cobden tore to pieces long ago when he pointed out that the first person to suffer would be the tenant farmer himself, for he would be rated on his dead and live stock. Consequently that would not relieve agricultural depression. A challenge had been thrown out on the question of dual ownership. Dual ownership, in the case of Ireland at any rate, had been the stepping-stone to the substitution of a peasant proprietary for a system of great landlords. A system under which the community owned the holdings and let them to the people would afford to the tenants fixity of tenure, and thereby greatly assist the agricultural community, because one of the main reasons for the rural depopulation deplored by the Amendment was the feeling of insecurity felt by all classes. Hon. Members opposite seemed to forget that land was a natural monopoly, and should be dealt with on a different basis from other property. To compare land-owning with a grocery business was to contrast two unlike things. Private ownership of land was in the nature of trusteeship for the whole of the community, and if a private owner of land exercised the power of turning a whole community out of occupation no one could deny that a great wrong would be perpetrated. It was the sense of prevailing insecurity in respect of land tenure running throughout the whole community which created damage and helped to drive the agricultural population into the towns.

In connection with this insecurity of tenure he desired to refer to a personal matter—the controversy between the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Newport Division of Shropshire and Mr. Fred Horne. For seventeen years Mr. Horne was a tenant farmer on the right hon. Gentleman's property; he farmed well, and was a leading light amongst Shropshire agriculturists. For many years Mr. Horne and his landlord got on very well together; in fact, on one occasion when Mr. Horne was ill the right hon. Gentleman did him a special kindness. Unfortunately, politics had been running high in the county, and Mr. Horne came into collision with his landlord over the Ludlow Election. Shrewd blows had been given on either side, but it was with feelings of pained surprise that the people of the district heard that the right hon. Gentleman had written to his tenantry at the annual audit dinner a letter in which the following sentence occurred—

> "It will be recognised that while one of my tenants finds his chief occupation in denouncing landlords and opposing the system under which land is occupied, while at the same time he has not sufficient self-respect to give up the holding he occupies, it makes it difficult and unpleasant for me to come to such gatherings and to exchange ideas with my tenants as I have been so fond of doing."

That was a taunt Mr. Horne could not sit under, and he went to the agent and offered either to leave at once or to accept twelve months notice. It was agreed that he should leave at once, but before doing so he got a memorandum from the agent.

MR. LLEWELLYN (Somersetshire, N.) asked, on a point of order, whether the hon. Member was not introducing a personal matter altogether outside the Amendment before the House.

*MR. SPEAKER: I do not think I can exclude it. It may be a personal and separate question, but the Amendment among other things speaks of want of security of tenure, and it is competent for hon. Members to speak of the want of security arising from sudden disputes with landlords and to give illustrations.

*MR. BRIGHT said that he called attention to the incident of a man leaving his farm after a long and satisfactory tenancy owing to a political dispute with his landlord. When Mr. Horne met the agent to discuss the question of his leaving the farm the agent was told that he must sign a memorandum stating that he (Mr. Horne) had no wish to leave, that he was perfectly satisfied with the farm, and that he left because Colonel Kenyon-Slaney wanted him to go off the farm. The agent signed this. When they held a meeting in a village they were afraid of taking a vote because the people felt insecure, and the agent of the landlord would be sure to be somewhere about. Now-a-days the people were educated beyond that state of things. They had eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and they would not stand this kind of treatment. Not long ago one noble Lord spoke of his tenants as "his belongings." Surely that was a strange thing to say in this century. It was with pain that he alluded to the personal incident, but he did so because he felt that the welfare of the whole agricultural community was at stake. This was an illustration of that feeling of want of security in land tenure which permeated the whole community and inflicted an injury on agriculture. He earnestly entreated hon. Members on both sides of the House to vote for this Amendment, and so do something to express their opinion that something ought to be done to give greater security to the agricultural community.

*MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey) said he thought this would be an opportune moment for him to reply to certain things which had been said in the course of the debate. If any other matter should arise which it might be necessary for the Government to deal with, his right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board would reply to it at the close of the debate. In the first place he wished to say that he had absolutely nothing to complain of in the speech of the hon. Member for East Northamptonshire, which had been very moderate in tone and fair all round. He only wished that one or two of the speeches which had followed had been in the same tone. The mover of the Amendment had, however, said one thing which rather surprised him. He stated that this Amendment was not brought forward as a vote of censure against the Government, but rather as a friendly Amendment. He must remind his hon. friend that an Amendment to the Address was always regarded in the light of a vote of censure on the Government if carried to a division, and so this proposal was really a vote of censure upon the Government of the day.

The hon. Member had alluded to the case of Denmark, and had contrasted the state of things there with that which was to be found in this country. He made special mention of the system of combination and co-operation. As a matter of fact, Denmark was rather different to this country. In Denmark there was a mass of small holders who enjoyed a great deal of State aid, and they consequently stood in a different position to the agriculturists of this country. With reference to what had been said about combination and co-operation, he should like to associate himself most strongly with every word that had been said in regard to the action of the hon. Member for Chester and Sir Horace Plunkett. Great credit was due to both those Gentlemen for the manner in which they had brought this question to the front, and he should like to say a few words later on about that question.

The first thing which his hon. friend's Amendment alluded to was the question of the depopulation of our rural districts, and he did not suppose that there was a single man in the rural districts who would disagree with what the hon. Member had said upon that point. He did not, however, think it was possible to point to any one thing as the real cause of this depopulation. If they considered the state of things in the United States of America, in Australia, France, Germany, and, in fact, in practically all other civilised countries, they would find that the one thing which agriculturists complained of more than any other was the great depopulation of the rural districts. Therefore this was not a phenomenon peculiar to our country alone. As regards this country a great many reasons had been given to account for this state of things. His hon. friend who moved the Resolution rather thought that it was due to the insecurity of tenure in land, but one or two other hon. Members had accounted for it by difficulties in regard to housing and such other matters. He regretted that he was debarred by the Rules of the House from alluding to a question which no doubt would have some effect in stopping depopulation, and that was the question of small holdings. He thought there were one or two other reasons besides those given by his hon. friend which were worthy of consideration. In some measure the exodus to the towns was due to the enormous amount of poor land which had recently been laid down to grass in this country; and in a large measure it was due to the increased use of agricultural machinery. But most important of all was the fact that the rural population had got into their minds the idea that life in the towns was much more attractive than life in the country. It was just the same in foreign countries. And as a consequence almost every hon. Member of this House was constantly receiving applications from the young men in rural districts for posts either in the police or on the railway, in order that they should be able to leave the villages and go into the towns for better recreation and more amusement.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): They have no alternative.

*MR. AILWYN FELLOWES said it was difficult to say exactly how this depopulation could be stopped. The hon. Member for Leith said that the Board of Agriculture might be able to do something. They tried to do a good deal, but he was afraid that upon this particular question they were not prepared to say at the moment exactly how they could stop this exodus from the rural districts. He felt sure that if any Government could bring forward a scheme which would successfully counteract this tendency, such a measure would be favourably received in the House of Commons and by the country.

With reference to the case of Mr. Horne, that was rather a personal question which should be left to the hon. and gallant Member for Shropshire, who was quite able to take care of himself.

With regard to the question of preferential rates, the work of the Committee on that subject had been disappointing up to now, but owing to no fault of the Committee. Every chamber of agriculture, every farmers' club, and every agricultural society had been asked to send up witnesses to give evidence before the Committee on the question of preferential rates; but at present the response had been very small. The Board of Agriculture was always prepared to send down experts to any place where there was a dispute between the railway company and agriculturists. The work that had been done by the Board in stamping out the diseases of animals should not be forgotten. Pleuro-pneumonia, foot-and-mouth disease, rabies, and cattle plague had been extinguished; and the Board only asked for a little more time and consideration to enable them to stamp out swine fever and sheep scab. In many directions the Board had by administrative measures endeavoured to help the agricultural interest; but the question remained, would greater security and freedom for the agricultural tenant have the effect of bringing people back to the land? The farmers were not the class that was leaving the rural districts. In 1891 there were 223,000 farmers and in 1901 there were 224,000. The loss was mainly in agricultural labourers.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): Because the three acres' cow did not calve.

*MR. AILWYN FELLOWES said that the extension of the allotment system had done something to check rural depopulation. The question of security for compensation was dealt with in the Act of 1900, and the tenant farmer owed much to it. But security of tenure was quite a different thing. That could only be obtained by dual ownership. There was no agriculturist in the country, there was nobody in that House, except possibly the hon. Gentleman who preceded him, who wished to see established here the same system as that which was set up in Ireland some years ago. The last Royal Commission on Agriculture, of which his two hon. friends were members, said in their Report—

> "As a general rule the landlords are most anxious to keep their tenants, and in many cases have made great sacrifices in order to retain them, and we believe that cases of unfair and capricious eviction are exceedingly rare."

He thought that Report bore out what had been continually said on the subject, that farmers did not complain of insecurity.

MR. CHANNING: I dissented from that.

*MR. AILWYN FELLOWES said the Report expressed the views of the majority of the Commission.

In regard to combination, he knew what the feelings of his noble friend at the head of the Department were upon this question, and would remind them that at every meeting of agriculturists which he had addressed in the country he had drawn attention to the advantages of co-operation. It ought not to be forgotten, when combination in Ireland was put forward as an object-lesson, that this country was different from Ireland, just as it was different from Denmark. In Ireland there were a large number of small holdings, and combination was naturally far easier to organise amongst small holders than amongst large farmers. The British farmer was very conservative in his ways, and it would take him a long time to see the advantages of combination; but he thought that among small owners there was a great opening for co-operation. Take the question of railway rates alone. He believed that if small owners would combine and get their produce together, they would be able to send it by the railway much more cheaply than at present, and would thus save a great deal of expense in the future.

There was also the question of rating. He believed the agricultural tenant was rated far above his due, and he believed that the question was much more present to the minds of tenants than was the question of an alteration in land tenure. Whatever might be said of our land laws, he thought that it could not be disputed that we had the finest agriculturists in any part of the world, and also that we had the finest market in the world for pedigree stock and stock of all kinds. To his mind what agriculturists wanted was to be left to make their own bargains as to the terms upon which they occupied their holdings; and although he was sure that his hon. friend had brought forward this Amendment in no way in opposition to agriculturists, yet he was perfectly convinced that they did not hold the views which his hon. friend had, even so moderately, put forward, and would prefer to go on under the system which for so many years had been, as he believed it would continue to be, a success in this country.

MR. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley) said he was acquainted with the methods followed in some of the principal counties in migrating people from the rural districts into manufacturing districts, and it appeared to him that it might interest the House to hear something on that matter. When workers were wanted in the manufacturing districts advertisements were circulated throughout the rural districts in the neighbourhood inviting labourers of a certain class, and telling them where to apply. On the applications being received, the employers set before them new, well-built, clean cottages, and offered generally a much higher rate of wages than they had been accustomed to get. Children who were half-timers got 4s. 6d. a week, ordinary children 9s. to 10s., women 12s. to 15s., and ordinary labourers, who had not been trained to any particular branch of work, 15s. to 18s. a week. Under these circumstances it was not wonderful that many were induced to leave their occupations in the country to take up positions in the manufacturing towns. In addition to the inducements he had mentioned, there were good schools, where parents could hope to have their children properly educated, there were night schools, where the children might continue their education after leaving the day schools, and there were libraries which could be used by the working class. There had been, and there still was, a strong disposition on the part of parents to sacrifice themselves and their own position on behalf of their children. He did not say that disposition was carried to the same extent in England as in Scotland, but he thought all who took an interest in the welfare of the country would be glad that such a feeling prevailed. Another reason which made people in the rural districts desire to come into the towns was that in the towns they became connected with churches and chapels and other places, where they could form friendships, so that young women had better chances of marriage. Under these circumstances it was difficult to see how the population could be retained in the rural districts. But there were some things that could be done in the rural districts to retain the population on the land. There should be a considerable improvement in the day and night schools, clubs should be provided where young people could gather together for social intercourse, and the better classes living in the villages must make some sacrifice of their own comfort and convenience after the ordinary working hours in order to attend meetings and take part in the social life of the people. By these means they might hope to effect something in the way of keeping young people in the villages. There was one great difficulty in connection with the question of keeping people on the land, and that was the difficulty of erecting cheap buildings. He felt sure that much might be done in the way of inducing people to remain on the land by the provision of small holdings and cheap buildings.

*MR. JESSE COLLINGS said he must take exception to what his hon. friend the Member for the Ramsey Division asserted when he stated that the migration of the rural population in the United Kingdom was adequately explained by the fact that a similar movement towards the towns was also to be observed in other countries. If the people here were given a chance of going back to the land under satisfactory conditions, there was no doubt what the result would be. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment spoke of the great benefit which free trade had been to the agricultural labourer. Free trade had conferred on him this benefit, that it had squeezed him off the face of the earth. There were hardly any of them left. He was somewhat disappointed at not hearing very much more in this debate than palliatives—railway rates, co-operation, and so forth. It had been urged that any new system that was set up should not be created by State money or legislation, but should be allowed to grow up naturally, as the present system had grown up. The present system had not grown up naturally. It had grown up under about 4,000 or 5,000 Acts of Parliament, and if we were to restore this country to the old condition of land tenure it could only be done by State legislation and State money. Security of tenure had been recommended, but he held that all the legislation which had been tried for the purpose of giving security of tenure had failed. It passed the wit of man to provide security of tenure, compensation for improvements, and the like, in such a way as to guarantee both landlord and tenant from harm. There was only one principle that settled questions of security, compensation, and all other difficulties, and that was for the cultivator to be the owner of the soil.

It was said that this Amendment was not a hostile Amendment; but it would, if carried, turn out the Government, and that was one reason why he could not vote for it. During the past twenty years the Government had done a good deal, though not enough, for agriculture. But supposing the other side were to come into office, how was agriculture to fare? The Cattle Diseases Act had been alluded to, and according to the leaders opposite that would be repealed. There would then be no security for the farmers' flocks and herds from disease. He believed his hon. friend who moved the Amendment was opposed to the Agricultural Ratings Act, and if the Liberals came in they would not renew it. He should like to hear a denial of their intentions with respect to that Act. They had an illustration of what might be expected from a Liberal Government on the question of agriculture in what happened in 1886. "Once bitten, twice shy." Once in office, on that occasion, instead of dealing with the question which placed them there they never even mentioned it. If hon. Gentlemen opposite were to come into power they would be in the same position to-morrow as in 1886, when the Liberal Party rode into office on the backs of the agricultural labourers, and then kicked them aside as soon as they got in. He would make a recommendation to his hon. friend the Member for East Northamptonshire. This Government had passed a Small Holdings Act, which had not been generally brought into operation because the county councils had shirked their duty in relation to it. He would recommend his hon. friend to go down into the country and persuade them to put in operation that practical measure which was ready to their hands. There was demonstration in the places where it had been acted upon of the splendid results which could be obtained under it. The hon. Member for Halifax had suggested that there should be free trade in land. What was desired was a multiplication of ownerships, but he was opposed to free trade in land unless it was accompanied by State aid to help cultivators to buy it. Free trade in land must be accompanied by State aid to enable men to buy holdings, or else the landed aristocracy would be supplanted by a landlord plutocracy, and of the two he preferred the former. They would simply have a change of owners, and the new ones would not be of the best type.

The noble Lord the Member for Horncastle had made a landlord speech pure and simple. He spoke as to the ethics of the question, and asked why a landlord should not be able to do with his land what a grocer did with his goods. On that point he joined issue with the noble Lord. Land was different from any other commodity. Everything we ate, drank, or handled, came from the land. It was as much a necessity of existence as air, water, or any other element. There was no such thing as unconditional property in land in the sense that there was possession in personal property. He was not saying this from any ill-feeling towards landlords, but he advised his noble friend not to challenge the people of this country on that point. They knew what the landlord and tenant system had brought the country to. It had brought agriculture to ruin. Go through the country by rail and nothing would be seen but grass everywhere. If that went on, the time would come when the sight of a field of corn in this country would be the rarest thing possible. It must not be imagined that an ownership system would not succeed. That system obtained in every country in the civilised world but our own, and our own system had been a failure. He maintained that the only remedy to bring back prosperity to agriculture was the adoption of ownership of farms, large and small. He did not mean that anything should be confiscated, but that farms, large and small, should be purchased at a fair price. He had no sympathy with land nationalisation, both on account of the ethics of the case, and because they would have to wait a long time for it, even if it were in the least desirable. When he spoke of ownership, he did not mean that the land should be cut up into small squares, but that there should be all kinds and sizes of holdings, as was the case in every other country in Europe except in the extreme East, where, as in England, there were vast estates. He believed in the ownership system also because of its political effect. Fancy a Butter Bill lingering in the Danish Parliament three or four sessions before it could be passed! That was because in that country there was a myriad of owners. The land-owning which he wished to see in this country was that under which the owner would live on his own estate, knowing all about it and every man on it. He said with all confidence that as surely as the *latifundia* ruined Rome, the creation of vast landed estates would ruin England.

In Germany they noticed with what care agriculture was kept in the forefront. That was because German statesmen regarded agriculture as the strong anchor of the ship of State. He urged the Government to pay attention to that side of the question, which was the social side, and to set about getting as many people planted on the soil as owners as they possibly could. That could only be done by the help of the State, and it was for the benefit of the whole nation that it should be done. They spent days on the discussion of the Army and Navy, but this was a far more important question as regarded national defence than either the Army or the Navy. It was our first line of defence, and it was the only way which would solve the social problems which occupied the minds of every thoughtful man. The slums in our cities, the depopulation of the rural districts, the increasing number of vagrants, all arose out of the present land tenure system, and he hoped his friends in the Government would pay attention in that direction. They would find that they would soon get the people back to the land if they gave them an open career on it. He did not urge it for the sake of the farmer or for the good of the peasantry, though that was important, but for the sake of the country. If they looked back at the legislation in Germany at the beginning of the last century it would be found that it had not been passed for the sake of the farmer or the peasant but for the sake of the country as a whole to make it strong. German legislators saw then that the country could not survive without the great mass of the people being rooted to the soil. If a great war came upon us it would be found that our commercial riches would not help us, because we stood alone in the peculiar position of having the great mass of the people divorced from the soil. He would press home on all Governments and on hon. Members on both sides of the House to carry their minds through history when they would see that England was strong above all other nations as long as her rural population was strong. In the stress of war it would be found that though their wealth of two thousand millions per annum might carry them on a little while, for the permanent success of the country they might as well have two thousand million paving stones without a rural population. He asked all sides to remember that we had in this country alone a proletariat that did not exist anywhere else, and that worst, most fatal of all phenomona, a landless people.

Mr. TOMKINSON (Cheshire, Crewe): said that there was one satisfaction about this debate, and that was that although they could not all see eye to eye—there was some disagreement as to causes and remedies — nevertheless, the disclaimer of his hon. friend who moved the Amendment, and of the seconder, of any partisan feeling had been generally accepted by both sides of the House. There was substantial unanimity as to the depopulation of the rural districts and congestion in the towns, and that these were highly injurious to the national welfare in its moral, material, and social aspect. He might be allowed to tell the House some of his own experiences. He lived in a county which was looked upon as one of the most prosperous in England from an agricultural point of view. Whenever he mentioned that he was told that he was fortunate to live in a county which possessed every exceptional advantage—an excellent climate, a good soil, markets close at hand, good landlords, farms well equipped, and almost every possible advantage for the successful carrying on of the agricultural interest. He fully admitted the whole of that statement, but there was something a great deal beyond it, and that was the system of land tenure. In the first place they had a vast number and a great variety of holdings. It was a county more or less of small holdings. A farm of 200 or 300 acres was reckoned a large one, and the holdings ranged from that size down to an acre. The small holdings were looked upon as stepping stones for the industrial labourer to rise to greater and better things. The result was that they had an agricultural population thrifty, industrious, and with an intense love of the soil. Consequently, so far from the rural population fleeing from the country to the towns, there was an immense land-hunger, and indeed the rents for small pieces of land were astonishingly high, almost rack rents. He knew numbers of instances of small pieces of land, seven or eight miles from a market town, the rent of which was £4, £5, £6 an acre, without a brick upon them. He would guard himself from having it thought that the country squires ever exacted such rent; but they knew that when a small piece of land was held by a man who did not work it himself he could let it at a fabulous rent. The reason was that there was not enough of these small farms. What a pity it was that this state of things could not exist in other counties! Why was it that elsewhere there was this rural depopulation? They were told that it was because of the superior attractions of the towns over the country that the people would not stay there. He denied that *in toto*. The chief reason was that the people were not allowed to remain in the country. There were not places for them to live in. He knew of instances of villages, the property of a single owner who would neither build new cottages, repair old ones, or let a small piece of land on which other people might build cottages. The consequence was that the cottages fell into ruin, the local sanitary authority stepped in and condemned the property, and in order to conform to sanitary requirements two cottages were knocked into one. Therefore, there was a progressive reduction in the number of cottages.

One of the greatest causes of the rural depopulation was the most unfortunate departure, after the Crimean War, from the system of moderate sized holdings and the consolidation of these into excessively large farms. That was now admitted to have been a terrible mistake, because it drove the people from the soil, and the loss following the decrease in the number of farm labourers and small tradesmen had recoiled on the heads of those who had brought it about. There was at present difficulty in letting very large farms, while there were any number of offers for farms of 100 to 200 acres. He agreed with the noble Lord the Member for Horncastle that one of the great difficulties in providing small holdings was that farmers were disinclined to give up land for that purpose. That was his own experience, and it was a strange commentary on the cry that agriculture was so depressed that it would not pay, and that it was hardly worth carrying on. If a tenant farmer were asked to give up a piece of land to divide into small holdings to provide the labourers with three acres and a cow, it was quite certain to be the best piece of his farm he was asked to give up! He wished that some people would take a run down to Cheshire and see Lord Carrington's estate, where he had spent many happy days. Lord Carrington was a model landlord, and had put thousands of people on the land in small holdings.

*MR. JESSE COLLINGS: They have not bought the land; they are merely tenants.

MR. TOMKINSON: Yes; he was speaking of occupants. Now, Lord Carrington on his properties never dispossessed a tenant, but when a farm fell vacant naturally, the first offer was given to the Small Holdings Association, who cut up the farm into small tenancies, and these were speedily taken up by industrious and prosperous small farmers. The same thing had happened in the Channel Islands, the whole area of which was purely agricultural. He himself was Chairman of the Cudworth Small Holdings Association, which bought a farm, nearly derelict and hardly worth cultivating, thirty miles from London, at £12 per acre, and practically no tithe. They advertised that they were prepared to sell it in lots up to twenty acres in extent, and what was the result? In the first six months they had 1,150 applications for purchase. Of course a vast number of these applicants were people not likely to succeed, but by the end of the third year of the existence of the Association all the land would be sold, and something like forty hardy, prosperous, industrious small farmers would be located there.

Something had been said about Denmark and the advance of Danish agriculture. Between 1885 and 1901 the value of the harvest, without including straw, had advanced by rapid strides from 272 million kronen to 338 millions. The number of cattle, which in 1888 was 1,460,000, had increased in 1898 to 1,743,000, swine had increased during the same decade from 771,000 to 1,179,000, and poultry from 4,592,000 to 8,748,000. It was no wonder that 30,000 Jutland small cultivators signed a memorial to the King of Denmark, the Crown Prince, and the Reichstag, in which the following passage occurred—

> "We, Danish peasant proprietors, demand no protection at the cost of our fellow citizens. We do not wish that the necessaries of life of our people should be increased by artificial means."

The noble Lord the Member for Horncastle spoke of the confusion of ideas on the part of the supporters of the Amendment, and asked why a landlord should not get as good a profit out of his land as a grocer out of his shop. The confusion of ideas was on the part of the noble Lord. He should have compared the grocer not with the landlord, but with the tenant farmer. As long as the grocer paid his rent and taxes nobody would disturb him, and the object of the Amendment was that the agricultural tenant should be as safe as long as he paid his rent and taxes. The hon. Member for Bordesley had said that the

Agricultural Holdings Act of 1890 was final, and that all that could be done under it had been done. The hon. Member further said that it was impossible to conceive of any other Act which, by endeavouring to do justice to one of the parties, did not do injustice to the other.

*MR. JESSE COLLINGS said he did not mean to say that the Act was final, but that however that Act or any other Act was improved, it passed the wit of man so to do it that no injustice would be done to either landlord or tenant.

MR. TOMKINSON said that there should be provision for securing all improvements which he had made on his farm to the sitting tenant, and also for securing him from a rise of rent in prosperous times and compensation for disturbance in case of capricious eviction. He was not an advocate of dual ownership, although in Ireland the tenants had always been co-owners. What he wanted was not so much freeholders, but free tenants — free access to the soil and fair security of tenure. He would not go into the question of agricultural rates, but gave it as his opinion that there would never be an increase in the number of occupiers of the soil without compulsory powers being given to the local authorities to acquire land compulsorily for division into small holdings.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester) said he agreed that it was desirable, in the interests of the country, that the number of small holders of land should be increased. His right hon. friend the Member for the Bordesley Division stated that legislation was necessary; but he wished to know what limit his right hon. friend would put on the proposal.

*MR. JESSE COLLINGS said that in a few days a Bill would be introduced which would explain his position.

MR. YERBURGH said he gathered that his right hon. friend was not an advocate of universal peasant proprietorship; but that his intention was to multiply the number of small holders in this country. The argument was that the land should be put in the occupation of more people, whether as tenants or freeholders, because that would add largely to the fertility of the soil, and increase its value. That was a very strong argument indeed. In Denmark, for example, it was found that, while the value of the larger farms had decreased, the value of the smaller farms had increased. Besides, with small tenancies, they obtained the best kind of men and women trained to agricultural work and farm management. The system, however, had been in force in Lincolnshire, and it had been found in experience that when a period of depression came the small tenants had not capital to fall back upon, and they were swept away. If small holdings, therefore, were to be created some elaborate system must be devised to enable these small owners to compete on equal terms with the larger farmers, say in the provision of capital, seeds, artificial manures, and other things, so as to enable the small owners to conduct a profitable business. It was erroneous to state that Danish agriculture owed its wonderful prosperity to State aid instead of to the farmers themselves. The two pillars of Denmark's agricultural success were co-operation among farmers and a wonderfully complete system of agricultural education, which was brought within the reach of the farmer's wife and children. They were now obtaining in this country a similar class of education through the medium of the county councils. It was recognised that education was necessary. What was needed was that farmers should apply to agriculture the same methods of business as were in force in the other industries of the country—in short, they must "industrialise" agriculture. By co-operation, material and machinery could be obtained at a lower rate. A small farmer could have all the machinery he required, and also the advantage of pedigree stock and credit. It was stated that co-operation would not suit the interests of the larger farmers; but the larger farmers were now beginning to find out that their interests were the same as the smaller farmers. If the railway companies were to blame—and he was not going to offer any opinion as to the general rates—the farmers also were not blameless. Certain advantages were offered to the farmers by the railway companies if they bulked their produce—a reduction in one case of as much as 60 per cent. was offered—yet but few took advantage of it. In the Newport district only 20 per cent. of the farmers had availed themselves of the facility offered by the London and North-Western Railway by the provision of a depôt to which they could send their produce. In Yorkshire, he might mention, the North-Eastern Railway had established a motor service for the benefit of those farmers who were at a distance from the railway. These facts showed that the railway companies were not altogether to blame.

He wished to call attention to the good work done by the Agricultural Organisation Society, of which he had the honour to be president, and which in three years had formed 107 co-operative farming societies. The Organisation Society was doing in England a work similar to that done by Sir Horace Plunkett in Ireland, the average reduction effected by their co-operative farming societies being from 20 to 25 per cent.—a reduction which went into the pockets of the farmers. He suggested that these societies should be utilised as the vehicles for conveying to the farmers, big and small, the very admirable information collected by the Board of Agriculture. The Organisation Society owed a great deal to the Board of Agriculture for the great interest it had taken in the movement. Mr. Hanbury, whose loss was severely felt by the agricultural industry, had addressed a meeting on its behalf; and now that he had passed away they had another gentleman in his position who also displayed great interest in the work of the organisation. The movement was based entirely on self-help for farmers, rather than that they should rely on the State as a crutch. On behalf of the Organisation Society he thanked the hon. Gentleman for his speech.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) said he hoped he would be allowed to congratulate the representative of the Board of Agriculture in this House on his admirable speech, and to express the confident opinion that in him the Department had a very admirable representative. The hon. Gentleman stated that the Motion was a vote of censure on the Government; but this would probably be the only opportunity which would be afforded the House of discussing the subject. Last session the Vote for the Board of Agriculture did not come before the House at all. He entirely agreed with the hon. Gentleman that there was rural depopulation in the United States, in Australia, and on the Continent, as well as in England and Scotland; but there was a moral to be drawn from that. It was that the panacea of protection was no remedy for agricultural depression. He thought that was an admirable commentary on the present protectionist campaign in the country. He welcomed the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division. The right hon. Member had said that great estates were the ruin of England; what would the right hon. Gentleman's great master, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, have said to that pronouncement if it had been made just before the aristocratic Welbeck meeting? Special trains would hardly have been run to Welbeck to bring agricultural labourers and others to hear that sentiment. As a member of the Railway Rates Committee he should only be too glad if they could obtain evidence as regarded preferential rates; but the difficulty was that farmers would not avail of the invitation to give evidence which was scattered broadcast. Something had been said about rates on land. He was not in favour of overburdening land with rates; but, undoubtedly, the Education Act of 1902 did cast a very heavy burden on the agricultural interest. The right hon. Gentlemen the Member for the Bordesley Division said that what was required was to get the people back on the land, but when people once lived in towns it was difficult to get them back to the land. A most intelligent farmer told him the question was not to get the people back to the land, but to prevent them leaving it. There was no greater delusion than that no skill was required to be an agricultural labourer or a farmer. It was most desirable that the number of small holders should be increased.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division said that there had been a good result from the Small Holdings Act. Unfortunately that was not the case. The whole operation of the Act up to August, 1903, amounted to 570 acres, divided between 196 owners. In Worcestershire, to which the right hon. Gentleman referred, the result was 140 acres divided between thirty-two owners. That was not a very great result. He would like to compare the condition of England under the Small Holdings Act with the condition of Ireland. His Irish friends sometimes got the best of the bargain. The English tenant who wanted to buy a small holding of twenty acres, value £500, would have to pay £100 down and instalments amounting to £19 10s. a year, which was practically his old rent; but in Ireland the tenant paid nothing down and got an immediate reduction in his rent. For a holding for which he used to pay £20 he would only pay £16. He thought there was some leeway to make up in this matter so far as England was concerned, and that the English law should be made similar to the Irish law in this respect. He thought British credit ought to be used more for British purposes, and for his part he would use £10,000,000 a year of the money which appeared in the Army Estimates for putting people on the land. The Annual increase for the Army would enable 16,000 cultivators to be put into small holdings of 25 acres of land at £25 an acre. There must, of course, always be upon the land owners and occupiers. They might increase the number of owners, but so far as tenant farmers were concerned what was wanted was to make them good farmers, and that could only be done by giving them absolute security for the capital invested. No one would wish to rob a good landlord, but what all tenant farmers wished to do was to compel bad landlords to do by law what good landlords did without law. The Act of 1900 was not the last word in this matter. He felt that there should be absolute freedom of cultivation, provided the men were not allowed to come in and rack out a farm and then leave it for somebody else. With regard to compensation for disturbance, if a man was capriciously turned out of his farm he should have enough compensation to enable him to take another farm without loss to himself. Let them regard the case of the late candidate for the Ludlow Division of Shropshire. Was he to go all over the country looking for a farm? Was it to be expected that he would get a farm in Shropshire where most of the landlords were of the same political persuasion as the hon. Member for Newport? There would have to be a system to enable such men to buy their own farms in order that they might get their living out of the land. A tenant had as much right to his own opinion as a landlord.

With regard to agricultural education he would recommend the Board of Agriculture to lead the way instead of following, as they were doing at the present time. He would have them go into each county and find out the best system of agriculture in that county and disseminate that information throughout the length and breadth of the land and they should guide county councils in this matter. The money spent on agricultural education in England was a miserable pittance compared to that which was spent in the countries of Europe. He did not believe in agriculture being coddled, but he did think the Government should do something to enable farmers to help themselves.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said it was nothing less than a national scandal that land within thirty miles of Whitechapel Church should go derelict, as it was, and out of cultivation; and when land went out of cultivation the agricultural labourer, unfortunately, went out of cultivation too. The reason why agriculturists were ruined was because of high rates and low prices. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had not helped them very much in times past. They were full of promises and expressions of sympathy when they were out of office, but when they were in office they did nothing for anybody. He was in the House of Commons from 1892 to 1895—in opposition—and he took considerable interest in what hon. Gentlemen opposite, who were then in power, said they would do for agriculture. The gentleman who was appointed the Minister for Agriculture did not—so he was told—know the difference between barley and oats. The only thing the Liberal Party ever did for the agricultural interest was to introduce the foot-and-mouth disease into this country. The hon. Member for Northamptonshire spoke about legislative measures. What was the good of legislative measures? If they could legislate to put up the price of wheat 40s. a quarter, there might be something in it. This was not a question of rents, at all events in Essex. It was a question of supply and demand, and when there might be two men after a farm anywhere else, there were two farms after one tenant in Essex. He did not believe in small holdings. If the right hon. Member for the Bordesley Division differed from him, he should like to put him down on twenty acres of Essex clay. There were means by which the agricultural situation might be improved. The reason why agricultural labourers crowded into the towns and pulled down wages was that there were no cottages for them to live in in the country. Under the existing rural by-laws cottages cost £600 the pair to build. [Cries of "No."] He had paid that price for them the other day. In those circumstances a man could not get more than 1 per cent. on his outlay. Agriculture might be helped in the matter of rates, and a bounty on wheat might help the situation. The late Lord Salisbury and Mr. Disraeli had a certain amount of common sense, as most people would admit, and what they said was that if protection was abolished, rates and taxes on the land should be abolished too. He failed to see why they should not have a bounty on wheat of 10s. a quarter. Such a bounty would not be expensive. It would be the price we should pay for keeping the agricultural population that we were losing. Agriculture would also get a good deal if all the rates and taxes were swept off the land. If we did not preserve our agricultural industry, he should like to know how we were going to feed our Army and our population in time of war.

*Mr. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) said he only intervened in the debate in order to ask whether His Majesty's Government intended to carry out the recommendation of the Committee which sat three or four years ago on the question of British afforestation. The question was one of great and growing importance, the timber supply of the world showing as it did a considerable shrinkage. We were now in this country importing timber, which we ourselves could grow, to the amount of £20,000,000 a year, and we had 20,000,000 acres of waste land, a large portion of which was suitable for afforestation. It was under these circumstances that he put the question.

Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES: The matter referred to by the hon. Member is now being considered by my noble friend.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 165; Noes, 241. (Division List No. 9.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, Sir John
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Blake, Edward
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bright, Allan Heywood
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,CaptE.C (SAndrw'sBghs

Sir Carne Rasch.

Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir FrancisH(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hn. Sir Henry
Gilhooly, James
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Hardie, J Keir (MerthyrTydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, P.J. (Westmeath, N.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Law, Hugh Alex (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Mooney, John J.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan,Col.John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J.(Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Palmer, Sir Charles M (Durham
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seely,MajJ.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn C.R. (Northants
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas,David Alfred(Merthyr
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.
Tomkinson, James
Ure, Alexander
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Weir, James Galloway
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull,W.
Woodhouse, SirJT (Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen,AugustusHenry Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. SirH
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hn.A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, RtHnGerald W(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach,RtHn. SirMichael Hicks
Beckett, Ernest William
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T. Gibson (King'sLynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hn. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, A. Cameron(Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim,S
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Crossley, Rt. Hn. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson, Rt. HnSirJ(Manc'r.
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hn. George H.
Finlay, SirR.B(Inv'rn'ssB'ghs)
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir RobertPenrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue

Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'rH'mlets
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G (Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Sir James (Staffords. NW
Helder, Augustus
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, Frederick William
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hn Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks NR
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hn. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt Hn Sir H. E. (Wigtn
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Fredk. G.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moore, William
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. W. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt-Col. A. C. E (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E (Notts.)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H (Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

And, it being after half-past Five of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

NEW BILLS.

PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT.

Bill to amend the Law relating to Public Entertainment, ordered to be brought in by Captain Jessel, Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Sir Robert Mowbray, Sir Ernest Flower, Dr. Macnamara, Major Jameson, Mr. Crooks, and Mr. Shackleton.

PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Public Entertainment," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 6th March, and to be printed. [Bill 59.]

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 27th February, 1905.

INTRODUCED.

George Rodney Lord Bishop of Wakefield was (in the usual manner) introduced.

SAT FIRST.

The Duke of Brandon (*D. Hamilton*) sat first in Parliament after the death of his kinsman.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution).

And also the Certificates that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—South Lancashire Tramways [H.L.]; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Water and Gas [H.L.]; Metropolitan Railway [H.L.]; Medway and Thames Canal [H.L.]; Mexborough and Swinton Tramways (Extension of Time) [H.L.]; Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways [H.L.]; Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation [H.L.]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads [H.L.]; Central Electric Supply [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation Bill [H.L.]; City of London Electric Lighting Company Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Cordoba and Rosario Railway Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed.

East Cowes Gas Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Entre Rios Railways Bill [H.L.]; Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [H.L.]; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]; Truro Water Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

West Cumberland Electric Tramways (Extension of Time) Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed.

Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

RUSSIA, No. 3 (1905) NORTH SEA INCIDENT (INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY).

Despatch from the British Agent forwarding the Report of the Commissioners.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

Annual report on the state of the finances of the University of Aberdeen, under the provisions of Section 30 of the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, for the year 1903–1904.

Annual statistical report by the University Court of the University of Aberdeen, to the Secretary for Scotland, under the provisions of Section 30 of the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, for the year 1903–1904.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BRIDLINGTON PIERS AND HARBOUR.

Abstract of the general annual account for the year ended 26th July, 1904. Delivered (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

INEBRIATES.

Petition for amendment of law respecting; of Manchester, Salford, and District Temperance Union; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

NEW BILLS.

SALE OF INTOXICANTS TO CHILDREN BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the law in relation to the sale of intoxicating liquors to children. Was presented by the Lord Dunboyne; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Tuesday the 7th of March next. (No. 16.)

NEWCASTLE CHAPTER (AMENDMENT) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to make further provisions for the foundation of a dean and chapter of Newcastle, and for other purposes connected therewith. Was presented by the Lord Bishop of St. Albans; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Monday next. (No. 17.)

THE LATE EARL OF MORLEY.

***The SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS** (The Marquess of **Lansdowne**): My Lords, a very short time ago we were referring in this House, in terms of deep regret, to the fact that Lord Morley, owing to the aggravation of his illness, had found it necessary to resign the office of Chairman of Committees, and both from this bench and from the bench opposite testimony was borne to the respect and affection with which we regarded him, and to the gratitude which he had earned by the manner in which, for many years, he had discharged the duties of Chairman of Committees. My Lords, we can add little to what was then said. I may, perhaps, say that I thought it my duty to send Lord Morley a full report of the conversation which then took place, and four days ago I received from him a letter expressing the deep satisfaction it had given him to read the words which had been used by myself, and, he added, especially those which had fallen from the noble Earl opposite, the Leader of the Opposition. He said that, having nothing but the life of an invalid to look forward to, these marks of the confidence and the goodwill of his friends were one of the few consolations that were left to him. Alas, my Lords, we now know that Lord Morley's illness has terminated more rapidly that anyone could have supposed. It is a melancholy satisfaction to know that his end was peaceful and painless. I am sure that on both sides of the House we shall feel that we have lost one of the most beloved and respected of our Members, and that we shall desire to offer to those who are mourning him the assurance of our deep and heartfelt sympathy.

Earl SPENCER: My Lords, I rise to add a few words to those of the noble Marquess the Leader of the House, and to say how entirely I agree with all that he has said in reference to the sad news that we so suddenly and unexpectedly read in the newspapers to-day. We had no idea that Lord Morley's end was so near when we were speaking of him the other day. I can only repeat how deep our grief is at the loss of so able a Member of this House and so true a friend. I, too, received a long letter from Lord Morley, dated the 24th instant, expressing his satisfaction at what was said concerning him, and how grateful he was for the kindness of the references to himself. I am glad that the noble Marquess has expressed, I will not say the feelings of noble Lords on the opposite side, but the feelings of the whole House, in this matter, and I most heartily join with him in all that he has said.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of **Halsbury**): My Lords, I cannot forbear from associating myself entirely with all that has been said by both the noble Marquess and the noble Earl. I have been associated with Lord Morley officially for many years, and I cannot but bear my testimony to his invariable kindness and courtesy, and I feel that we have lost not only a most admirable and efficient administrator, but also a dear friend.

***The LORD BISHOP of ROCHESTER**: My Lords, I do not know whether the ordinary traditions on such an occasion allow me to intervene, but I should like to add one or two words to what has fallen from those occupying the leading places in your Lordships' House with regard to Lord Morley. My reason for doing so is this. In the old days at the University Lord Morley and I were side by side, and, carrying back my thoughts to that time, I cannot help remarking how the uprightness, conscientiousness, and dutifulness which marked then the young beginner were fulfilled in his whole career, and in what we saw of him in this House.

SOUTH AFRICA (LABOUR IN THE MINES).

Lord MONKSWELL: My Lords, I rise, in accordance with the notice standing in my name on the Paper, to move for a Return of the number of white men employed in the erection and preparation of Chinese compounds in the Rand; and to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies how long the employment of these men will last, whether any provision for their further employment has been made, and whether they are included in the list of those employed in and about the Rand mines; and also, having regard to statements that have appeared in the public Press, to ask whether rock-drilling by white labour is being superseded by the employment of coloured labour, and, if so, how far this change can proceed without infringing the provisions of the labour Ordinance against the employment of Chinese labour in skilled work.

In submitting this Motion I desire to say a few words to guide the noble Duke in the reply which he will make. In the first place, I am happy to be able to congratulate the noble Duke and His Majesty's Government on the increased sanitation in the mines and the consequent diminishe death rate, and I can assure the noble Duke that my object, and my only object, in moving this Motion is to elicit information that will guide public opinion in expressing an informed view with regard to the merits or otherwise of the Chinese Ordinance. I have not the slightest intention of raising any further discussion on this Ordinance, which was debated pretty fully in both Houses of Parliament last year. The noble Duke will no doubt have observed that I omitted all matters of Party contention from my notice of Motion. I do not, for instance, say a word about the wife and children question, nor do I say anything about the limitations in the number of Chinese. The Secretary of State for the Colonies in another place has given answer on these two subjects, and I am afraid it is not probable that the noble Duke will be able to add anything material to those answers. Therefore, I have not troubled him in the matter, but it may very possibly be that either on this occasion or on some future occasion noble Lords behind me may raise this question, and may even wish to take the opinion of your Lordships upon it. No doubt it is the case that part of the information which I desire was asked for only very recently in the House of Commons; but, my Lords, it appears to me that the answers given to these interrogations in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State were not very full and not very satisfactory, and I hope and believe that the noble Duke will give me fuller and more satisfactory replies.

Without going into the merits of it, the Government case with regard to the importation of Chinese labour is very largely based, and properly so, upon their contention that white labour, at all events skilled white labour, whatever may be the case with unskilled white labour, will be, and has been, rather increased than otherwise by the importation of Chinese. If that is, as it clearly is, the contention of the Government, surely it is very important to know how many white labourers, particularly white skilled labourers, are now employed in the construction and maintenance of the Chinese compounds. The Secretary of State has merely told us in general terms that some white labour is so employed. He does not give us the number. I want the number, and I want to know what has been done to secure that these men, when their temporary employment is finished, have something else to do. With regard to rock-drilling, it seems to be the intention of the mineowners to do away as far as possible, if not absolutely, with skilled labour in this work, for we have it on the authority of Mr. Gillam, himself the chairman of the Van Ryn Mine, that when the Chinaman has been taught how to drive hand-drills, machine-drills will be absolutely superseded, and that view was also taken by Mr. Albu on January 18th last. The Secretary of State, too, acknowledges that the proportion of white men to black or coloured men has been steadily decreasing and is likely to still further decrease in the future. What is taking place with regard to rock-drilling raises the question —the vital question to white workmen in South Africa—of the demarcation between skilled and unskilled labour.

The question of overseers was debated last year to some extent in the House of Commons, and opinion runs extremely high in the Transvaal with regard to yellow and black labour ousting white labour, especially skilled white labour. With regard to overseers, very intemperate language has been used in the Transvaal, language which I do not in the least defend, but I will quote one specimen of it in order that your Lordships may realise how strong the feeling is in this matter. The president of the Miners Association expressed his opinion on the question in the following words, which were quoted by Mr. Malcolm, M.P., who is very much in favour of Chinese labour—

> "With regard to the introduction of Chinese, they were now informed that they were bringing overseers with them, but if such a state of things took place after the public statements made by Lord Milner and Sir George Farrar, they could write those gentlemen down as being the greatest and most arrant liars of the day."

I hope that language is exceptional, but it at all events shows very strong and high feeling in the matter. When the Secretary of State is asked any question with regard to this line of demarcation between skilled and unskilled labour, and when he is asked whether any particular operation is skilled or unskilled labour he always shelters himself behind the plea that it is not for him to say whether or not certain work is unskilled labour, and that the skilled labourers on the Rand are perfectly capable of taking their own part in the matter. It seems to me rather doubtful whether the employment of these overseers is not an infringement of the Ordinance. At all events, Chinese overseers are there, and the skilled labourers have not been able to prevent their importation.

It is perfectly certain that the unskilled labourers are quite helpless, and it is equally certain that the Rand mineowners intend they shall remain perfectly helpless. The skilled labourer stands in a somewhat stronger position, but I very much doubt whether he is able to hold his own against the enormous influence wielded by the mineowners. I should like to ask the noble Lord opposite, Lord Harris, whether he believes that in the event of any skilled labourer or any combination of skilled labourers taking steps to get the mineowners fined £500 for a breach of the Ordinance, that skilled labourer or that combination would ever get another job on the Rand. I very much doubt it. Surely, while the Transvaal remains a Crown colony, it is the duty of the Secretary of State to see that the Ordinance is properly enforced. He cannot shelter himself behind the plea that the white men can look after themselves. Your Lordships may, perhaps, have thought that I ought to have left it to Members of the House of Commons to ask these questions, and not troubled your Lordships with the matter. I have ventured to put these questions in this House because there is in the House of Commons an atmosphere of reticence over the Treasury Bench which it is extremely difficult to penetrate. That atmosphere of reticence has not permeated this House; on the contrary, we find it not in the least difficult to get from noble Lords on the front bench opposite the frankest possible declarations. I trust, therefore, that the noble Duke the Under-Secretary may be not only willing but anxious to give me every information that it is in his power to obtain.

Moved, "That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty for a Return of the number of white men employed in the erection and preparation of Chinese compounds in the Rand."—(*Lord Monkswell.*)

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Duke of MARLBOROUGH): My Lords, I can assure the noble Lord who has just spoken that it is our wish, so far as lies in our power, to give him all the information he desires with regard to the number of Chinese employed in South Africa, and the manner in which they are treated. I do not know that the attitude of the occupants of the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons has been very reticent upon this matter of Chinese labour. I read with great care the debate in another place the other night, and it seemed to me that the Secretary of State gave all the information that was at his disposal; and, further, I think he disposed altogether of the objections and criticisms of the Members of the Party to which the noble Lord opposite belongs. I will not, however, discuss what took place in the other House. It would be improper to do so. But I fear I cannot add very much to the information which the Secretary of State has already given in regard to the particular questions which the noble Lord has put to me to-day.

The noble Lord wishes to know the number of white men employed on the Rand to-day in erecting and looking after the compounds. At present we have no official information as to the exact number of men employed there, but the Secretary of State is perfectly willing that a communication shall be sent to Lord Milner asking him to furnish us with a Return, and I can assure the noble Lord that as soon as we receive it he will have full access to it. He is perfectly right in assuming that the white men engaged on the compounds are included in the gross total. The noble Lord went on to ask whether we could give any information as to how long the employment of these men will last. I confess I think that is a remarkable question to put to us. After all, no employment is of a permanent character. The humblest man in this country cannot tell how long his employment will last, and what applies to the humblest individual applies equally to those who are in more important positions. In fact, noble Lords opposite have reminded us on more than one occasion that the employment of those who are now responsible for the government of this country may terminate at no distant date. Since, therefore, all employment is of a transitory, and not of a permanent character, I do not see how the noble Lord can expect us to be able to tell him how long these men will be employed on the compounds. All I can say is that their employment will depend largely on the future development of the country. If the country is prosperous, as we believe it will be, and if the mining industry develops as it has done, there is every chance that these men will participate in the further development and secure continuous employment.

Then the noble Lord asked whether any further employment has been arranged for these men. In this country, with all the great resources and all the wealth at the disposal of the State, we yet see a great number of people who are unemployed, who cannot be guaranteed employment permanently; and how much more likely is that to obtain in the case of a country like the Transvaal, which has only lately got over a severe war, the finances of which have only lately been placed on a sound and proper footing, and in which the mining industry itself is hardly re-established. The questions which the noble Lord has put to me are simple in themselves, and, in a way, are almost insignificant, but I think underlying them is a desire to raise the question of the employment of whites in the mines in South Africa. The noble Lord who moved the Motion now before the House and noble Lords opposite have always held that the importation of Chinese labour into South Africa would probably curtail the employment of white men. They know now from the statistics that have been published that their contention was not altogether well founded. Accordingly they seem anxious to shift their ground. They admit, I understand, that white labour has increased in consequence of the augmentation of unskilled labour, but they say that it is only of a temporary character, and that these men are only employed in the building of the compounds and in keeping them in order.

I think the best proof in a matter of this sort is to refer to the figures, and I think the figures conclusively show that the direct result of the increase of unskilled labour has been enormously to increase the number of white men employed in the mines. In May last, before the arrival of the Chinese, there were, in round figures, 77,000 Kaffirs and 13,000 white men employed in the mines. Since then there has been an increase every month in the number of Kaffirs and white men employed. In January last there were 27,000 Chinese in the mines, very nearly 90,000 Kaffirs, or an increase of 13,000 since May last—your Lordships will notice that the introduction of Chinese has led to the supplementing, and not the superseding, of Kaffir labour—and 15,500 white men. I do not think the noble Lord opposite can maintain that all these 2,500 additional white men are employed in completing and maintaining the compounds in which the Chinese live. I think it is reasonable to assume that a large proportion of them are undoubtedly employed in industries in the mines. The noble Lord said that the Secretary of State had admitted in another place that the ratio of white men to coloured had decreased. I do not know where the noble Lord found that statement. My recollection is that the Secretary of State said that whereas before the war the ratio was 119 white men to 1,000 black, to-day it was 143 to 1,000.

Lord MONKSWELL: The Secretary of State said it was perfectly true that the proportion of white to coloured labour was now 143 to 1,000, but it had been as large as 200 to 1,000, and was gradually going down. He said the reason why there was such a large amount of white labour employed soon after the war was that there was then no importation of Chinese labour. Less white labour is employed now than then.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH: I think the real point is that very often, in order to get a proper complement of men, a great number of white men were employed on a mine in starting it, as a sort of nucleus, and sufficient unskilled labour had to be added afterwards. When that condition obtained, undoubtedly the ratio of white men to coloured was higher than the normal ratio. I would revert for a moment to my statement that there are 2,500 more white men employed now than in May last. These men, it is estimated, earn at least £1 a day, and if you multiply that number by 365 you arrive at a total of over £900,000 being paid in wages to white men in excess of what was paid previous to the importation of Chinese. I think that must be a matter for congratulation as helping to promote the prosperity of the white population in South Africa. The noble Lord went on to discuss the question of rock-drilling and hand-drilling. As I understand, in machine-drilling one skilled man works two machine-drills and employs two coloured men on each drill—in other words, one skilled man employs four unskilled labourers. The noble Lord is under the impression that machine-drills are going to be superseded by hand-drills. I have always been under the impression that hand-drilling was more expensive than machine-drilling.

Lord MONKSWELL: Not with Chinese labour.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH: I am afraid I am not competent to discuss the matter with my noble friend. Perhaps Lord Harris can throw some light on the subject. I should certainly have thought that a machine-drill, run by a skilled man, was more economical than a hand-drill run by unskilled labour. We have received no information of any sort which would support the belief of the noble Lord that in the matter of rock-drilling skilled labour is to be superseded by unskilled labour; there is not a vestige of evidence of an official kind, so far as I am aware, which would support his statement. I would remind the noble Lord that the Ordinance defines unskilled labour as labour usually performed by persons belonging to the aboriginal races or tribes in South Africa, and in the schedule there are forty or fifty employments which they must not undertake, and rock-drilling is especially included. It must be remembered, moreover, that there is a severe penalty—a penalty of £500—for any infringement of the rules of the Ordinance. There is a large and vigilant white population in South Africa who would be extremely irritated if by any process the mineowners managed to supersede white men by Kaffirs and Chinese, and there is ample provision in the Ordinance by which the white population can protect themselves. The noble Lord knows that a superintendent or inspector may at any time enter the premises of the mines, and, if there are any complaints, either by the unskilled labourers or the white men, it is his duty to report those complaints, which are then laid before the magistrate of the district. Therefore, if the noble Lord's contention is correct, there is every machinery under the terms of the Ordinance for the infliction of a penalty upon those who in any way violate its terms.

The noble Lord regretted that we did not express our opinions more definitely as to whether or not certain terms of the Ordinance had been broken. I have always understood that the powers of the Executive and of the legal tribunals in this country were totally distinct. When once the Executive have passed and sanctioned a law, it is the duty of the Judges and magistrates to interpret that law in the way they think right and proper; and if that is so in this country it is equally so in South Africa. If anybody breaks the terms of the Ordinance it is not for us in this country to express an opinion upon it. An expression of opinion by the noble Lord, or, indeed, by a member of His Majesty's Government, would not in any way influence the decision of the Judge or the magistrate on the spot. Therefore, I do not think the noble Lord can reasonably ask me to state whether I think that any terms of the Ordinance have in any way been infringed. That is a matter entirely for the magistrate in South Africa to decide. Let me say, in conclusion, that, so far as we are aware, none of the terms of the Ordinance have been infringed. We know that the number of whites has largely increased owing to the importation of unskilled labourers, and, so far as we are aware, there has been no attempt to oust the white man from his work and to put in his place Kaffirs or Chinese.

*LORD HARRIS: My Lords, when I sat in a more prominent place on the front Government Bench I was accustomed to have questions shot at me, and I was prepared to answer them, but now that I occupy a more modest seat on the back benches it is certainly embarrassing to have questions put to me from both front benches—questions not merely on highly technical matters connected with mining, but on purely hypothetical points. The noble Lord opposite asked me what chances workmen would have of future employment if they took part in an agitation for the conviction of their employers for having allowed coloured men to do work which they are forbidden to do under the Ordinance. I am afraid I cannot answer a conundrum of that kind. My impression is that the working men in South Africa are just as independent and just as capable of combination as the working men in England. I do not know of any difference. Possibly they may be even more independent in the freer atmosphere of a colony than in a country so hidebound as England. I can assure the noble Lord of this, that their trade union is very careful of their interests, and in practical working there would be no necessity whatever for a skilled workman to expose himself to any risks of the kind.

The introduction of Chinese is governed by law, and it is the business of the Government to see that the law is obeyed. They have the right to send inspectors into the mines to ascertain that the law is being complied with, and I imagine that an inspector would report a company who were allowing coloured men to do work forbidden by law. So far as I understand, the Chinese are not doing any work that the Kaffir did not do before in connection with rock-drilling. My impression is that there is not at this moment in the market any such thing as a hand-drill; that is to say, a drill that can be worked by one man. Possibly there is something coming forward which may be worked more economically; it has not yet been proved, but I believe it is under experiment now. At present the bulk of the work is done by the large drills, on which several coloured labourers and a white overseer work. I cannot help thinking that there has been some misunderstanding about the term "overseer." I should have thought that, as regards the work underground, "ganger" would have been the more correct term to use for the man who supervises the placing of the drill in the stope, the direction of the point, and things of that kind.

The overseers who are being imported with the Chinese are men who can speak Chinese and English, and it is absolutely necessary, not only to have men of that capacity, but to have men of extremely good character who are capable of making clear to the Chinese what is wanted of them, and of explaining away any difficulties that may present themselves as regards the conditions of life in the compounds, the conditions of work, and everything connected with this new undertaking of theirs. Speaking from personal experience, I can assure the noble Lord that the greatest care is being taken to select the very best men that are prepared to engage themselves for this work of overseers in the compounds. These overseers have to go underground as well. I can mention one thing which may, perhaps, reassure the noble Lord opposite as to the possibility of Chinamen being put to work that they are not entitled to do under the Ordinance. Quite recently I asked a colleague of mine who has returned from the Transvaal whether the Chinamen were allowed to do any gardening in the neighbourhood of the compounds, and my friend replied—

> "Oh dear, no. There is such an amount of suspicion as to Chinamen doing work which is not allowed under the Ordinance that they are not permitted to do any gardening for themselves."

Perhaps I may be allowed to say one word as to the drop in proportion. The drop, in proportion as the number of coloured labourers increases on the mines, is absolutely certain to increase to a certain degree. The noble Duke spoke of new mines. There are very few new mines starting. The bulk of the new stamps that have been dropped belong to old mines which were worked before the war, but to which possibly new stamps have been added since the war. As further manual labour was forthcoming an additional number of stamps could be dropped. But it is essential, whatever the number of labourers, that they should not drop below a certain proportion of white skilled labour. In many cases, where there were only a few stamps being dropped, the proportion of white to coloured labour was perhaps one to five, but that was largely in excess of what is necessary when the full number of stamps are dropped, and it is inevitable that the proportion will go from one to five to one to eight, nine, or ten, or perhaps even more, according to the peculiarities of the different mines.

I will give your Lordships a practical illustration of what I mean from one particular mine with which I am conversant—the Simmer and Jack Mine, which has the largest number of stamps of any mine on the Rand. To put up the compounds for the Chinese, which cost £40,000, seventy white working men were engaged. In May last the number of white working men employed was 400, while the number of coloured men was something over 2,000. In November, when the compounds had been finished, and any white men in excess of what the mine actually required to work it would have gone, the number of white working men was 575, an increase of nearly 50 per cent., while the number of coloured men, including Chinese, had increased to 5,000. So that, although the proportion of white working men had decreased—that is to say, there were more coloured labourers compared with white men—the number of white men employed had gone up by 50 per cent., and the increase in wages to white men on that mine alone was £3,000 a month.

If the noble Duke is going to ask Lord Milner to answer the conundrum of how long the men who have been employed on the compounds are going to be employed in the future, he might also ask him what, I think, is a more practical question—namely, how many white men employed in South Africa can attribute their employment to the introduction of Chinese? I think Lord Milner would reply that it is a very large number indeed. That is proved by the fact that at a meeting with regard to railways, Lord Milner pointed out that whereas in November last there had been no hope of increasing the length of the railways in South Africa, suddenly something had occurred to create confidence in South Africa, the money was forthcoming, and they were prepared to make a considerable addition to the mileage in that country. What was it that had given confidence? Why, the knowledge that the one industry in South Africa was going to be allowed to continue and make progress. I must apologise for having occupied the time of your Lordships at such length. I only ventured to rise because I was appealed to, and I conclude by assuring your Lordships that, so far as I know, it is, and has been proved to be, the object of the mineowners, those who manage the mines, to make this introduction of indentured Asiatic labour a thorough success so far as the livelihood of the men themselves is concerned, and, speaking from what I know, I can say that our object is to abide most strictly by the terms of the Ordinance.

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, when the noble Duke opposite seemed to complain of the character of the questions asked by my noble friend behind me, I do not think that he was quite so just as we generally find him to those who sit on this side of the House, because it seems to me nothing could be more natural than that my noble friend Lord Monkswell should have asked the Questions on the Paper. Those persons, whether in or out of Parliament, who are such strong supporters of the employment of Chinese labour in South Africa in the conditions in which it is now there employed, have of late been very frequently led to say—I think rather a triumphant expression of the kind fell from the Prime Minister not very long ago—that so far from the employment of Chinese labourers having produced a falling-off in the employment of white men, since Chinese labour was introduced the number of white men employed has increased, and statistics have been laid before Parliament to bear that out.

Now, the first question asked by my noble friend was an extremely natural one. It was, what kind of employment is included in that Return? We all know that compounds have had to be built and arrangements made for the accommodation of the Chinese. The construction of these compounds and buildings would naturally give employment to a considerable number of white labourers, but that does not in the least degree prove that the permanent employment of white labour in the mines in South Africa has been increased by the introduction of Chinese. Of course, the building of these compounds is a temporary business. It may have given, and I daresay has given, a considerable amount of employment at the time, because they had to be put up very rapidly, but it does not in the smallest degree follow, because there has been an increase of white labour for a time in this temporary work, that therefore when that temporary work is finished it will be found that white labour has been permanently increased. Even taking the statistics as they stand and making no deduction for those who are temporarily employed, I take it that the increase of white labour, whatever it has been, has been nothing like in proportion to the increase of Chinese or Kaffir labour. When the noble Duke said it was quite impossible to say how long men might be kept on in their employment I think he misunderstood the object of my noble friend's question on that point. My noble friend did not want to know how long John Smith or James Jones would be kept in the service of any particular employer in South Africa. He wanted to know if the noble Duke could tell him how long the special and temporary work of the erection of these buildings was likely to take.

I was a little surprised to find how small was the information which appears to be in the possession of His Majesty's Government with respect to the details of this matter. Now, whatever may be thought of this question, it is one of importance. It is a question which has greatly interested, I may say excited, the feelings of many persons in this country, and I venture to say that it is a question on which the Secretary of State for the Colonies might, with great advantage, keep himself adequately informed, so that when questions are asked here or elsewhere it may be possible to reply to them without delay. The noble Duke took exception to what was said by my noble friend behind me in respect to the duty of the Executive in regard to any infringement of the Ordinance by the employment of Chinese labour in forbidden trades. The noble Duke seemed to think that my noble friend was asking that the Executive should in some way or other trench upon the duties of Judges or magistrates. I take it nothing was further from the intention of my noble friend. There is a law, and it may be easily part of the duty of the Executive to prosecute if they think that law is being infringed. There is in South Africa an officer whose business it is, I suppose, to see that the law is properly obeyed, and I do think it is the duty of the Executive Government in South Africa, and if they fail, of the Executive Government here, who are, South Africa being a Crown colony, entirely responsible for what goes on in that country—it is their duty carefully to see that the Ordinance which they themselves passed is carried out.

Lord MONKSWELL: My Lords, I have only a few words to say in reply, for the noble Marquess who has just sat down has been kind enough to take a great deal of that duty off my hands. I would observe, with regard to the somewhat optimistic utterances of the noble Duke as to the future of white labour, that what we contend is that although at present there may be, and is, a considerable amount of white labour employed on the Rand, still the tendency is for that labour to decrease after a certain time. We have heard with regard to other matters that it is the tendency we must look to. Well, in South Africa it is not so much to what is happening to-day, but to the tendency that we must look. We find the chairman of one of the biggest mines on the Rand stating that they are going to replace the machine-drill by the hand-drill. The noble Duke is not particularly well posted as to the difference between the two, but it has been asserted over and over again in the Press that the difference is that in working the machine-drill you must employ very skilled white labour, whilst unskilled labour can work the hand-drill. I think the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees (the Earl of Onslow) said in a debate last year that persons who work a machine-drill get £32 a month. Now, it is the intention of the mineowners to get rid of these men to whom they pay £32 a month, and to substitute what is technically unskilled yellow labour. It is perfectly clear under the Ordinance that Chinamen may work a hand-drill but not a machine-drill, and

the mineowners say they will have the machine-drill done away with and the hand-drill substituted. I was very sorry to hear the statement made by Lord Harris that these wretched Chinamen are not even allowed to work in their own gardens. It seems to me that that is a terribly servile condition of labour.

***Lord HARRIS**: It is according to the Ordinance.

Lord MONKSWELL: What, that they may not work in their own gardens?

***Lord HARRIS**: They may not be gardeners.

Lord MONKSWELL: I do not understand that a man is necessarily a gardener because he works in his own garden. I hope the Secretary of State will take notice of what the noble Lord has said, and that the wretched Chinaman will have one servile condition the less imposed upon him. The question of the overseers is one which I think might very well engage the attention of the Secretary of State. These men, it seems, are highly skilled men—who speak two languages—Chinese and English. They are not English, but Chinese, and it does appear to me——

***Lord HARRIS**: The men I refer to are not Chinese. They may not be Englishmen, but they are certainly not Chinese.

Lord MONKSWELL: It seems to me that this is a case very much on the border line of the Ordinance, and I should have thought it desirable to take a test case on that matter. On the question of proportion, I understand that the proportion of white men to Kaffirs is one to seven or eight, but that the proportion of white men to Chinamen is about one to forty.

***Lord HARRIS**: I think the proportion will be found to be precisely the same, whether Kaffirs or Chinese.

Lord MONKSWELL: I am glad to get that information from the noble Lord, but it is contrary to what has appeared in the public Press. One objection taken to the employment of Chinese, who are so much better workmen than the Kaffirs, is that forty Chinamen can be looked after by one white man, whereas one white man cannot look after more than eight or ten Kaffirs. As the noble Duke has promised that a communication shall be forwarded to Lord Milner asking for the information for which I have moved, I am perfectly willing to accept that, and I withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 27th February, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

SUBSTITUTED BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the following Bill, introduced pursuant to the provisions of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, and which the Chairman of Ways and Means had directed to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with, viz. :—Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution) Bill.

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 62 COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 62 has been complied with, viz. :—Clay Cross Railway (Abandonment) Bill; Croydon Gas Bill; Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill; Sunderland and South Shields Water Bill.

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 63 COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 63 has been complied with, viz. :—Aylesbury Gas Bill; Dublin United Tramways Bill; Hitchin and District Gas Bill.

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

PRIVATE BILLS (PETITION FOR ADDITIONAL PROVISION) (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the Petition for additional Provision in the following Bill, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—Liverpool Corporation Bill.

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

Aberdare Tramways Bill; Accrington Corporation Bill; Accrington District Gas and Water Board Bill; Acton Sewage Bill; Birmingham Corporation Bill; Bolton Corporation Bill; Bootle Corporation Bill; Colne Corporation Bill; Croydon Corporation Bill; Dublin Corporation (Superannuation) Bill; Halifax Corporation Bill; Ilfracombe Harbour and Improvement Bill; Liverpool Corporation Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

London Building Acts (Amendment) Bill; London County Council (General Powers) Bill; London County Council (Tramways) Bill. To be read a second time to-morrow.

London Gas Bill; Loughborough Corporation Bill; North Sussex Gas Bill; Sale of Bread (London) Bill; Skegness Water Bill; Stockport Corporation Bill; Swansea Corporation Bill. Read a second time, and committed.

HIGHLAND RAILWAY BILL.

"To extend the time for the completion of certain railways authorised by The Highland Railway (Additional Powers) Act, 1897; to enable the Highland Railway Company to provide and work steam and other vessels between Inverness and Fort Augustus; and to subscribe to the funds of Steamship Companies; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

Copy presented, of Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending 31st March, 1906, together with a Copy of the Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury relating thereto [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 64.]

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st February; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 58.]

NATIONAL DEBT.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st February; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 59.]

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st February; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 60.]

ARMY (ORDNANCE FACTORIES) (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT).

Appropriation Account presented, of the sums granted by Parliament for the expense of the Ordnance Factories, the cost of the productions of which have been charged to the Army, Navy, and Indian and Colonial Governments, etc., and the Statement of the Surpluses and Deficits upon the Grants for the year ended 31st March, 1904, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 61.]

RUSSIA (No. 3, 1905).

Copy presented, of Despatch from the British Agent forwarding the Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on the North Sea Incident [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

Copy presented, of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Aberdeen for 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 62.]

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

Copy presented, of Abstract of Accounts of the University of Aberdeen for the year ending 15th September, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table; and to be printed. [No. 63.]

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Bridlington Piers and Harbour. Copy of Abstract of the General Annual Account for the year ending 26th July, 1904 [by Act].

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND) (INSPECTORS AND AUDITORS).

Return ordered, "up to the 31st day of December, 1904, showing the number of (1) Inspectors, temporary and permanent, and (2) Auditors, appointed by the Local Government Board for Ireland from the 31st day of March, 1899, to that date, setting forth, in addition, the date of each appointment and the previous calling of each appointee."—(*Mr. J. P. Farrell.*)

WINES IMPORTED.

Return ordered, "showing the quantity of Wines, at the various degrees of strength, which were imported into the United Kingdom in 1904 from Spain, Portugal, Madeira, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Australasia, and other countries (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 115, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Gibbs.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

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Government of Ireland—Suggested Royal Commission.

Dr. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will consider the advisability of recommending the appointment of a Royal Commission to consider and report on the existing system of the government of Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I do not think anything would be gained by the appointment of a Royal Commission such as that which the hon. Member proposes.

System of Accounts of National Expenditure—Suggested Royal Commission.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will consider the advisability of recommending the appointment of a small Royal Commission to consider the present system of the Accounts of National Expenditure, and the desirability of making changes therein.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) It seems to me on consideration that the best course would be for the Public Accounts Committee, who are appointed by Parliament to deal with public accounts, to suggest changes in our existing system. Any such recommendation would have the most respectful consideration of His Majesty's Government, and could probably be dealt with without any further consideration by a specially appointed Commission. It may be worth noting that the principal change in our system of keeping public accounts during the last twenty years was made on the initiative of the Public Accounts Committee.

Missions in Bahr-el-Ghazal.

Mr. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to a recent appeal by Lord Cromer for the establishment of missions in the Bahr-el-Ghazal; and whether, seeing that this territory is leased to Belgium, His Majesty's Government has sanctioned Lord Cromer's intervention in the internal affairs of this territory.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The hon. Member is under a misapprehension. The Bahr el Ghazal is a province of the Soudan.

Somaliland Field Force.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War what force is there at present in Somaliland; and whether he has any official information to the effect that the Mullah is again active near Obbia.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The troops quartered in the Protectorate are:—

	Companies.	Fighting Men.
33rd Punjaub Infantry	8	750
6th King's African Rifles	5	500
Total	13	1,250

The reply to the last paragraph is in the negative.

Shipping and Seamen's Act, 1903 (New Zealand).

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can lay upon the Table of the House the reasons why the Royal Assent was withheld from the Shipping and Seamen's Act, 1903, New Zealand.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The Act referred to by the hon. Member is an Act of great complexity, involving questions not only of detail but of constitutional principle. It has received the most careful consideration of the Departments of Government concerned, and this has necessarily involved considerable delay. I hope to be able very shortly to advise His Majesty to assent to the Act, and to lay Papers which will indicate the difficulties attendant on this matter.

German Treatment of British Shipping Trading with the Marshall Islands.

Mr. KEARLEY (Devonport): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government of the Australian

Commonwealth have made a strong protest to the Home Government with regard to the unequal treatment by Germany of certain British shipping trading with the Marshall Islands now controlled by Germany; and, seeing that recently the ss. "Ysabal," trading between Sydney and the Islands, was charged a licence fee equal to £2,700 per annum, further increased on a subsequent voyage to £5,475 per annum, as against £100 per annum made to Germans or any nationality in the adjoining British groups, he will state whether such charges are an infringement of the most-favoured-nation clause; and whether any retaliatory action is contemplated.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The subject referred to in the hon. Member's Question is now being discussed with the German Government.

Self-Government for the Transvaal.

MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in connection with the representative institutions which he proposes establishing in the Transvaal, he has considered the working of the Barbadoes Constitution, with its wholly elective lower assembly, in contrast with that of other Crown Colonies, where there are composite councils consisting of nominated and elected members; and whether he is able to make any statement as to the form of Crown Colony Government he has in contemplation.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have not failed to consider, among others, the form of Constitution which exists in Barbadoes. I am not able at present to make any statement as to the form of Government contemplated for the Transvaal.

Cost of Defences of Halifax and Esquimault—Repayment by Canada.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the defences of Halifax and Esquimault, and all expenditure connected therewith, are to be taken over on July 1st by the Dominion Government and British forces withdrawn; and whether any arrangement has been arrived at for the repayment by Canada of any portion of the money spent by us in these places on works of a permanent character.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The Government of the Dominion of Canada last month offered to assume the responsibility of garrisoning Halifax and Esquimault with troops levied and paid under the authority of the Canadian Parliament. His Majesty's Government have gratefully accepted this patriotic offer, but no precise date has at present been fixed for this arrangement to come into operation. His Majesty's Government do not propose to ask the Government of Canada to repay any portion of the money spent by this country on permanent measures of defence at Halifax and Esquimault.

Decline of Native Population in Uganda.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the native population of Uganda has declined from 5,000,000 in 1878 to under 2,000,000; and whether he has any official information showing to what extent this loss of life has been the outcome of feuds.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) There are no statistics at the disposal of His Majesty's Government to prove to what extent the native population of Uganda has increased or decreased since 1878.

Auxiliary Motor Power for Fishing Boats—Result of Inquiry.

MR. CATHCART WASON: To ask the Lord-Advocate if he is now in a position to state the result of the inquiry (instituted by the Secretary for Scotland) on the application of auxiliary motor power to fishing boats.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) The Secretary for Scotland expects shortly to receive the Report of the inquiry referred to by the hon. Member, which shall receive his prompt attention.

Rebuilding of Grimsay Sea Dykes.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness): To ask the Lord-Advocate, as representing the Secretary for Scotland, whether the Congested Districts Board have received a petition from crofters and others resident in the Island of Grimsay, North Uist, urging that a grant may be made in aid of the rebuilding of the Grimsay sea dykes; and if so, whether, seeing that these dykes are necessary as a protection to the crofters' stock during high tides and to secure the safety of children passing to and from school, the Board will give the petition their favourable consideration.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) I am informed that a petition on the subject referred to by the hon. Member has been received by the Board, and that on September 9th, 1903, a reply was sent stating that the Board would consider an application supported by specific information as to the nature and cost of the work, and by a satisfactory guarantee for future maintenance. A further application has lately been received through the hon. Member, which, however, does not meet the foregoing requirements.

Accounts of the General Lighthouse Fund.

Mr. CHARLES McARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange): To ask the President of the Board of Trade when the accounts for the General Lighthouse Fund for the year ending March 31st, 1904, will be laid upon the Table of the House; and whether any steps can be taken to expedite the publication of these accounts.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) These accounts were laid upon the Table of the House on the first day of the session, and were in the hands of Members on the 22nd instant.

Number of Boys Enrolled in the Royal Naval Reserve.

Sir CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can state the number of boys who have now been enrolled under the reduced lights dues clause of the Merchant Shipping Mercantile Marine Fund Act of 1898, and what number are expected to have been enrolled by March 31st next, the date on which the section of that Act ceases to be in force; whether he can also state what steps are contemplated at the date at which the Act expires.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) Up to the 24th instant, 4,326 boys had been enrolled in the Royal Naval Reserve, under Section 6 of The Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Act, 1898. If the average rate of enrolment is maintained about seventy-four additional enrolments will have taken place by March 31st next. As at present advised I do not propose to take any action on the expiration of the provisions of the section of the Act to which the right hon. Member refers.

Railway Companies and the Humane Cattle Car.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the patent humane cattle car, which was examined by the Board of Trade official and passed, was in use for some time, until the Railway Conference agreed to forbid its use; and, if so, whether he will cause an inquiry into the refusal of the railway companies to allow the use of this car.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) I must refer the hon. Member to the reply given to a similar Question on June 14th† last year. I am unable to add to the Answer then given.

The Donegal Railway System.

Mr. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, having regard to the fact that the Donegal Railway system has been acquired by the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland) and the Midland Railway Company (England), and that these companies have offered to relieve the guaranteeing districts of the tax at present payable by them on the Glenties and Killybegs Railways, the Treasury will hand over the railways to the company, and forego any claim they may have in respect thereof.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The Donegal Railway system has not yet been acquired by the two companies referred to, although they are promoting a Bill for that purpose. The charge on the county has been insignificant in comparison with the benefit derived from the railways, and I can hold out no prospect that the Treasury will forego its claims in respect of these lines, practically the whole cost of which was defrayed by Government.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvi., 19.

Elementary Education — Church Attendance.

Mr. FREDERICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid.): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether, having regard to the answer given by him to a recent deputation, he proposes in future to permit local managers of elementary schools to send children to church, and to count such attendance at church as attendance at school.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) I know of no answer given by me which could warrant such a conclusion. The Board have never regarded attendance of children at church as attendance at school, and do not so regard it unless the school attendance authority are prepared to do so under their by-laws.

Revenue from Solicitors' Certificate Duty.

Mr. WHITLEY THOMSON (Yorkshire, W.R. Skipton); To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state the total amount received last year by the Government from Solicitors' Certificate Duty.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The total amount of duty received during the financial year 1903–4 in respect of solicitors' and conveyancers' certificates was as follows:—England, £110,070 10s.; Scotland, £21,291; Ireland, £10,441 10s.; total £141,803.

Vernacular Education of Children on Indian Tea Plantations.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he has yet received a report from the Government of India (as promised on March 19th, 1904) in regard to the provision of adequate facilities for the vernacular education of the children employed or resident upon plantations in Assam and other planting districts in India; and, if so, will he state the purport of that report.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I received in September last an interim reply from the Government of India, which shows that the subject is receiving attention. The report generally confirms what I understood to be the case, and stated in my reply to my hon. friend on March 18th last,† that the classes employed to labour on tea gardens do not display much desire for education for their children in any part of India; but it is hoped that it may be found possible to offer some special encouragement to induce them to do so, and the matter will not be overlooked. I shall receive further reports in due course.

Irish Poor Law Commission.

Mr. O'DOHERTY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Poor Law Commission has as yet completed its labours; and whether, considering that the question of amalgamation and the alteration of boundaries in certain of the unions in the North-West of Ireland, and particularly in the counties of Donegal and Londonderry, has given rise to uncertainty, he will request the Commissioners to issue an interim Report with reference to this question.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I refer to my reply to the Question put to me on the 23rd instant ‡ by my hon. friend the Member for South Belfast. The Commissioners do not propose to issue an interim Report. They consider, and in my opinion very properly, that it would be open to objection to deal with the matter except as a whole.

Agricultural Instructors in County Donegal.

Mr. O'DOHERTY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Department of Agriculture have reconsidered their position with reference to the Donegal County Agricultural Committee as to the refusal of the Department to sanction the appointment of residents of the county of

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 54.

‡ See page 1079.

Donegal under the agricultural and technical scheme for the county to positions therein; and whether, on account of portions of the county containing inhabitants who are Gaelic speakers, steps will be taken by the Department to cancel the rule in so far as others, not natives of the county of Donegal, would not understand the Gaelic dialect in that county and their services thereby would be useless.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The rule made by the Department not to sanction in future the appointment of a person as instructor in any county of which he or she is a native, or in which he or she resides, affects all the agricultural schemes, and applies to every county in Ireland. The Department does not propose to modify this regulation in the case of Donegal. Experience has shown it to be necessary in the interests of the schemes and of the committees administering them. The regulation has worked well in other counties.

Closing of Police Station at Kildalkey, County Meath.

MR. SHEEHY (Meath, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the police in the barrack at Kildalkey, county Meath, are to be dispersed, and the station closed; and whether he can state the number of prosecutions in the district, and say whether it compares favourably with other districts in the neighbourhood.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) It has been decided to disestablish this police station. The number of offences specially reported from the sub-district in the past three years was one, and the number of minor offences recorded in the same period was 161. There are four other police stations within a radius of six miles from Kildalkey.

Carrickfergus Land Arbitration Award.

COLONEL McCALMONT (Antrim, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when the arbitrator will issue his award in regard to lands in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, Section E, acquired by the Belfast Water Commissioners, his final draft award having been duly considered in August last.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Part I. of the final award was lodged by the arbitrator on 15th December, 1904. He states that Parts II. and III. are in the printers' hands, and that he expects to issue one portion early next week and the other in the ensuing week. The award in Section E will then be complete.

Appointment of Manager of Lislea (No. 1) National School.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that a resident clergyman is not available for appointment as manager of the Lislea (No. 1) National School (county Armagh), the National Education Commissioners will accede to the expressed wishes of the parents of the children attending the school, and appoint a resident layman to the office of manager.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I am informed by the Commissioners that it is their practice in cases such as this to recognise the clerical successor of the former manager when a vacancy occurs. The school was recently visited by the Board's senior inspector, who reports that it is being conducted satisfactorily under the present temporary manager, the Rev. Mr. Simpson.

Grazing Lands at Mile Hill, Ballinrobe.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL (Mayo, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a shopkeeper, named Martin May, who is a shopkeeper in Ballinrobe, county Mayo, in 1900 took a grazing farm at Mile Hill, near that town, part of which he set for conacre last year; and, if so, whether the Estates Commissioners have power to give a grant of money to this man to purchase the farm in view of the fact that there are many congested townlands in the vicinity.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Congested Districts Board or the Estates Commissioners will consider the advisability of purchasing a grazing farm situate at Mile Hill, near Ballinrobe, county Mayo, now held by a shopkeeper named May, residing in Ballinrobe, with a view to creating some new holdings for persons in that district who have no land.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) So far as can be ascertained no application has been made either to the Commissioners or the Board for the purchase of the lands in question.

The Erne Estate.

MR. JOHN O'DONNELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a grazier named Daly, who resides at Ballinrobe, and holds several thousand acres of grazing lands in Mayo and Meath counties, holds a grazing farm on the estate of Lord Erne at Loughmask, and that he has recently ploughed some of the land and got a fair rent fixed with a view to coming under the Land Act of 1903; and, if so, whether the Estates Commissioners will refuse to give a grant to this man for the purchase of the farm held by him on the Erne Estate, whenever negotiations between the landlord and tenants are carried through.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No application for the sale of the estate of Lord Erne has been lodged with the Commissioners, who are not, therefore, in a position to make any statement on the matters alleged in the Question.

Irish Technical Education Grants.

MR. SHEEHY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Department of Science and Art holds £58,629 belonging to Irish technical education; whether the grants payable for local science and art instruction is for proficiency in studies, as ascertained by examination, or for attendances at instruction, as given under regulations; whether these regulations can only be found in the Science and Art Directory, as modified by Circular 2, Form S 46; and, if so, will he state where copies of the Science and Art Directory can be obtained; has the Department of Agriculture in Ireland, which has the control of the grant for technical instruction in Ireland, a copy of the directory; or, if not, has the Department drafted its own regulations governing the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The reply to the first inquiry is in the negative. The grants payable for local science and art instruction are based upon attendance and upon efficiency, as determined by inspection, supplemented by examination in the advanced stages of the syllabuses. Students in the honours stages are paid for on the results of examinations alone. The regulations are those of the Science and Art Directory of the Board of Education, South Kensington, for 1901, as amended by Circular 2 and Form S 46 issued by the Department. Copies of the directory for 1901 are not now obtainable from the publishers, but an excerpt containing all information required by school managers is issued by the Department and may be obtained on application. The Department has copies of the directory in question.

Local Authorities Accounts—County Council of North Tipperary and Local Government Board.

MR. P. J. O'BRIEN (Tipperary, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he has seen the correspondence which passed between the County Council of North Tipperary and the Local Government Board with reference to The Public Bodies Accounts Order, 1904, and the resolutions of the council subsequently passed thereon; and whether, in consideration of the facts therein set forth, and the protest of the council against the expense and complications involved by this new Order, he will see his way to have the question of this Order reconsidered.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Yes, Sir; I have seen the correspondence and resolutions referred to. The council appears to be under a misapprehension as to the changes made by the Order, and the Board has directed its attention to the fact that nearly all the forms objected to are practically the same as those which have been in operation for the past six years.

Extra Police Tax in North Tipperary.

MR. P. J. O'BRIEN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware of the resolution of the North Tipperary County Council, at their meeting on the 15th instant, in reference to the sum of £115 15s. 11d. amount of extra police tax, to the effect that the sum be struck out of the estimate submitted by the secretary, and that the levying of a rate to meet this amount be adjourned to give the council an opportunity of having the legality of said tax considered owing to the fact that the first demand for a sum of £728 18s. 9d. made on the council was afterwards found to be illegal; and, if so, will he say under what powers this demand is made; and, further, in face of the crimeless condition of North Tipperary, he will consider the necessity for any extra police there.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I have seen the resolution. The claim made upon the county council in respect to the sum of £115 15s. 11d. was for the expenses of extra police drafted into certain districts of the county on ordinary detachment duty from other counties. Such charges have not been and will not be remitted. The reasons for the decision of the Government to withdraw charges amounting to £633 2s. 10d. have already been fully explained by me in this House. I refer to my replies to Questions addressed to me on this subject by my hon. friend the Member for Mid Armagh on the 24th † and 28th ‡ March and 18th § April, 1904. I may add that the county council having declined to make payment of the sum of £115 15s. 11d., the amount was deducted in March, 1904, from moneys payable to the council out of the Local Taxation Account, in pursuance of Section 80 (2) of The Local Government Act, 1898. There are no extra police at present in this county.

Purchase of Irish Estates—Accommodation of Labourers.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Land Commission in the purchase of estates have in any cases put in operation Clause 96 of the Land Purchase Act of 1903 which enabled them to make provision for the accommodation of labourers on said estates; if so, whether he will give the number and names of the estates and the number of labourers for whom accommodation has been provided or recommended.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Representations have been made to the district councils concerned in the case of sixteen estates referred to in the appended Return:—

County.	Union or District.	Estate.	Number of Dwellings recommended.
Wexford -	Gorey - - -	W. C. Moore - - -	2
Tipperary -	Tipperary (No. 1) -	Major P. J. Waldron - -	1
Cork - -	Mallow - - -	Eliza Hardy and others -	1
Tyrone - -	Omagh - - -	King Houston - - -	1
Wexford -	Wexford - -	W. J. O'Neill - - -	2
Cork - -	Kanturk - -	Reverend J. Sullivan -	1
King's - -	Roscrea (No. 2) -	W. H. Jackson - - -	3
Down - -	Newry (No. 1) -	Captain H. V. Brooke -	1
Kildare - -	Edenderry (No. 2) -	George P. A. Colley - -	5
Cork - -	Cork - - -	H. Hitchmough - - -	2
Kildare - -	Athy (No. 1) - -	Duke of Leinster (Athy) -	2
Kildare - -	Naas (No. 1) - -	Duke of Leinster (Naas) -	2
Wexford -	Enniscorthy - -	George Wilson - - -	2
Londonderry -	Londonderry (No. 1)	Lord Macnaghten - -	2
Londonderry -	Limavady - -	Helen M. Cather - -	2
Wicklow -	Rathdrum - -	Earl of Carysfort - -	2
Tyrone - -	Strabane (No. 1) -	W. H. M. Sinclair - -	5
		Total	36

The representations are engaging the consideration of the local authorities.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 610.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxxii., 823.

§ See (4) *Debates*, cxxxiii., 364.

Purchase of South African Railways.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the purchase of the South African Railways under the Loan Act has been completed; and, if not, what railways remain still unpurchased, and what is their estimated cost.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) Particulars of the services to be charged to Head II. of the Schedule to the Loan Act will be found on page 36 of Cd. 1552. Repayment to His Majesty's Government for rolling stock has been made, and the debt of the South African Railways to the Military Authorities has been settled. Payments in respect of the Orange River Colony Railway and Pretoria-Pietersburg Railway have been completed, with the possible exception of a sum of about £170,000 in the latter case, which is the subject of litigation in the Transvaal. The sum of £9,325,070 has been expended in the purchase of shares and debentures of the Netherlands South African Railway Company. A final estimate of expenditure is not yet possible, but I do not anticipate that the original estimate will be exceeded.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Discharges from Naval Establishments.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what are the number of men, skilled and unskilled, discharged from the various naval establishments since November 1st to date, and the reason for throwing out of employment during the winter months so many.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The numbers of men discharged from the various Naval Establishments since November 1st to date are: Skilled, 759; unskilled, 536; total 1,295; 32 per cent. of these discharges were on reduction; 26 per cent. on account of age limit or physical unfitness; 16 per cent. at their own request; and the remainder on completion of the temporary duties for which they were specially entered, or for misconduct or inefficiency.

Flogging in the Navy.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the punishments of birching and caning and other summary punishments inflicted on boys in the Royal Navy in 1903, the year for which term is the last Return, amounting to 9,553 punishments awarded summarily and seven punishments awarded after trial by Courts-martial, include the punishments of birching and caning and other summary punishments on the 4,293 boys and youths in the twelve naval training ships, including the 100 boys and youths temporarily embarked in other ships; and if the punishments inflicted on these boys and youths are not included in the Return what is the reason of the omission, and will any Return of these punishments be presented.

MR PRETYMAN: The punishments awarded to boys as shown in the Return for 1903 include the training service punishments. The number 4,293 refers to the boys and youths now borne, and not to those borne in 1903.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Will not the Government consider the propriety of abolishing this disgraceful punishment?

[No Answer was returned.]

Self-Government for the Transvaal.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can now give the House an assurance that an opportunity will be afforded it of discussing the proposals for conferring local self-government upon the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies before those proposals become operative.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The House will most undoubtedly have an opportunity of discussing the question of the Constitution of the Transvaal before that Constitution becomes operative; but I do not think they ought to have an opportunity, and it is not in accordance with precedent that they should have an opportunity, of discussing the Letters

Patent until the Letters Patent are issued. The process is this. Letters Patent will be issued, and they will contain among other things the appointment of a Royal Commission to deal with questions of details—very important details, but still details—of the scheme in South Africa, and the scheme cannot become in the full sense operative, the Transvaal cannot enjoy the constitutional powers given to it, until an Order in Council is passed by which the recommendations of the Commission are assented to or varied, as the case may be. As soon as the Letters Patent are issued they will be laid on the Table of the House with Papers; and I shall take the first convenient opportunity—I canot say what the necessities of Supply may be, but subject to the necessities of Supply—I shall take the first convenient opportunity of putting the Colonial Secretary's Vote down as first Order on Wednesday.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Will the Letters Patent contain the general scheme of the new Government?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, the broad principles on which it is based.

DR. MACNAMARA: Will the House have an opportunity of determining whether procedure by Letters Patent is the best means of procedure?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir, that rests with the Executive Government.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us why he prefers the method of dealing by Letters Patent rather than the method of dealing by legislation, which has frequently been employed? There are many instances in which the House has had opportunities given to it of discussing the matter before it takes shape.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The most recent precedents are those which the Government propose to follow in this instance. There are precedents, as the right hon. Gentleman truly observes, in a different sense, the most recent, I believe, being more than half a century old.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: There was the Australian Commonwealth Bill in 1901.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is a different matter. But, in any case, I think the procedure which we propose to adopt is strictly in accordance with precedent, and is the most convenient. I am sure that if the right hon. Gentleman will devote his able and ingenious mind to thinking why it is the most convenient the answer will readily occur to him.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Cleveland Division of Yorkshire, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, seeing that representative institutions in Canada, New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, Western Australia, and Tasmania were established by the authority of Acts of Parliament of the years 1791, 1842, and 1850, he will, by adopting the same process in the establishment of representative institutions in the Transvaal, enable Parliament to exercise the same authority.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have answered this Question.

DR. MACNAMARA: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay Papers showing cases in which these grants have been made by statutory enactment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think it worth while laying Papers, but if a Question is put down the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary will give the information asked for.

Bengal—Local Option.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Bengal Excise Bill has been referred to the Government of India for instructions as to certain clauses dealing with the procedure to be adopted to ascertain the existence of local opinion in regard to the opening of liquor shops; whether he will state whether there is any conflict of opinion between the Government of India and the local government upon the question of principle involved in these clauses;

and when he will be in a position to state the views of the Government of India upon the subject.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. So far as the principle is concerned that the law should fix, as far as possible, a definite procedure for ascertaining local opinion, there is, I believe, no conflict of opinion between the two Governments. I cannot conveniently make any statement as to the views of the Government of India until an amended Bill shall have been introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council. I have ascertained from the Viceroy that he has not yet received the reply of the local government to the letter of the Government of India on the subject of the procedure provisions of the Bill.

Uganda.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can state approximately the number of natives in Uganda whose country has come under the domination of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, and also the extent of the country; and whether any steps have been taken, or are under consideration, for the protection of these people and of the English and Catholic missions.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): No part of Uganda has come under the domination of the King of the Belgians.

North Sea Fisheries Outrage—Finding of the International Commission.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government have received any information as to the finding of the International Commission which was appointed to investigate the responsibility for the deaths of the fishermen in the North Sea last autumn; and, in that case, will he inform the House of its nature and terms.

EARL PERCY: The findings of the Commission will be laid this afternoon.

Cost of Lighting Foreign Coasts.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the cost of lighting any foreign coasts or harbours is defrayed by Great Britain; if so, what department or body incurs this expenditure; what is the total sum expended on foreign lighthouses by this country; and what are the various places where these lights are.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The lighthouse on Cape Spartel, Morocco, is the only one answering my hon. friend's description. That light is maintained by means of contributions from twelve Powers, of whom Great Britain is one (in accordance with a Convention entered into in 1885), the management being in the hands of an International Commission. The share of this country, which last year amounted to 1,500 fcs., is, in accordance with Section 2 (3) of the Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Act, 1898, paid out of the General Lighthouse Fund, which is administered by the Board of Trade.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Is the fund by which this lighting is maintained provided solely by British shipping?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: In part. There are also contributions from the Lighthouse Fund and other sources.

Committee on Physical Deterioration—Home Office Action.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what steps His Majesty's Government are taking to carry out any of the recommendations of the Committee on Physical Deterioration which relate to matters within the jurisdiction of his Department.

* THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I fear I cannot undertake to answer in detail as to those of the Committee's

proposals in which my Department is concerned. Some of these proposals appear to be put forward as suggestions for further consideration rather than as definite recommendations, and I could not take steps to give effect to them without first collecting more information than has been obtained by the Committee. Perhaps I may be allowed to say, briefly, that the Committee's recommendations, several of which are engaging my attention, will not be lost sight of. The important subject of defective children, to which the Committee refer in recommendation No. 53, is now under the consideration of a Royal Commission.

SIR JOHN GORST: Can the right hon. Gentleman place a Return on the Table of the House showing what steps have been already taken?

* MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: If the right hon. Gentleman will allow me, I shall be happy to confer with him as to what he asks.

DR. MACNAMARA: Is it still the view of the Home Office that it can do nothing with regard to the recommendation in favour of prohibiting cigarette smoking among small children?

* MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That hardly arises out of the Question.

Local Government Board and Physical Deterioration.

SIR JOHN GORST: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board what steps His Majesty's Government are taking to carry out any of the recommendations of the Committee on Physical Deterioration which relate to matters within the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The recommendations made by the Committee are very numerous, and so far as they relate to matters within the province of my Department, effect could not be given to many of them without legislation. A Committee, which I have appointed after consultation with my right hon. friend the Home Secretary, is inquiring into one important matter referred to by the Committee, viz., vagrancy, and I am giving consideration to the other subjects referred to in the Report so far as I am concerned with them.

SIR JOHN GORST: Is the right hon. Gentleman considering among many other things the question of making regulations as to the milk supply in towns?

MR. WALTER LONG: As my right hon. friend knows, that is an extremely difficult and involved question, and I do not think I could answer it "Yes" or "No." The whole matter is under consideration; and the application of rules would be extremely difficulty not applying to my own Department alone.

The Education Department and the Physical Deterioration Report

SIR JOHN GORST: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education what steps His Majesty's Government are taking to carry out any of the recommendations of the Committee on Physical Deterioration which relate to matters within the jurisdiction of the Board of Education.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The recommendations which would appear to fall within the existing administrative powers of the Board of Education are recommendations 17, 18, 20, 37. The Board have had under their consideration for some time the subjects of these recommendations, and have taken, and are taking, steps which they hope may be of some practical utility on the lines indicated in the Report. They are also taking steps, so far as legislation is not involved, to give some effect to recommendation 35.

Pay of Provincial Night-Messengers—The Bradford Report.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state the result of his inquiry as regards the rate of pay of the provincial night-messengers; and whether these men will receive an increase of pay commensurate with the established rural postmen at all offices where their pay is at present computed according to the minimum payable to such established postmen.

THE POSTMASTER - GENERAL (LORD STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): I am considering the rate of pay of the adult telegraph messengers at provincial offices; and if I find that any change is necessary, I will announce it when I am able to state to the House my decision as regards other classes.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): May I ask the noble Lord when we may expect a statement with reference to the whole question?

LORD STANLEY: On the Estimates.

MR. NANNETTI: Shall we have the noble Lord's statement beforehand?

LORD STANLEY: I shall issue my Memorandum beforehand, but the debate will take place on the Estimates, which is the usual time for discussing an increase of wages.

MR. NANNETTI: In view of the feeling aroused all over the country with reference to the Bradford Report, will the noble Lord use his influence with the Prime Minister to get a day for the discussion?

LORD STANLEY: No, Sir.

Workhouse Accounts.

MR. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Oswestry): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he proposes to issue an Order to carry out the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Workhouse Accounts of 1903, with a view to the simplification of keeping these accounts.

MR. WALTER LONG: I have dealt with some of the matters referred to in the Report of the Committee, but with regard to the forms of account I am not at present in a position to issue an Order on the subject. I have recently received some observations from the Association of Poor Law Unions on the recommendations of the Committee, and some important suggestions with regard to the books and forms which should be prescribed. The representations of the Association are now under consideration.

Canadian Cattle Industry.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether the expression of opinion coming from Canada in favour of the repeal of restrictions upon the importation of Canadian store cattle is to be taken as the opinion of the farmers, or if it is only the opinion of shareholders in large cattle ranches throughout America and of certain shipping interests.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): The Canadian Government informs us that Canadian feeling and opinion are still in favour of the repeal of the existing statutory restrictions on the importation of live animals from the Dominion into Great Britain. The Board, of course, accept the assurance thus given, and they cannot associate themselves with the suggestion made in the latter part of the Question of the hon. Member.

Dogs Bill.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY (Somersetshire, E.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the Board of Agriculture, whether they intend to introduce this session the Bill of last year to amend the law relating to the injury to live stock by dogs at any early date, with the object of it being passed into law.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: The answer is in the affirmative. I hope to bring it in at an early date.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: Do the Government intend to press it forward?

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: Yes, Sir, that is the intention in bringing in the Bill early in the session.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: And pass it?

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: I hope so.

Sanitation in the Island of Lewis.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate, in view of the insanitary condition of many parishes in the Island of Lewis, and the frequent closing of the public schools in consequence of epidemics of fever and other contagious diseases, will arrangements be made for the medical inspector, or one of the inspecting officers of the Local Government Board for Scotland to visit the island in order that a report as to the best mode of dealing with the insanitary conditions may be secured and considered.

*THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): The Local Government Board are prepared to entertain the suggestion made by the hon. Member, and will endeavour to arrange for a report to be prepared by one of their staff so soon as his other duties permit.

Railway Rates for Fish.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether it has yet been found possible to secure a reduction in the through rates charged for the carriage of fish from the North of Scotland to the southern markets.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The answer to the hon. Member's Question is in the negative. The Secretary for Scotland would be glad to see a reduction in the cost of the carriage of fish, but the North of Scotland does not labour under any peculiar disadvantage in this matter.

Renfrew School Teacher and Vaccination.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether he is aware that the Scottish Education Department recently declined to allow the Renfrew Landward School Board to engage Laura Agnes Hood as a pupil teacher on the ground that she had not been successfully vaccinated; will he explain why this veto was imposed, especially having regard to the fact that the Code of Regulations issued by the Department does not indicate that successful vaccination is a necessary condition of appointment; and will he state why a pupil teacher who has had smallpox is not accepted as eligible for appointment unless successfully vaccinated.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: It is the fact that the Department declined to recognise the girl named in the Question as a pupil teacher on the ground that she had not been vaccinated. The rule on which this decision was based is a general one, imposed in the interests of the health of the children. As regards the last part of the Question, no case of the kind referred to has as yet called for the Department's decision.

Highland Crofting Counties – Medical Officers of Health.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate, as representing the Secretary for Scotland, whether the Local Government Board have yet considered the expediency of increasing the number of medical officers of health for the Highland Crofting Counties and re-arranging the area under their respective control.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The Local Government Board has long advocated the appointment of a separate medical officer for the Islands pertaining to the counties of Inverness and Ross, and have reason to believe that the proposal is favourably regarded by the county councils concerned. The views of the Local Government Board regarding the Poor Law Medical Relief in the Highlands and Islands at large are fully set forth in the Report of the Board's Departmental Committee issued a year ago, to which I would refer the hon. Member.

Western Highlands Fisheries.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he will state the precise nature of any arrangements made by the Congested Districts Board for the conveyance of fish by steamer from the Western Highland fishing stations to Kyle, and the proposed rates.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The Congested Districts Board have made arrangements with Messrs. Couper, of Helmsdale, by which they undertake to run a steamer from Ullapool and intervening ports to Kyle three times a week for the conveyance of lobsters and fish at the rate of 6d. a cwt., on a guarantee from the Board of a minimum cargo per month of 280 tons.

Lochbroom Fishing Industry—Suggested Motor-Car Service.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate, in view of recent improvements in weight carrying motor-cars, will he consider the expediency of placing a motor-car on the road between Ullapool and Garve for the purpose of assisting the fishing industry in the Lochbroom district, as authorised under Section 4, Sub-section (e), of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897.

*Mr. SCOTT DICKSON: The Secretary for Scotland has received no application in the direction suggested by the hon. Member. He will perceive by my Answer to the previous Question that the Congested Districts Board have already taken steps experimentally to facilitate transit by sea from Ullapool to the railway terminus.

Longford—Charge for Extra Police.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if he will state the grounds upon which it was decided to stop the sum of £5 odd out of the agricultural grant to county Longford in respect of charges for extra police in Longford in October, 1902; whether he is aware that no requisition for extra police had been made on this occasion; and, if so, will he say why, although such requisition had not been made, the extra police were drafted in.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.): The county council declined to make payment of this sum, which was due to the Crown under the authority of the Constabulary Acts. The amount was accordingly deducted from moneys payable to the county council out of the Local Taxation Account, in pursuance of Section 80, Sub-section 2, of the Local Government Act, 1898. The extra force was requisitioned by the county inspector in the ordinary manner and was approved by Government.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the district inspector denies requisitioning the police, as they were not required.

Mr. ATKINSON: The contrary is, I believe, the fact. He says he did.

Drumlish Cattle Rescue Case.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of alleged rescue of cattle in the police district of Drumlish, which is to come before the assizes at Longford on March 3rd; and whether, before ordering a prosecution by the Crown in this case, he will call for a report as to the circumstances under which the seizure took place, and inquire as to whether or not the bailiff produced any warrant or authority to seize which led the persons accused to think their cattle were being stolen.

Mr. ATKINSON: The depositions in these cases, in my opinion, disclose a *prima facie* case against the accused. I have no power or right to decide upon the validity of any defence they may desire to set up. I have, therefore, directed the prosecution to be proceeded with. If the rights of the accused have been invaded, of course they are entitled to redress against the parties liable. The seizures were made by the Sub-Sheriff in person.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Sub-Sheriff was not on the ground at all?

Mr. ATKINSON: I am aware of exactly the contrary.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Then I may inform the right hon. Gentleman that he is totally misinformed.

Larkhill School, County Sligo.

Mr. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what provision is made for the education of Catholic children in the district of Larkhill, situate near Collooney, county Sligo; whether he is aware that the patron and teacher of the local national school there are Protestants, although 75 per cent. of the children attending are Catholics; and, if so, will he say whether it is the wish of the Commissioners of National Education that where the majority of the children attending a particular school are of one religious denomination the manager of that school should be of the same denomination; and, if so, whether inquiries will be made with the view of having the grievances complained of in this case redressed.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The school at Larkhill is under Protestant management and the teacher is a Protestant. Thirty-four pupils were on the rolls on December 31st last, of whom twenty-one were Protestants and thirteen Catholics. There are two other schools about two miles distant, both under Catholic management.

Dombsy Estate, Athenry.

MR. DUFFY (Galway, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that negotiations have been commenced for the purchase of the Dombsy Estate, near Athenry, and are concluded; and, if so, whether, seeing that mostly all the holdings on the property are uneconomic, will he advise the Estates Commissioners to refuse to sanction the sale until such time as the untenanted lands of the neighbourhood are made available for the enlargement of the small holdings.

MR. WYNDHAM: This property has not yet been brought before the Commissioners. In any case they will discharge their duties in accordance with the provisions of the law, and I cannot undertake to advise them as suggested in the Question.

Gloves Grazing Farm.

MR. DUFFY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Congested Districts Board recently purchased a large grazing farm at Gloves, near Athenry; and, if so, whether, seeing that the attention of the Congested Districts Board has been repeatedly drawn to the condition of a number of poor tenants who reside on the bog at Gloves, and that a memorial had been forwarded by them to the Congested Districts Board requesting that the untenanted lands recently purchased should be divided amongst them, it is the intention of the Board to dispose of these lands amongst the poor farmers living in the district.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am informed that the lands at Gloves occupied by the tenants in question have not been purchased by the Board, and that these lands are not in a congested district. The Board intend to provide for the tenants on the lands which they purchased and to utilise the remainder for purposes of migration from a congested district. Congestion outside scheduled districts can be dealt with by the Estates Commissioners.

Evicted Tenants in County Galway.

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the number of applications received by the Estates Commissioners from the evicted tenants on the estate of Mrs. Lewis, Ballinagar, county Galway, and how many have been reinstated either in their old homes or new ones under the Land Act of 1903.

MR. WYNDHAM: Twenty-two, none of whom have been reinstated. Their applications are at present with the inspectors and will be considered in the event of untenanted land in the district becoming available.

Clanricarde Estate Evicted Tenants.

MR. ROCHE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of applications from evicted tenants on the Clanricarde Estate, the number that have been reinstated under the Land Act of 1903, how many to their old homes, and also how many have been provided with new ones on the estate.

MR. WYNDHAM: 122, of whom two have been reinstated in new holdings on an adjoining estate. The Commissioners are unable to say whether any of the remainder have been restored to their former or new holdings on the Clanricarde Estate, which has not been brought before them in any way.

Sligo Local Authorities Accounts.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, before the issue of the new Public Bodies Order, 1904, and the Union Accounts Order, 1904, the county council and other public bodies in Sligo were consulted: and, if so, whether he will give the names of the bodies so consulted and the views expressed by them in regard to these Orders.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The County Council and Sligo Urban District Council were consulted. The secretary to the county council suggested that an additional form should be embodied in the Order. The Local Government Board was unable to agree to the suggestion, but considers it may be issued, separately, for voluntary adoption by the councils, and this will be done. The urban council expressed no opinion on the Order prior to its issue. The Union Accounts Order made no alterations in the existing system and was not communicated to boards of guardians.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in most of these cases the reply of the Official Receiver represents the official view and not the county council at all?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I am not aware of that.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: Well, it is so.

Sir Antony MacDonnell.

Mr. CHARLES DOUGLAS (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether His Majesty's Government invited or received from Sir Antony MacDonnell any explanation or defence of his action before characterising it as indefensible.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir, the Answer is in the affirmative; and the representations made by Sir Antony MacDonnell, before the Cabinet arrived at any decision, led us to decide that, while his conduct was not open to any imputation of disloyalty, it was impossible for the Government to defend assistance given to the formulation of views to which we are opposed.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Were these representations from Sir Antony MacDonnell in writing?

Mr. WYNDHAM: No, Si .

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Have they been reduced to writing since?

Mr. WYNDHAM: A good many communications have passed between Sir Antony MacDonnell and myself, and all his representations have been laid by me before the Cabinet.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: I understand in writing. Then I have to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman will produce these documents.

Mr. WYNDHAM: No, Sir.

Higher Education in Ireland.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce any legislation to give effect to the proposal for dealing with higher education in Ireland contained in the correspondence between the Chief Secretary for Ireland and Sir Antony MacDonnell.

Mr. A. J BALFOUR: In answer to the hon. Gentleman I have to say that the Government certainly do not propose to introduce any legislation on this subject. I have frequently explained to the House, and among others to my hon. friend, that this is not a subject on which the Government are agreed.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT: Was the Chief Secretary authorised by the Cabinet to use the words in the correspondence with Sir Antony MacDonnell "I make" and "you accept?"

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must give notice of that Question.

Mr. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, E. Toxteth): If it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce legislation on this question, what is the particular function in connection with higher education in Ireland which Sir Antony MacDonnell is to perform?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman must have given imperfect attention to the many statements and speeches I have made on the subject.

Four days ago I explained to the House that in my judgment neither this Government nor any succeeding Government could make this a Government question. If it is to be dealt with it must be dealt with by other means.

The Irish Devolution Scheme.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can inform the House whether the Lord-Lieutenant in his conversations with Sir Antony MacDonnell expressed approval or disapproval of the devolution scheme as proposed by Sir Antony MacDonnell.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With regard to the proposal to invest a statutory body in Ireland with power to deal with Bills other than Private Bills, I understand the Lord-Lieutenant has expressed an unhesitating disapproval.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): Did Sir Antony MacDonnell inform his superior officer, the Chief Secretary, that Lord Dudley had expressed disapproval of the devolution scheme?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware of it.

MR. LONSDALE: Was it not his duty to do so?

[No Answer was returned.]

Mountmellick Bog.

*MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the extensive bog comprising 1,489 acres, owned by Mrs. Adair, and situate near Mountmellick, Queen's County, is offered for sale by private tender; and, in view of the fact that this bog is the sole source upon which the inhabitants of Mountmellick, Rosenallis, and surrounding districts have to rely for fuel, and as the owner has already sold the other portion of the estate to the tenants, under the Land Purchase Acts some ten years ago, he will state whether the Estates Commissioners are prepared to take steps to purchase this bog and use it for the accommodation of the localities named.

MR. WYNDHAM: There are no proceedings pending before the Commissioners with respect to this bog. I see no necessity for suggesting to them any special course in regard to it. I think they are quite competent to deal with these matters?

*MR. DELANY: But will not the right hon. Gentleman communicate with them?

MR. WYNDHAM: If the hon. Member thinks I ought to draw their attention to the fact that this bargain is a favourable one I will do so.

Siskin Evicted Tenant.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received an application from an evicted tenant named Mr. Patrick O'Brien, of Siskin, Cadamstown, King's County; and, if so, if any, and what, steps have been taken in connection with the application by the Commissioners; and whether any steps can be taken for dealing with his case in connection with the sale of the adjoining estate of Captain Caulfield Ffrench, on which there is a large amount of untenanted land and large grazing farms.

MR. WYNDHAM: An application for reinstatement has been received from this evicted tenant, whose former holding is stated to be in the occupation of a new tenant. No proceedings for the sale of the estate of Captain Ffrench have yet been instituted before the Estates Commissioners.

Seizures for Rent in King's County.

MR. REDDY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the police assisted in several seizures for rent recently on the property of Lord Ashbrook and other landlords in the King's County; and, if so, will he say what necessity existed for the expenditure of public money in connection with proceedings that were carried out for the purpose of forcing tenants into purchasing their holdings at prices they considered too high.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The police rendered no such assistance. They attended on the requisition of the sheriff, as they were by law bound to do, to protect his bailiff in the execution of Writs of the Superior Court. No expense to the public was incurred.

Admiral Singleton's Estate.

Mr. SHEEHY (Meath, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have sanctioned the sale to the tenants of Admiral Singleton's property; whether he is aware that an evicted tenant, Owen Kirk, has lodged with the Commissioners a claim to be reinstated, by purchase, on the farm in Admiral Singleton's estate from which he was evicted; and that the Commissioners have notified Mr. Kirk that the farm from which he was evicted does not appear to form portion of the estate; and, if so, will he state what are the grounds on which the Commissioners founded that statement: and what steps, if any, have the Commissioners taken to have Mr. Kirk reinstated.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Commisioners have not yet sanctioned advances to the tenants on this estate. The question whether Kirk's former holding is comprised in the estate, about which there appeared to be some doubt, will be investigated by the inspector.

Evicted Tenants in County Armagh.

Mr. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the tenants evicted from the Sir J. Strong, H. B. Armstrong, and Hassart Estates, county Armagh, have lodged applications for reinstatement with the Estates Commissioners; and whether, in view of the fact that these lands are at present in the hands of the landlords, he will see that they are purchased by the Estates Commissioners for the purpose of resettling the evicted tenants thereon.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Application for reinstatement has been received from one evicted tenant only, whose holding is on the Armstrong estate. No application has yet been made to the Commissioners for the sale of either of the estates mentioned.

Report on Knitting and Hosiery in Limerick School.

Mr. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will explain why the name of Miss E. Anderson does not appear in the Return presented by order of this House, dated August 13th, 1903, showing the names of and certain information concerning the officials employed by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Ireland, as an inspector of the Department; and will he now supply in her case the information that Return might have given, namely, her previous employment and her qualifications, if any, to act as inspector of hosiery and knitting; is he aware that a recent report of that inspector on the work of a knitting and hosiery class at Limerick has been contradicted as to the quality of the work by five business men in that city, three of them buyers for large firms, and all of them purchasers of the goods made in the class in question; and will he say whether the Department rely on that inspector's reports as to the condition and progress of the knitting and hosiery industry in Ireland.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Return in question was a Return of permanent officials. Miss Anderson is not a permanent officer and her name was not, therefore, included in the Return. She was appointed Inspectress in August, 1900. Her previous employment was that of a principal Art Mistress of the Crawford School of Art, Cork. She holds the Art Master's Certificate of the English Board of Education, also many medals, and has had considerable experience in teaching design for lace and needlework. The Department is satisfied as to the fairness of her report to which reference is made in the Question.

Mr. JOYCE: As the principal firms in Limerick are buying from this school they know how the work is done.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have no further information.

Mr. JOYCE: Then I will give the right hon. Gentleman some.

Kinvarra Harbour.

MR. DUFFY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain the cause of delay in commencing the repairs to Kinvarra Harbour; whether he is aware that the County Council of Galway agreed to vote £800 towards the expenses of this work on condition that a grant of £1,100 under the Marine Works Act be made by the Treasury, the balance required for the extension of the pier to be provided as follows: £200 by the Congested Districts Board, £200 by the County Council of Galway, £1,100 by the Department of Agriculture; and, if so, whether, with a view to relieving the distress prevailing on the west coast of Ireland and in the district of Kinvarra by providing employment for the poor working population and to carrying out a useful public work, he will at once direct that the Board of Works will take the necessary steps to initiate these works.

MR. WYNDHAM: Plans of the proposed works were communicated to the county council by the Board of Works on December 22nd, with a request for an early reply. The council has not yet signified its approval of the plans.

Land Purchase Advances.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the amount advanced under the Land Purchase Act of 1903 in each of the four provinces of Ireland up to December 31st, 1904, distinguishing between the amount for tenanted and untenanted land respectively; and whether he can state the average number of years purchase for non-judicial first-term and second-term rents.

MR. WYNDHAM: This information cannot conveniently be given in the form of a reply to a Question. A Return will be laid on the Table in the course of a few days which will contain full information respecting the operations of the Commissioners to the date mentioned.

Killadysert Union Accounts.

MR. SHEEHY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Local Government Auditor has surcharged three members of the Killadysert Union £6 18s. 2d., being for medical and surgical appliances; and that the guardians surcharged appealed to the Local Government Board; and, if so, will he say whether the surcharge has been sustained by the Local Government Board; and what are the grounds for the surcharge.

MR. WYNDHAM: The facts are correctly stated. The grounds for the surcharge, which was upheld by the Local Government Board, were that the amount surcharged represented the cost of medical and surgical appliances supplied over and above the reasonable wants of the medical officer, and that the payment was excessive and exorbitant.

Arterial Drainage, Ireland.

MR. HAYDEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any intimation has been given on behalf of the Government that it is intended to provide money for the drainage of lands adjoining the River Bann; and, if so, whether the Government intend at the same time to provide money for the drainage of lands adjoining the Rivers Barrow, Suck, Owenmore, and Shannon.

MR. WYNDHAM: The proposals of the Government with respect to the provision of funds for the drainage of the Bann have been publicly announced. I have no further statement to make in the matter at present. The reply to the second inquiry is in the negative.

Appointment to Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury by whom is the appointment to the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland made; is it held under Letters Patent or otherwise; and what is the nature of its tenure.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The appointment is made by the Crown by Letters Patent.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is it not practically made by the Lord- ie tenant by Letters Patent?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I quite admit I have made no independent research, but I am informed that the matter is as I have stated.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is not the appointment made by the Lord-Lieutenant as representing the Crown?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should imagine it is made by the Crown and not by the Lord-Lieutenant.

Painting Work at Viceregal Lodge, Dublin.

*MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that labouring men have been employed at painting work at the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, under the Board of Works; that remonstrances have been directed on behalf of the regular painters, employers and employed, claiming that the work done by these labouring men belongs to the painting trade; and, if so, whether, seeing that the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland define painting work contary to expert judgment, and in view of the replies received from the Department concerned, he will represent to the Board of Works the desirability of securing competent workmen to perform tradesmen's work in this trade in accordance with the terms of the Fair Wages Resolution.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): After careful investigation I have satisfied myself that the painting work at the Viceregal Lodge, to which the hon. Member refers, is of the roughest description, not requiring or properly assignable to skilled workmen. Any work involving skilled labour is always reserved for duly qualified men.

*MR. NANNETTI: Seeing that the workmen claim this to be the work of regular painters, will the right hon. Gentleman take the expert opinion of the Master Painters on the subject?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH asked for notice of the Question.

Piltown Postal Arrangements.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that frequent complaints have been made of delays, at times of five days, in delivering the *Kilkenny Moderator* newspaper at Piltown and district, which is distant only twenty-one miles from Kilkenny, where the paper is published and posted; can he explain why these delays occur; and will he see that the *Moderator* is delivered in the ordinary course of post in future.

LORD STANLEY: The inquiries as regards the delay in the delivery of the *Kilkenny Moderator* at Piltown are not yet complete, but I hope to be in a position to communicate the result to the hon. Member shortly.

Aghnacliffe Telegraphic Arrangements.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he proposes to end the proposed telegraph service to Dring at that station or to continue same to Aghnacliffe Post Office, a short distance further, where there is a creamery, schools, chapels, and several business premises in need of telegraphic facilities.

LORD STANLEY: There are proposals for extending the telegraph to Dring under guarantee, and also to Cloonagh, which is in the same neighbourhood; and I should be prepared to make an extension, under guarantee, to Aghnacliffe. But I am bound to say that there is nothing like sufficient telegraph business in the neighbourhood to support all three offices, and that the calls upon the guarantors would therefore be heavy. Perhaps in the circumstances the hon. Member may be able to use his influence to induce the three places to combine in an application for one telegraph office, or at most two, to serve the whole neighbourhood.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: If a number of private individuals combine to give the guarantee will that suffice?

LORD STANLEY: Certainly, Sir, it can be done under a guarantee.

Irish-Speaking Postmasters.

MR. HAYDEN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General, having regard to the fact that knowledge of the Welsh language is considered an essential qualification for postal appointments in Welsh-speaking districts in Wales, if he will state why a similar practice in respect to the Irish language is not followed in Irish-speaking districts in Ireland; and whether, seeing that it is the practice in Welsh-speaking districts in Wales to display all postal notices in both Welsh and English languages, he will explain why a similar practice is not followed in Ireland.

Lord STANLEY: The practice followed in certain districts of Wales is not followed in Ireland because the circumstances are not similar. But I can promise if any candidate with the advantage of a knowledge of the Irish language applies for a vacant postmastership I shall be glad to favourably consider his case.

Deportation of Paupers to Ireland.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will explain why paupers continue to be deported to Ireland from English cities and unions, contrary to the legislation passed by this House to stop same; and whether, in these cases, proper inquiries are made so as to ensure that no fraud is committed by such persons in order to secure a cheap passage to Ireland.

Mr. WALTER LONG: I presume that the legislation to which the hon. Member refers is the Poor Removal Act, 1900. I have not received complaints of the deportation of persons to Ireland in contravention of that Act, but if any such complaints are brought to my notice I will make inquiry with regard to them.

Turkish Import Duties.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, have His Majesty's Government received any request from the Turkish Government to agree to an increase of the Turkish import duties from 8 to 11 per cent. *ad valorem*; and, if so, what reply has been made thereto; and, in view of the fact that His Majesty's Government hold that, before applying any increase of the Turkish Customs to other purposes than the Turkish debt, it would be necessary previously to modify the terms of Article VIII. of this decree of December 8th, 1881, ceding to the service of the Turkish debt any surplus arising from a modification of the Customs tariff, and also to obtain the consent of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt, representing the bondholders, can he inform the House whether any, and if so, what steps are proposed to be taken to obtain the consent of that Council before applying any surplus arising from an increase in the Turkish tariff either to reforms in Macedonia or to any other purpose than the service of the Turkish debt.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The Answer to the first Question is in the affirmative. No reply has yet been returned to the request. The decree of December 8th, 1881, has, in pursuance of an arrangement with the Turkish Government and the bondholders, been modified by the supplementary decree of September 1st, 1903. Article 3 of this later decree confirms the assignment to the creditors of any surplus which may arise in the Customs receipts from an increase in the Customs duties, either in consequence of a revision of the treaties of commerce or otherwise, and Article 8 of the same decree provides that, if the receipts of the Ottoman Public Debt exceed £12,157,375, 75 per cent. of the surplus shall be repaid to the Turkish Government and the remaining 25 per cent. shall be applied to redemption of the debt. I have no reason to suppose that any alteration of this arrangement is in contemplation.

Government Manufactories near London.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if the attention of His Majesty's Government has been drawn to the tendency to concentrate the manufacture of warlike and other materials in and around London; and whether the Council of Defence will consider the desirability of doing something towards the decentralisation of Government manufacture, in view of the continually increasing difficulty of housing accommodation at reasonable rental and the consequential enhanced difficulty and cost of labour.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the Council of Defence is the proper body to deal with the important subject referred to. The Government have for some time been considering it, and are framing a Committee who they hope will deal in a useful manner with the problems raised.

Blocking Motions—Transvaal Constitution.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the hon. Member for West Perthshire whether he has asked the Government to give him facilities for the discussion of a Motion, which has been placed on the Notice Paper in his name, calling attention to the proposed establishment of a new form of government in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, and to the action of His Majesty's Government and of the Colonial Executives in connection therewith; and, if he has asked for these facilities, what reply has been made to his request; and whether, in the interests of free discussion in the House of Commons, he will remove this notice from the Notice Paper.

Mr. JOHN STROYAN (Perthshire, W.): I thank the hon. Member for having sent me private notice of his Question. The Answer to Question No. 1 is in the negative. The answer to Question No. 2 is therefore obvious. The answer to Question No. 3 is that the time has not arrived for a decision.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to a notice of Motion on the Notice Paper, standing in the name of the hon. Member for West Perthshire, on the subject of the proposed Constitutions of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, and, if so, will he give a day for its discussion; and, if not, whether he will request him to remove that Notice from the Paper.

On the same subject the following Question appeared—

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the Notice of Motion, standing in the name of the hon. Member for West Perthshire, to call attention to the proposed establishment of a new form of government in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, and to the action of His Majesty's Government and of the Colonial Executives in connection therewith; and to move a Resolution; and whether he will undertake to give a day for the discussion of this Motion before the proposals for conferring local self-government upon the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies become operative.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot make the request, nor is it necessary that I should do so. As early as Supply will permit I propose to put down the Vote of the Secretary for the Colonies.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he proposes to take any steps to extricate the House from the position in which it has found itself during the last session or two of being prevented discussing a matter of general interest and urgent importance by the system which has grown up and developed of what are termed blocking Notices.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have explained the views of the Government more than once on this subject. I am sorry to say I have not fulfilled an undertaking which I made at the end of last session that I would put down on the Paper a proposed Amendment to the Standing Orders embodying the views which I have expressed to the House. My view is that it is impossible to deal with the question of blocking Notices, as they are called, without considering many other questions, including the use made of powers to adjourn the House. But I feel that it is a hardship on such occasions as the adjournment for the holidays that a blocking Notice should prevent the discussion of any question which the House desires to deal with. I shall hasten to put down an Amendment to the Standing Orders carrying out that view.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will be good enough to frame his Motion in such a way that we can discuss the whole matter raised in my Question?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir, I think that would defeat the very end I have in view. Part of my object is to give hon. Gentlemen, if they desire it, an opportunity, on the adjournment for the Easter or Whitsuntide recess, of discussing questions which they might otherwise be debarred from touching. If that is accepted *sub silentio* they will have those opportunities; but if I provoke discussion by putting down such a Resolution as the hon. Gentleman desires, it is evident that we should not have an opportunity to discuss that until August, and in August we might have other things more pressing.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Do I understand that the right hon. Gentleman will not deal in his Motion with the abuse complained of in regard to important Motions for adjournment?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not say these questions are not of importance. On the contrary, they are of great importance, but evidently they will take up a great deal of the time of the House. They are most difficult and delicate matters. All I should aspire to would be the relatively humble function of trying to frame an Amendment of our Standing Orders which should be uncontroversial in its character.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In the meantime will the Government allow the House to remain in the same condition, tied and bound by this regulation, as it was last year? Will they do nothing to relieve the House from the scandal of being prevented by the action of a single Member, with or without the complicity of the Government, from having any discussion upon urgent questions?

Sir GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Was it not so under the last Government?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No doubt the right hon. Gentleman's sense of the wrongs under which he suffers has become more acute since he sat on this bench. I do propose to do something to mitigate the evils which the right hon. Gentleman complains of, because I propose to put on the Paper a limited Amendment, the purport of which I have already described. If the right hon. Gentleman will let me get that through without discussion he will have done something practical towards realising his idea.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS: When will the Motion be put down?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: This week, certainly.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that at the end of last session he did his best to limit discussion on the adjournment to half a day?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is debating the matter.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL asked Mr. Speaker whether the practice precluding the raising of discussion on a Motion for Adjournment on any matter on which a notice of Motion had been given was founded, not on any Resolution of the House of Commons or on any Standing Order, but on the rulings of successive Speakers.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has read me the result of his studies, and he asks me whether I agree or disagree with him. I am not called upon to answer Questions of that sort.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL replied that he would bring the question up as a matter of privilege, and, therefore, moved that the notice of Motion placed on the Order Book by the hon. Member for West Perthshire, with reference to the proposed Constitution of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies constituted a breach of the privileges of the House, inasmuch as it was set down with a view to avoiding discussion of the question, and was an abuse and perversion of a rule of Parliamentary practice established not for the obstruction of discussion, but for giving it facilities, and that the said Notice be removed from the Order Book.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has had an opportunity of reading his Motion, which is probably what he wanted. There is no question of privilege at all.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Will you hear me one minute?

*MR. SPEAKER: The Resolution raises no question of privilege, and as it does not do so, the hon. Member is not in order in moving it.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: The hon. Member said he put the notice down because this was not the time for discussing it.

MR. STROYAN: I said nothing of the kind.

Preferential Trading.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Tunbridge Division of Kent, I beg to ask the Junior Member for Oldham whether he can state the terms of the Resolution on Preferential Trading with the Colonies of which he has given notice for Wednesday, March 8th.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): I hope to put the exact wording of the Resolution on the Order Paper before the end of the week. For the information and convenience of the hon. Member I may say that it is my present intention to move in the following terms: "That, in the opinion of this House, the permanent unity of the British Empire will not be secured by a system of preferential duties involving taxation of food." The hon. Member may be assured that these terms will not be altered unless circumstances should arise which would appear to render alteration desirable.

It being now five minutes to three o'clock, twelve starred Questions addressed to the Secretaries of State for War and the Colonies were not put.

Magisterial Jurisdiction in Ireland.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.) said he had given private notice of a Question of an urgent character relating to a matter of public importance, and although the time set apart under the Rules of the House for addressing Questions to Ministers had expired he claimed the right under the Standing Orders to put it.

*MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member will read his Question I will decide.

CAPTAIN DONELAN said he wished to ask the Chief Secretary whether his attention had been called to the proceedings at the Riverstown Petty Sessions on Friday last; was he aware that Mr. Wright, the Crown Solicitor, advised the police not to act on any warrant issued by the majority of the Bench, whether the Crown Solicitor had any authority to give such advice, and by whose instructions District-Inspector Wade refused to execute the warrant. He urged that this Question came under the Standing Order.

*MR. SPEAKER: I am not in a position to judge very accurately as to the importance of the Question and whether any harm can be done by waiting, so I will allow it to be put.

MR. ATKINSON: As I am more conversant with the facts I will reply.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: My Question is addressed to the Chief Secretary.

MR. ATKINSON: Yes, but the prosecution is under my charge and I am more conversant with the facts, therefore I propose to reply. A number of men were brought up before this Bench of Magistrates on an application that they should be returned for trial for riot. The magistrates from time to time adjourned the case, and eventually application had to be made to the King's Bench for a mandamus to compel them to proceed to adjudicate and to either return the accused for trial or to acquit them. The mandamus was granted, and on the same day the magistrates assembled in obedience to the mandamus addressed to them, and, instead of obeying it, three of them took upon themselves to exercise jurisdiction over the men and to convict them of an offence with which they were not charged, an usurpation of authority which was absolutely illegal, an act done without any warrant or jurisdiction, and without absolutely any defence; in fact, these magistrates not only exercised a jurisdiction which they had not, but one of which they were expressly deprived by statute. The police, under the direction of the authorities, refused to execute the warrants, which were both illegal and improper, and which, had they been executed, would have subjected both the magistrates and the police to an action for false imprisonment.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: May I be permitted to point out most respectfully that the Attorney-General has not answered one of the Questions I put? I ask whether he was aware that Mr. Wright, the Crown Solicitor, advised the police not to act on any warrant issued by the majority of the Bench; had he authority to do so, and by whose instructions did Inspector Wade refuse to execute the warrant?

MR. ATKINSON: I think I have answered all the Questions. Mr. Wright represented me in the conduct of the prosecution, and communicated with me as to what had been done. He properly stated on the spot that the warrants about to be issued were altogether illegal. The Chief Secretary was communicated with through me, and I advised him that it was absolutely proper that the police, under the circumstances, should refuse to execute warrants which were entirely illegal.

NEW BILLS.

METROPOLITAN POLICE PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

"To confirm a Provisional Order made by one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State under The Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, relating to lands in the parishes of Erith and Barking," presented by Mr. Cochrane; supported by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas; read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 59.]

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) ACT (1897) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the provisions of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897, as to the application of the fund constituted by the Act; and for other purposes," presented by Mr. Ainsworth; supported by Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Cathcart Wason, Mr. Weir, and Mr. Harmsworth; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 60.]

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Acts relating to Crofter Holdings in Scotland," presented by Mr. Ainsworth; supported by Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Cathcart Wason, Mr. Weir, and Mr. Harmsworth; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 61.]

SCHOOL BOARD ELECTORATE (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To admit to the School Board Electorate of Scotland persons entitled to vote for the county council election," presented by Mr. Weir; supported by Mr. Leveson-Gower, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Cathcart Wason, Mr. John Dewar, Sir Arthur Bignold, Mr. Harmsworth, and Mr. Caldwell; to be read a second time upon Thursday next, and to be printed. [Bill 62.]

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) ACT (1886) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886," presented by Mr. Weir; supported by Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Leveson-Gower, Mr. Cathcart Wason, Sir Arthur Bignold, Mr. Harmsworth, Mr. Ainsworth, and Mr. Caldwell; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 63.]

OSBORNE ESTATE ACT (1902) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Osborne Estate Act, 1902, with respect to the purposes to which Osborne House may be devoted," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; supported by Lord Balcarres; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 64.]

SMALL HOLDERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the tenure of Small Holdings in Scotland," presented by Mr. Black; supported by Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Crombie, Mr. Weir, Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Eugene Wason, and Mr. Ainsworth; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 22nd March, and to be printed. [Bill 65.]

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign*,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

Mr. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) said he rose for the purpose of moving the Amendment to the Address standing in his name on the Paper, and, as within the last few days there had been some modification in its terms, he would read out the actual wording, which was as follows—

> "But humbly represent to Your Majesty that, in view of the prevalent insecurity of life and property in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the inadequacy of the measures hitherto adopted, and the incontrovertible obligations incurred by this country and the other signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, the time has arrived when further steps should be taken for the purpose of placing the execution of reforms in those provinces in the hands of a governor or governors, or other officers, responsible to the Powers."

The place and space devoted to the subject of the Near East in the King's Speech bore testimony, he said, to its importance at the present time, and he did not think enough had yet been said, either in debate in that House or in another place, with regard to the actual steps which were being taken by Great Britain and the other Signatory Powers respecting the condition of affairs in that part of the world. It must be borne in mind, in dealing with these disturbed provinces of the Ottoman Empire, that they were referring to what was purely and specifically a foreign country, but one in regard to which they and other Powers were bound by most solemn treaty obligations. He would refer to two parts of the Ottoman Empire, the European part and the Asiatic part. In the European part he had more especially to deal with the vilayets which were grouped under Macedonia, while as to Asiatic Turkey he would draw their attention to certain provinces in which the records showed that a deplorable condition of things still continued to exist. They had, during the last year, had a certain amount of information given to them in the shape of Blue-books and White-books with regard to the condition of affairs in European Turkey. But that information only brought them down to August last year, and they knew very little as to what had occurred since that time. He did not think that the official publications which they had received threw very much light on the progress which had been achieved, and he might be allowed, perhaps, briefly to recall to the House the successive stages by which the present condition of affairs had been brought about.

It would be remembered that a certain scheme of reforms was put forward in the year 1902 by Austro-Hungary and Russia, with the concurrence of certain other Powers, but without any particular sanction attached. In the year 1903, a conference took place between the Emperor-King of Austro-Hungary and the Emperor of Russia, and in consequence of that conference more drastic proposals were brought forward, including the introduction of a mixed *gendarmerie* The greater part of the official publications of last year was concerned with the manner in which attempts were made to carry that recommendation into force, and it was remarkable how at every stage the proposals put forward by the Powers were baulked and blocked by the diplomacy of the Porte and by the action of the Sultan. One of the first and most important steps was the appointment of the officers who were to constitute the *gendarmerie*. The Porte refused to allow more than twenty-five foreign officers in all to serve, and imposed restrictions regarding their work which practically confined it to the reorganisation of that body, and made a very considerable difference in the way in which the duties of the *gendarmerie* were to be carried out. It was obvious that their presence in the country without power could be of little service, and various diplomatic representations were consequently made in the course of the year for the purpose of securing that the number of foreign officers should be increased, and their powers augmented. It was very difficult to ascertain what the result had been. They were told at a period subsequent to the publication of the last White-book that an increase had been permitted by the Turkish Government in the number of foreign officers from twenty-five to forty-eight. But then that increase was accompanied by a condition that the officers should merely be employed for the purpose of reorganisation, and should not have the power of commanding. What, he repeated, could be the value of their presence under such circumstances? He had a question to put to the Under-Secretary. In the Austro-Hungarian Memorandum of August it was mentioned that thirty-eight foreign officers were to command at that time, whereas in other despatches twenty-five was the number given. At that time only five British officers were employed in a particular district, and the proportion of British officers was not what it ought to have been. He would be glad to know whether any increase had been made in the number since, and also whether the negotiations which had taken place gave any reasonable hope that the powers of the foreign officers would be augmented simultaneously with the increase in their number. They found that the officers met at Salonika and decided to apportion the district among themselves. The British officers, apparently at the request of the other Powers, were selected for the district of Drama, which was the quietest of all and where their presence was least needed. It was absolutely incomprehensible why these arrangements were made, and it appeared to him it was a question of putting round men into square holes. Could the Under-Secretary explain the reason for this apportionment?

Again, they found that on March 19th, the Powers made a distinct complaint that General de Giorgis and the officers connected with him had inadequate powers, but the Porte insisted on all effective command being retained in Turkish hands, and the negotiations culminated in nothing except a small increase in the number of officers. Matters were no doubt facilitated, for in the month of April an arrangement was arrived at between Turkey and Bulgaria—without the knowledge of the Powers, though they were advised of it immediately afterwards—which had a reassuring and quieting effect. But, again, they came across the same monotonous record of outrage and misgovernment, the same monotonous record of complaint by one nationality against another. The scheme was one under which protection was to be given against the raids of the Albanians. What, however, was the exact scope of that arrangement? Again, in Turkey Paper No. 1, 1904, page 11, it was explained that it was the intention of the Powers to apply these reforms not only to three particular vilayets comprised in Macedonia, but also to others. He could, however, not trace the exact authority for that statement. But undoubtedly complaints had come that very important districts in the Monastir territory by Thessaly had been left out of the *gendarmerie* arrangement. It was further complained that the vilayet of Adrianople also had received no benefit from it whatever. It would be remembered that at the close of last session Lord Lansdowne mentioned that vilayet as one to which the reforms should apply, and they had other authorities in support of it, notably that of the Grand Vizier. In point of principle no objection was made to the application of the scheme of reform to the vilayet of Adrianople, and surely there could be no objection to the establishment of the reorganised *gendarmerie* there, for it would undoubtedly have the effect of securing greater quietness and peace. The greater part of the official publications were filled with unfortunate records of murderous outrages committed by one portion of the population against another. It was not necessary for him to go into them in detail. It was sufficient to say that they pointed to the incapacity and ineptitude of the Turkish Government to deal with the condition of affairs, and they showed that Hilmi Pasha, the Turkish Inspector-General, appeared to be trying to take advantage of the unfortunate differences prevailing among the Christian populations in order to make a settlement more difficult. He should think that in no part of the world, probably, were there such great differences of opinion between the various nationalities as in Macedonia. In one part the Greek element preponderated and in another the Bulgarian element, while the central part was the meeting and fighting ground of all the nationalities. Those described as Turks in Macedonia were not Ottoman Turks, but were of Greek or Albanian origin. They had proof that the Bulgarians themselves had been subjected at the hands of Turkish officials and of Turkish troops—sometimes Regular and sometimes Irregular—to most severe sufferings, and further south the Greeks who constituted the professional and trading classes had suffered from both the Turkish and the Bulgarian side. It was not always correct to attribute to the Bulgarians the sufferings undergone by the Greeks, for in some cases Turks had gone about disguised as Bulgarian revolutionists.

Great Britain was bound by certain bonds of obligation to the people there, whatever their nationality or creed, and it was not for us to abandon that right, which was conferred by treaty, nor to abdicate it in favour of two only out of the six signatory Powers. What was desired was that there should be a restoration of peace and security in that country, that lives and property should be safe, whether from the Turks or other people, and it was their duty to take a more resolute attitude in order to bring about a better condition of affairs. Lord Lansdowne had from the first refused to commit himself absolutely to the scheme. He only accepted it conditionally, for if they turned to Turkey No. 2, 1903, page 1, they found that he made use of the following words—

> "His Majesty's Government desire in particular to have it understood that their provisional acceptance of the scheme will not, in the event of its disappointing the expectations of its framers and proving inadequate as a remedy, be regarded by His Majesty's Government as precluding them from putting forward or supporting, either during the tenure of office of the Inspector-General or at any future time, alternative proposals with the same object."

At a later stage, on September 29th, Lord Lansdowne wrote in the following terms to Sir F. Plunkett, our Ambassador—

> "In our view no scheme is likely to produce satisfactory results which depends for its execution upon a Mussulman Governor entirely subservient to the Turkish Government and completely independent of foreign control. We suggest for consideration two alternatives: (*a*) Appointment of a Christian Governor unconnected with the Balkan Peninsula or with the Powers signatory of the Treaty of Berlin, or (*b*) Retention of a Mussulman Governor assisted by European Assessors."

It might be said that the second clause was the one in force. But the scheme had to be judged by its results, and any impartial person was compelled to come to the conclusion that the present scheme had proved abortive, and that resort should be had to the alternative suggested by Lord Lansdowne. The great difficulty was that although an official not directly responsible to the Sultan might be appointed, and although the Grand Vizier at the Porte might give assurances to the European Powers that such and such a mode of administration should be carried out, there might come from the Palace secret injunctions setting aside the orders from the Porte, with the result that the governor would in reality be amenable to all those Palace influences which had worked so much harm in the past. It was therefore essential that the governor should not be an Ottoman subject, and that he should be responsible to the Powers themselves, although there would be no objection to the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan being recognised, provided such recognition did not enable the Sultan to interfere with the effective administration of the law. The British Government ought to take the initiative in bringing Lord Lansdowne's alternative again before the Powers. It was not known whether a proposal had been actually made, but Lord Lansdowne had hinted in another place that the British Government were prepared with an alternative proposal. Soon afterwards it was stated that Austria-Hungary and Russia had a proposal of their own to make, which from the short summaries in the Press appeared to deal merely with the question of finance. The matter was now further complicated by the fact that the Turkish Government had put forward a proposal also dealing with finance. In these circumstances he desired to ask whether the proposal of the Turkish Government was identical with that of Austria-Hungary and Russia, and whether the latter was an alternative to the proposal of the British Government. If the British Government were not making any proposal of their own, it was surely time they did so. Finance was doubtless a very important element, but, after all, it was one that had to be thought of after the establishment of effective and definite European control. The first essentials were to secure adequate control over the *gendarmerie*, adequate powers to the *gendarmerie*, and adequate judicial control. He hoped the Under-Secretary of State would be able to indicate the nature of the proposal, if any, now being made by the British Government.

It was not desirable on either public or moral grounds that the settlement of this question should be left exclusively to the two Eastern Empires. While recognising the fitness of Austria-Hungary owing to her experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina, people interested in Macedonia would be more reassured if they knew that Austria-Hungary had not merely the passive, but the active co-operation of the Western Powers. They desired to see Great Britain, Italy, and France, taking a more active part in the pacification of Macedonia, both because of their interest in the question and for the sake of the suffering and persecuted population. Lord Lansdowne's alternative proposal commended itself not merely as a corollary, but as a necessary preliminary to any effective introduction of European supervision. On this point there was little difference of opinion in principle among either the Powers or the population chiefly affected. The Greek Government had stated that they had no objection to the appointment of several governors, chosen according to the nationalities in the various districts. There was no important difference in principle between the appointment of one governor and the appointment of several governors; in fact, with several governors there would be greater power of supervision in the localities to which they were appointed. Various precedents —Samos, Crete, Thessaly, and others— might be invoked in favor of such a course. There were districts bordering on Greece and Bulgaria which also required attention, and especially the vilayet of Adrianople, in regard to which there should be no difficulty in introducing further schemes of *gendarmerie*, seeing that the Sultan and Grand Vizier had pronounced themselves in favour of such scheme.

The knowledge of the House concerning Asiatic Turkey had been brought down to the middle of August last. In the early part of 1904 there had arisen in some of the highland districts of Armenia a very unfortunate condition of affairs, all the more ominous because in the same locality as the disturbances of 1894. The series of massacres extending over 1894–5–6 originated on a comparatively small scale in Sassun, and there was a serious apprehension lest the disturbances there last year should spread to other districts. Fortunately, matters were now somewhat quieter, but the misgovernment and oppression were continuing, and unless they were removed would afford an excuse for further disorders, and then, the fanaticism of the Turks being once aroused, there would be no limit to the ensuing cruelties. He earnestly hoped that the Foreign Office would keep a watchful eye on that part of Armenia, and, not resting content with the reports they received, valuable though they were, would make every possible effort to introduce the system of mixed *gendarmerie*, which had been introduced in embryo in Macedonia. It might be said that the disturbances originated in the action of certain revolutionists. No doubt revolutionists were at work, but their number was very small and their action insignificant in comparison with the unrest induced by the actual condition of affairs in the districts. Captain Tyrrel had written that the root of the evil was the misgovernment, and Sir Nicholas O'Conor, in an interview with the Vizier, expressed the view that there would be no great improvement in the condition of affairs as long as the present radical vice of gross misgovernment continued to render the life of every Armenian unendurable. Not only did Sir Nicholas O'Conor use those words, but he also approached the Sultan himself, and this was greatly to the credit of our Ambassador. On June 25th, 1904, Sir Nicholas O'Conor said that the Sultan had given the most positive orders to prevent outrages and massacres. But this would be useless unless it was followed up by endeavouring to enforce some scheme of reforms, and securing the application of those reforms by means of some authority which was able to carry them into effect. The introduction of the mixed *gendarmerie* had not had the effect which was anticipated, but that was no reason why something of a similar character should not be attempted in Armenia, where the problem was simpler, and where there was not such a divergence of race and creed as in Macedonia. It was difficult to see why something effective could not be done to introduce a more peaceful state of things in that part of the Turkish Empire. He hoped the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs would give them some assurance that effective steps were being initiated by this country with a view to the introduction of practical reforms in Macedonia under the guidance of some governor or governors independent of the Sultan and responsible to the Powers. He trusted that a watchful eye would be kept on Armenian occurrences, and an early opportunity be taken of endeavouring to improve the existing state of things by introducing the mixed *gendarmerie* under some officer directly responsible to the Powers.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton) said that after the exhaustive explanation given by his hon. friend opposite, who had made this subject so peculiarly his own, he did not feel that it would be necessary for him to go into the details of the negotiations and proposals which had been going on in reference to Macedonia. He wished, however, to claim on behalf of hon. Members on the Ministerial side an equal interest with hon. Members opposite to secure reforms; and an equal determination to see that our statesmen recognised the great obligations of England and the other Powers in this matter, and the strong sense of the international danger that was caused by these disturbances. They were not there, however, to censure the Government, but to support and encourage them in the course they had adopted. He gave full credit for the desire which was expressed by his noble friend last year that the Government were anxious to obtain a real and permanent amelioration of the European provinces of Turkey, and that it would be their constant endeavour to bring about this state of things. No doubt his noble friend at that time thought this object would be best attained by placing these reforms in the hands of Austria and Russia, as they were what were called the interested Powers. But how were they interested? Simply in keeping things as they were, and taking care that their own special material interests were preserved and not endangered. But could they say that those two countries were really interested in the welfare of those populations which they were discussing? They were told in the King's Speech that there had been some amelioration of the disturbed districts, but he noticed in *The Times* of February 11th an article in which the reform scheme was described as a dead letter, and pointing out the danger of an uprising before long unless some further steps were taken. He was glad that up to the present that apprehension had not proved to be well founded, but how long the danger would be averted under the present state of things he did not know. From the reports which had recently been published it would appear that life and property were less secure in those provinces than they were before the troubles of 1900. If those reports were true, it was clear that the time had come to carry out what Lord Lansdowne had declared to be necessary, namely, to secure the application of reforms of a more thorough-going character than any which had hitherto been attempted.

It had been said that the British Government had pressed for a reform which would have the desired effect, namely, the appointment of a Governor responsible to the Powers, but they had not yet received any official corroboration of the statement. Then there was the Austro-Russian scheme, which was largely of a financial character, but which had not been approved generally by the Powers. Then there was the proposal of the Porte in regard to the Customs duty, and perhaps that was the most hopeful sign of the times. If the Porte was really anxious in this direction, it would be more ready to listen to the demand of the Powers to obtain that security. It was encouraging to hear from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs that there was practically unanimity amongst the Powers as to the necessity of adopting thorough-going reforms. From what they had heard up to the present this did not appear to amount to much more than a pious opinion which, when translated into practice, was found to be impossible. The Powers had their own interests to promote, and, much as they desired these reforms to be brought about, unless they took advantage of the present opportunity they would find the task very difficult. They were satisfied that Lord Lansdowne had this matter most thoroughly at heart, and they were very thankful for what he had done in regard to foreign affairs generally. He thought the interests of this country were quite safe in his hands, and they wished to assure him that he would have from the people of England hearty appreciation and support in going forward with his policy. He earnestly hoped that they might look forward to satisfactory changes in that region.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'but humbly represent to Your Majesty that, in view of the prevalent insecurity of life and property in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the inadequacy of the measures hitherto adopted, and the incontrovertible obligations incurred by this country and the other signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, the time has arrived when further steps should be taken for the purpose of placing the execution of reforms in those provinces in the hands of a governor or governors, or other officers, responsible to the Powers.' "—(*Mr. Stevenson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

LORD EDMUND FITZMAURICE (Wiltshire, Cricklade) said he desired to cordially re-echo the statement of the previous speaker that they were not there that afternoon to find fault with or to criticise the Government so much as to encourage them to go on in the course which, on the whole, the Papers presented to the House last year and more recently, pointed to, namely, that so far as the action of the Powers of Europe made it possible, they were desirous of advancing in the direction of bringing pressure to bear on the Government of the Sultan to introduce better administration throughout his dominions, but more particularly in those provinces to which his hon. friend the Member for Eye had alluded in his able and interesting speech. Undoubtedly it did not require to be a member of His Majesty's Government to realise in their fullest extent the extreme difficulties of this question. Those who now sat on the Opposition side of the House had in former years to deal with it. They had been told quite truly that they had tried their hand at it, and the fact that after an interval of twenty-five years they were again discussing much the same facts and adducing much the same evidence was in itself a proof that they were not successful in carrying out a remedy. Just as hon. Members on the Opposition side were anxious to concede that they recognised the difficulties of His Majesty's Government, so he felt equally convinced that the members of the Government would feel that it was not owing to any laches on the part of those who had to deal with the question twenty-five years ago that the position with regard to this question was still unsatisfactory. At the same time those who under all circumstances had adhered to the good cause which was taken up a great number of years ago could not help occasionally feeling some disappointment.

How had that feeling arisen? In the first place they must acknowledge that the skill and perseverance of the Turkish Government in resisting every project of reform had most undoubtedly filled even some of those who had been most prominent in former days with a certain feeling of disappointment, at times amounting almost to despair. In addition to that there was another, and he was inclined to think less justifiable, reason for the want of public interest in this question now as compared with what it was twenty-five years ago, just before the Turkish War. A most unfortunate and, he thought, a most unjustifiable feeling occasionally made itself felt, even in the public Press, that after all there was not much choice in these regions between the Turkish and the Christian populations. It was asked by those who fully admitted the bad administration of the Turkish Government whether, after all, the Christians would do any better. ["Hear, hear!"] He heard a "Hear, hear" from an hon. Member on the other side of the House. There was a very simple answer to that question. He was convinced that nobody who knew what the regions which were now independent States in the Balkan Peninsula were when they were under the direct government of the Porte could possibly hesitate for a moment to say that the improvement in those countries was not only remarkable but phenomenal. He asked any hon. Member who thought that the Government was throwing away, as it were, diplomatic powder and shot in attempting to reform Macedonia, to read what a distinguished French traveller who had recently been travelling in those regions had published in an article recently. He had given a picture of the country as it was when under the direct government of the Porte fifty years ago and as it was now. That article gave the very strongest and most convincing evidence that the first step to secure good government in those regions was to diminish the power of the Porte to interfere in the direct administration. He had himself at an interval of about ten years visited Bulgaria. He saw it in 1871 when, before the last war, it was under the direct government of the Porte. It had been under the administration for several years of Midhat Pasha, who undoubtedly suffered for his virtues, because there was not the smallest doubt that he was foully done to death in a dungeon in Asia as a punishment for the independent line he had taken. He revisited the country in 1880, from which time they might date the practical independence of Bulgaria. The country, from having been a quasi-Oriental country, had become a rising and flourishing little State. It had done that in the face of intrigues and opposition such as might have broken the heart of any European statesman, and might have been enough to have made those men—who were called without previous experience, many of them from being village schoolmasters and the holders of such humble posts to be administrators of the country—throw up the sponge. That had not been so at all, and the country, directly it was saved from the incubus of Turkish government, had taken its place in the ranks of practically independent European nations. Those who sneered at the idea of our Government exerting itself to secure reforms in Macedonia were not able to substantiate the justice of their position because the facts were against them. There was no reason whatever to suppose that in the vilayets enumerated by his hon. friend, which for want of a better name he called Macedonia, there were men less able, less patriotic, and less competent than those who had come forward and taken their places in the administration which was introduced in Eastern Roumania after the war.

As to the atrocities, he thought the speech of the noble Lord a year ago dwelt rather too much on the horrors that were going on in Macedonia. He said with perfect truth that these atrocities, which they all agreed were terrible, were carried on by all parties, and that they to a certain extent put the advocates of reform out of Court. Did not the occurrence of the atrocities indicate that there was a subtle cause behind them? Were they to suppose that the atrocities caused bad government? Was it not far more reasonable to say that bad government caused the atrocities? The fact that the Government of the Sultan, even acting with a high hand, was unable to put down the atrocities was in itself an argument which put the Sultan out of Court. A country might either be governed by representative institutions, which implied trust in the people, or by a strong despotism which put down disorder no matter by whom committed. The Sultan did not give representative institutions, nor did he put down disorder with a strong hand. Therefore, we were in a state of things where it might fairly be said that the only limitation to the rights of His Majesty's Government to proceed against the Sultan as being a defaulter in the matter of good government was the condition of Europe. And here, at once, he wished to say, what he was sure everyone on both sides of the House recognised, that however bad the government of the Sultan, it was no use for His Majesty's Government to plunge headlong into action—to attempt to act alone unless they were perfectly sure that they were acting as the mandatories of the Powers of Europe. There was one occasion in 1881 when the Government of the time decided to take exceedingly strong action against the Porte. That was at the time when the question of the Montenegrin and Greek frontiers and those questions of reform in Macedonia had all come to a head. His Majesty's Government decided, under certain circumstances, to send a British Fleet to a Turkish port and take possession of the port and the Customs. As soon as the Porte heard of this intended pressure the Sultan climbed down. That was why the Macedonian and Greek frontiers were settled without a breach of the peace. Thus, although His Majesty's Government were prepared to act alone, they were in a position to send a British Fleet to Smyrna because they had the support of the European Concert. He was not for one moment suggesting that the Government ought to take any strong steps at all unless they were sure that those steps would be taken as the mandatories of Europe. Whether that could be, depended upon facts which they, on that side of the House, could not know, and on which they therefore could not express an opinion. Whether the Government could secure in any strong step the support, goodwill, and consent of such Powers as France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Russia, which latter were at present in the background, depended upon what could only be known within the Foreign Office, and as to which he was not pressing his noble friend to make any premature statement to the House. But whenever that moment came—and come sooner or later it would—there was at least this consolation, that whenever strong action had been taken in the past the result had been good, and where failure had followed it had invariably been where the greatest anxiety had been shown to spare the feelings of the Sultan.

Reforms in European Turkey, or attempted reforms, fell into two classes—first, those which Europe had at different times imposed on the Sultan; and second, those which they had accompanied by some declaration like that in the famous Treaty of Paris which ended the Crimean War, that although those reforms were imposed upon the Sultan by United Europe they had no intention of interfering with the sovereign rights of the Sultan over the inhabitants of his own dominions. The invariable result of such declarations had been to reduce to an absolute nullity the execution of the reforms which the Sultan had accepted. There was the famous Article in the Treaty of Berlin under which a European Commission was to assemble. He had the honour to be the English member of that Commission, and he wrote from Vienna a despatch to Lord Granville, more or less as a protection to himself and his colleagues, in which he showed that the essentially weak point in the Commission was that under Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin the Commission was only called in to advise. It had no power to order or dictate, much less to enforce. They were also, by the terms of the 23rd Article of the Treaty of Berlin, especially when read with the history of the whole of that Treaty, debarred from even proposing the one thing which they were all agreed was the thing most worth proposing, viz., that there should be in the appointment of the Governor of these provinces not only that element of permanence of tenure, without which these appointments would be absolutely at the mercy of the Palace clique, but that there should be some element of supervision by the Powers of Europe, either through the Ambassadors or by some special means of control, in order to carry out the reforms which the Sultan had promised to make. Therefore, all the Commission were able to do was to draw up a scheme, which he was glad to think, though for the time it proved abortive, remained to this day, a scheme which was accepted by the people of those regions, and remained their title deed to the right which they ought to possess to better government, to reforms, and to good administration. Article 23 might have slumbered and slept, but he would remind the House that it existed, and that until it was superseded by some better and stronger provision—and he was the first to wish that that might be so—it should be taken for all that it was worth. He thought that no one of them ought to let that Article go or to underrate the importance of its provisions, still more when he urged that supervision by the Powers was of the very essence of the matter. He was glad to be able to feel that he had behind him the weight of the greatest authority who ever spoke to an English audience or to European diplomacy—he meant the late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. There was a delusion which he was glad to have the opportunity, in justice to the memory of that illustrious man, to be able to strike a blow at. It had become apparently an idea that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was a thick-and-thin defender of the Turkish Empire and of the abuses which exist there. Nothing could be more unjust to the memory of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Living, as that nobleman did for the greater part of his career, in the early part of last century in Constantinople, he believed—and why not?—that it was possible to reform the Turkish Empire. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was judging from the facts as known to him and according to the lights of that time. But although Lord Stratford de Redcliffe did all he could to save the Turkish Empire from ruin, he never ceased to urge on Lord Clarendon, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Russell, and on the Goverments of Europe, to whom he spoke with such authority—the necessity for those ordinary reforms in the Turkish Empire which he was ceaselessly advocating. But he urged that it would be useless to promulgate all these reforms and embody them in the most elaborate provisions in the organic statutes of the Turkish realm unless the Powers undertook to set up some supervisory authority in order to see that the Sultan carried out the reforms. In Dean Stanley's Life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe it was stated that when Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was leaving Constantinople, under great discouragement, he embodied in a letter to Lord Clarendon a protest against the Treaty of 1856 for not having provided, as he wanted it to do, an adequate means of forcing the Sultan to carry out the reform of European Turkey which he had undertaken to do. This was what Lord Stratford de Redcliffe said in that letter of March 19th, 1856—and it was as true to-day as when he wrote it; indeed, it was truer—

> "It is believed that the Porte will never of its own accord carry the provisions of the firman seriously into effect. Might not this hazard be avoided by a separate agreement among the Christian parties to the negotiation, regulating the work and occasions of interference, so that any such eventual act on their part should be concerted previously in common, and strictly limited to the necessities of the case."

He believed it had been largely owing to the lack of European pressure and to a change in the policy of the French Emperor, who wanted an early termination of the Crimean War, that that great idea of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was not carried into effect. Well, they had seen his prophecy fulfilled, and the practical failure of Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin. On the other hand, they had seen that in those provinces which had been entirely taken away from Turkey, or left only under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, exactly the opposite—prosperity, tranquility, progress, and reform. Then they had seen Crete emerging from confusion, and although still under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, gradually improving. Eastern Roumelia was also rapidly arriving at a considerable pitch of prosperity. Why, therefore, should there be any doubt that if these same principles were applied to Macedonia tranquility would be restored also in that country, and law and order maintained. Then, in time, a Constitution would come and popular principles could be embodied in it.

He admitted that the difficulties in Macedonia, to which his hon. friend alluded, were very great. He himself had to face those difficulties in 1880. They had not grown less since. His hon. friend the Member for Exeter rendered him most valuable assistance at the time he was in office. One of the difficulties was the position of Salonika. It was necessarily the centre and capital of the country. Around it there was a large population of that peculiar class of Turk which originally migrated into Europe. He believed they were the first Turks who invaded Europe. But more remote from the town was the great mass of the Macedonian population, and among them the most terrible jealousies existed. That pointed to the necessity of a governor with a strong hand, and with an adequate force which should be able to prevent those people from cutting one another's throats. The efforts of Europe were being thwarted as regarded every scheme of reform or improvement. The Sultan would consent to any number of proposed Constitutions. He would accept any scheme, and propose to carry it out next day; but the position would remain exactly where it was before. At present they were told that the Sultan was willing to agree to *gendarmerie* and financial control. He rather trembled the other day when he read some of the statements about financial control; because he was afraid that the Sultan might borrow a trick from debates in that House and propose co-ordination. Then they would be told that this policy would be pursued in the neighbouring countries. That would be a very characteristic scheme on the part of the Sultan. The sort of man required to keep this class of people in order was a strong administrator—Sir Antony MacDonnell, for instance, of whom they had recently heard so much. If Sir Antony MacDonnell were sent to Macedonia, the Irish and the Macedonian questions would be settled at one stroke. An agreement had been arrived at in October of the year before last, but it was only at the end of May that a general of *gendarmerie* arrived at Salonika; and he was immediately met with all the trouble, difficulty, and delay that the Sultan could invent. He was not inclined to think that the general had said the last word on the government of Macedonia. Macedonia would have to be detached from the practical government of Constantinople; and eventually would probably be united to some of the other neighbouring States, or become a small principality of its own. He could assure his noble friend that he quite realised the difficulty of the position of the Government. The very fact that at this moment Russia was passing through a great crisis, and that Austro-Hungary was passing through a greater constitutional crisis than usual, were not reasons which facilitated the position of the Government, as it might appear almost an unfriendly act that at such a moment British diplomacy should appear to desire to take advantage of the difficulties of those countries. On the other hand, the weakness of some of those Powers imposed greater responsibility on the British Government than otherwise would be the case. He could assure the Government that there was no desire on that side to minimise the difficulties under which they suffered. The Motion, if adopted, would not cause the resignation of the Government; and he only desired to show that they were all united in endeavouring to force good government, administration, and reform on the Sultan of Turkey.

MR. BOND (Nottingham, E.) said he would ask the House to bear with him while he recounted some of the reasons which produced in Macedonia that inflammable condition at present existing. The reasons were not far to seek. It was a deplorable fact that Macedonia was under the sway of the Turk, and that her population was mixed—the majority being Christian. When those two circumstances came together the Christians invariably found themselves degraded, humiliated, overtaxed, and oppressed. There were besides that, unhappy animosities, racial and religious, which found expression between the different constituent elements of Macedonia, and there were also the ambitions of Macedonia's neighbours with regard to the part they were to play in the consummation, which must sooner or later be arrived at, when Macedonia would either become an independent State or be absorbed by one, or parcelled out among several, of the States by which she was surrounded. Under these conditions one did not wonder that the State of Macedonia was so unhappy. Where was redress to be looked for? The Greeks on one side, the Bulgarians on the other, the Servians, and the Roumanians were all pushing their claims of aggrandisement in the different districts of Macedonia. Of the great Powers, two at least might be counted absolutely disinterested—ourselves and France. Italy was also a disinterested Power, though she might have some aspirations towards Albania. Albania was, however, out of the question at present, because she was not affected by the consideration before the House. There remained two Powers directly interested—Austria and Russia. Austria was interested because the house of her next-door neighbour was on fire, and Russia was interested as the patron of greater Bulgaria. That country had never ceased to secure advantages and push them in the region where a large body of the people belonged to the Greek Church. It would be thought that Germany had no distinct interest in the settlement of the question, but there were not wanting those who suggested that among the dreams of the German Chancellory was one that the port of Salonika might some day become of considerable use to Germany and her ambitions in the East. The only Powers claiming to be absolutely disinterested were England, France, and Italy, and he could not help thinking there might be a disposition on the part of these Powers to co-operate closely for the purpose of producing a better state of things than now prevailed. They all recognised that Lord Lansdowne was bound to walk warily in this maze of conflict, this medley of conflicting ambitions, interests, and jealousies between races, religious sects, and nationalities. He did not complain if the wheels of his Lordship's chariot moved slowly. He wanted to assure Lord Lansdowne that among those who took an interest in this matter there was great sympathy with the efforts that were being made, and that he might rely upon it that in the course he was taking he had the encouragement which came from knowledge. He only rose for the purpose of stating that from the Government side of the House a real interest was taken in the question, and that they were disposed to lend all the aid they could to the projects and plans of the Government.

*MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.) said that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated in the House of Lords that he deplored as much as Lord Spencer the condition of things that prevailed in many parts of Macedonia, and that he was as deeply convinced as Lord Spencer could be that the condition of things would not be improved unless they could secure the application of reforms of a much more thorough-going character than any which had yet been attempted. Therefore, the condition of affairs in Macedonia was not satisfactory to Lord Lansdowne. He would not ask the House to follow him into the details of the whittling away of the Mürzsteg scheme. It was stated in the Russian Note of August 3rd that thirty-eight officers were travelling through the country, watching events with expert eyes and exercising influence and control. But the rest of the Blue-book gave the lie direct to that statement, because in all the reports from Consuls and from visitors to the country facts were recorded which were in absolute contradiction to the roseate picture which was painted of life in Macedonia under the Austro-Russian *régime.* He was also informed that even the Turkish beys in the country districts, who had no means of making their views heard officially, would welcome with open arms any real European control, because they were weary of the long continued uncertainty and unrest and because they believed that that control could only be just and effective if it were disinterested. Unfortunately a new factor had been introduced during the last few weeks, as the Porte had once again commenced quartering small bodies of troops in the villages of Macedonia. The Turkish Government could not be blamed for taking whatever military steps seemed necessary against external invasion or internal revolt, but one could not help asking what had always been the result of such quartering of troops. It was not contended that the Turks were irredeemable scoundrels, they were doubtless very much like everybody else, but the history of other countries showed that small bodies of troops could not be quartered in villages, among a subject population for whom they were taught to feel supreme contempt, without many untoward events. The same kind of thing in Ireland a hundred years ago produced the same kind of outrages as were now occurring in Macedonia. No Englishmen would now wish to justify the methods of dragooning practised in Wexford in 1798, but by their inaction they were making themselves responsible for their recurrence in Macedonia to-day, where, according to *The Times* correspondent, the same old troubles were again cropping up. The telegrams in *The Times* revealed a condition of affairs which reflected small credit upon the dealings of the great Powers with Macedonia. Nobody dreamt of denying the difficulties of the problem, but it was the province of statesmen to deal with difficult and complicated questions. If, as there was reason to fear, there was much inflammable material in Macedonia which at any moment might be set in a blaze, the conflagration would not be put out by sermons on the duty of Christian charity, and the wickedness of different sects in carrying on internecine war.

With regard to the Austro-Russian scheme, would the noble Lord say whether the vilayet of Adrianople was included, whether any provision was made for the appointment of European judicial inspectors as recommended by Colonel Fairholme, and whether the scheme was identical with, or went beyond, the proposals of a financial character connected with the Ottoman Bank, which had not so far been very favourably received. A long continuance of tranquility could not be counted on in these countries; at any moment an accident might precipitate troubles during which the application of any real reform would be impossible. It was becoming fashionable to sneer at the idea that Great Britain had any real responsibility for the administration of the dominions of the Porte, but he submitted that every village burnt in the troubles of 1903 would have been saved had the Treaty of San Stefano remained in force. The ruined hearths and charred roof-trees in Macedonia, the hundreds of homeless wanderers, the women who had been driven mad by their treatment at the hands of Turkish soldiers — all these miseries lay at the door of Great Britain. It was utterly impossible to shake off the responsibility for what had happened; the only course consonant with the national honour was to face that responsibility and frankly discharge it.

*Mr. MOON (St. Pancras, N.), after deprecating the introduction of any Party element into the debate, said he desired to refer to the insecurity of life and property which normally existed under the Turkish system of government and was aggravated in consequence of the internecine strifes of Christians. He would support his contention by one or two references to the Blue-book. In June, in the French section, there was an attack made by a Bulgarian band who horribly mutilated an Orthodox Notable and burned his house in which his children and wife were sleeping. This was confirmed by Colonel Verand, head of the French *gendarmerie*. After quoting instances of other atrocities the hon. Member said that in pamphlets circulated probably to other hon. Members as well as to himself it was shown that between 1897 and February, 1903, the outrages committed by Bulgarian bands on Greeks in Macedonia numbered 202 murders and twenty-seven attempted murders. The crimes against Macedonian Greeks instigated by the Bulgarian Committees from February, 1903, to November, 1904, showed that no fewer than 290 outrages, resulting in 259 deaths, had occurred in that brief period. He wished to mention that the documents from which he quoted these figures were anonymous, but he thought it was just as well to bring them before the House so that hon. Members might have a chance of denying them. The pamphlet went on to state that—

> "The particulars in each case have been verified, and no outrage is included which has not been directly and unquestionably traced to Bulgarian insurrectionists."

That was the state of affairs showing how a new form of insecurity of life and property was added to that already due to the oppression of the Turks. He wished to cite the authority of the able and impartial correspondent of *The Times* at Sofia, who said in a telegram dated January 6th—

> "It is true that in the Austrian section Albanian ferocity shows no diminution, and assassination is rife, while Servian and Bulgarian bands pursue their internecine warfare unconscious of the amenities exchanged between King Peter and Prince Ferdinand. But the state of the affairs in the Uskub section finds a parallel throughout all Macedonia, except in the Drama district, where different conditions prevail."

Whether this state of things was due to a misconstruction of the Mürzsteg programme it was impossible to decide, but he might cite "Odysseus" for the view that the inhabitants of that part of Europe had been constantly engaged in internecine contests and murders of every kind. Clause 3 of that programme contained the following provision—

> "As soon as some pacification of the country is seen to have been effected, to demand

of the Ottoman Government a modification of the territorial boundaries of the administrative units, with a view to a more regular grouping of the different nationalities."

There was some ground for believing that these rival sects were seeking to establish themselves over as wide an area as possible with a view to future eventualities.

And now as to the inadequacy of the reforms alleged in the Amendment. They had indeed such crumbs of comfort as were mentioned by the Secretary of State in his speech in another place on the occasion of the opening of Parliament. Further, when he was in Macedonia in the autumn it appeared to him that the experiment which had been introduced into some thirty villages of permitting them to collect their own tithe was one which promised exceedingly well. He wished to take this opportunity of asking the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs if he could throw any light upon this point. No mention was made of it in the Speech from the Throne, and therefore he felt a little apprehensive as to the final success of the experiment. As to the *gendarmerie* the satisfactory working of that system was clearly shown in the last Blue-book by Colonel Fairholme, who stated that there was no doubt that the presence of British officers had produced good results. There had been many complaints of delay in the practical application of this useful system in other "secteurs" of Macedonia, though there had been nothing but praise in regard to the conduct of Colonel Fairholme and the other British officers in the Drama sphere. The careful consideration which General de Giorgis was devoting to the question of the *gendarmerie* would be acknowledged by those who had seen the statement dated May 11th, which was printed in the last Blue-book. They would recognise his admirable idea in getting rid in the *gendarmerie* of men of worthless character and physique, and putting in their place men who were better qualified for the service. It was his aim also to get rid of illiterate officers, of whom there were a great number. Two schools had been established—one for officers, and one for the *gendarmerie.* He (the hon. Member) had visited the school for the privates, and he was able to state that those in attendance had made wonderful progress, not only in book learning so that they could make reports to their superior officers but in smartness of appearances. He thought the true view with regard to the *gendarmerie,* however successful it might be, was indicated in the speech of Lord Lansdowne in another place on the opening day of the session. The noble Lord said—

> "But, after all, the reorganisation of the *gendarmerie* is a measure which is ancillary to other reforms rather than itself a reform of an administrative character."

Many of the reforms might be very good in themselves, but unless there was a strong Executive at their back satisfactory results could not be expected. That was why he thought the position conferred on Hilmi Pasha was almost impossible for a Turkish subject satisfactorily to occupy. No one would quarrel with the powers conferred on him during the period of his office, but what was to happen to a man like Hilmi Pasha, however able and conscientious, at the close of his term of office. He was a Turkish official who wanted to continue his career after the expiration of his term, and if he took a line which tended to put his fellow-religionists in an inferior position and which prevented the Christians from ruining each other by internecine quarrels, could he be sure that his action would commend itself to the Sultan? The alternative suggested by Lord Lansdowne that a Turkish official should be appointed Inspector-General with two European Assessors was *a priori* unlikely to succeed, and had in fact broken down. The Turkish system had really never produced a satisfactory governing class. He would quote in favour of his contention what was said by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in February last year—

> "It has always been the opinion of the Government that what is required in the Turkish provinces is not political change so much as thorough administrative re-organisation. Turkey does not possess the class of men who have the requisite expert knowledge and experience to carry out such a task as that, and for her to come to Europe for trained assistance involves no more derogation of her sovereign rights than is already involved in the admission of European management in the case of the Ottoman Bank and the control of the Ottoman Debt, or in the re-organisation by Europeans of the Turkish Army."

In supporting the Amendment in so far as it asked for a European governor not responsible to the Porte, he did not think they should be taking a step which would necessarily and immediately be prejudicial to the Sultan. That governor should not be a member of one of the Balkan States, nor should he be a member of one of the great Powers. No doubt the Turks themselves felt the unsatisfactory conditions under which they lived. English travellers in Turkey constantly heard how desirous many of them were to have an English protectorate. He agreed with the noble Lord the Member for the Cricklade Division of Wiltshire that one of the great Indian officials would be an ideal governor for that part of the world, but he would be content to place the work in the hands of men from the smaller European States like Switzerland, Holland and Belgium, which, he thought, might produce a sufficient number of men able, not only to keep the Turks from oppressing the Christians, but the Christians from mutilating and killing each other in the way they had been doing.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.) said the debate had been interesting by reason of the very intimate acquaintance many of the speakers had with the problems and actual conditions of the country under discussion. Technically speaking, they were discussing a vote of censure on the Government, but he had not caught any note of censure or even of criticism. Most of the speeches seemed rather a judicious mixture of congratulation and condolence. Apart from that technical aspect of the matter, and the somewhat ambiguous wording, particularly of the last paragraph of the Amendment, he had no desire to take exception to its general character. The hon. Member for the Eye Division of Suffolk expressed a legitimate curiosity as to any recent developments in the Near East. A Blue-book was published last autumn which brought up the narrative of events to a very recent period, and he did not think it was possible for him to add very much to the information therein contained. There were two respects only in which things might be said to have moved. One was in regard to the repatriation of the refugees. As early as last November, the great majority of the refugees, 20,000 out of 25,000, had been already repatriated, and as this country had no Consul in the Adrianople vilayet our Military Attaché at Constantinople was deputed to go to the frontier and watch the proceedings. Those who had studied the report of the Consul would admit that the local officials were animated by good intentions, and that the Turkish Government had spent a certain amount of money in the rebuilding of houses. There did not seem to have been any general occupation, in their absence, of the villages and homes of the refugees by the Mohammedan population. The Turkish Government objected to the repatriation of the full number of refugees, he understood, mainly on the ground that no lists had been furnished to them with the names of the applicants, and they had reason to believe that some of them were not concerned in the recent disturbances and did not, therefore, come within the category of the persons who were intended to profit by the amnesty, but emigrated from Macedonia at least five years ago. His Majesty's Government supported the representations made by the Bulgarian Government, although, of course, they expressed their recognition of the right of the Turkish Government to take all reasonable precautions for the good behaviour of those who might be repatriated. He was glad to say that the objections of the Turkish Government had now been withdrawn in consequence of the Bulgarian Government having furnished the lists for which they asked. The Government had decided that the time had come for re-establishing the Consulate at Adrianople, which was temporarily closed by Lord Rosebery at the time when the Consulate at Konia was first established.

The only other new fact he need refer to was that the Turkish Government had at last consented to the increase in the number of European *gendarmerie* officers asked for by the Powers. The Turkish Government objected to it in the first instance partly on the ground that they did not think any increase in the number of European officers in the country was at that moment necessary, and partly because of the additional cost it would entail on the Turkish Exchequer. Neither of these pleas could be entertained by the Powers. They understood that the £250,000 which had been allotted to the expenses of the organisation of the *gendarmerie* by the Turkish Government last year were intended, and were in fact amply sufficient, to cover all the expenses incidental to the organisation of the force. As to the question of necessity: the Powers could not admit the competence of anyone to judge whether the number of officers was adequate or not except General Georgis and the Adjoints who acted under him. The consent of the Turkish Government to the addition of twenty-three officers brought up the total number of officers to forty-eight, or within twelve of the figure originally contemplated by the framers of the Mürzsteg programme.

He came to the Amendment itself. He conceived that it was an invitation to the Government to say whether they were satisfied with the progress which had already been made, or whether, on the contrary, they were prepared to condemn the scheme as a failure, and put forward propositions of their own. Well, the Government were not prepared to take either of these two courses. The Government were certainly not satisfied with the progress hitherto made. It had neither been so rapid nor so far-reaching as they had hoped. The only substantial progress hitherto made had been in connection with the *gendarmerie* scheme. The larger problems of administrative, judicial, and financial reform had as yet hardly been touched. It was true that a beginning had been made with the reformed system of collecting the tithes, which did away with one of the gravest abuses of the old system under which tithes were farmed out to the highest bidder. The Government believed that, on the whole, the experiment, which had been tried in a few villages, had been a complete success, and its further extension had been, he thought, only impeded by the technical difficulty that many of the tithes of the vilayet were already mortgaged to the Council of the Ottoman Debt, and any change in the system of collection might interfere with the value of the security. The more important question of financial administration, the control of the annual budgets, the supervision of expenditure, and the insistence on the payment of regular salaries to officials and troops had for the present remained practically in abeyance. But he did not think that it was fair to say that they had been overlooked. They had, on the contrary, formed the subject of careful and minute investigation by the Civil Agents, and the Austrian and Russian Governments had already drawn up and submitted to the Porte a scheme of financial reform about which it would be premature for him to express an opinion now, because that scheme still awaited examination by the Powers, and the advice and criticism of His Majesty's Government had been welcomed by the two Governments which put the scheme forward. He thought that it would be evident to anyone acquainted with the internal condition of Turkey that no scheme would be satisfactory which aimed merely at re-organising the existing financial administration, and did not take into account the heavy burden of military expenditure which now depleted the resources otherwise available for administrative reform. On the other hand, it was equally obvious that the present internal condition of Macedonia, and the considerable military preparations made by the neighbouring Powers would not render the task of persuading the Turkish Government that the army now maintained in Macedonia was excessive, an easy one. The Government were not satisfied with the progress which had been made, but that was a very different thing from saying that the scheme was a failure, and separating ourselves from the other Powers in their attempt to put it into complete execution. The Mürzsteg scheme of reforms had been only one year in operation. It took at least three years to reorganise the *gendarmerie* in Crete, and hon. Members opposite, who were so fond of describing Turkish administration as an Augean stable of corruption, should be the last persons to complain if the process of cleansing was not completed in a single day.

He also wished to enter a *caveat* against the idea that the Mürzsteg scheme should be considered a failure because it did not do something which it was not intended to do. Some hon. Members thought that no improvement was possible unless the provinces were severed from Turkish rule. That was not the view of the authors of the Mürzsteg programme. The object of the Mürzsteg programme was to maintain the *status quo* and to give the Turkish Administration that amount of European assistance and control necessary if the reforms promised by the Sultan beforehand were to be of any real and permanent value. It was true that the Turkish Government had not welcomed the assistance and advice of the European Powers. He did not know that any one ever expected that they would. The task of changing long-established and familiar traditions was never an easy one, even with Western nations. It was certainly no easier in the case of Oriental nations when the change was pressed upon them by foreign advice or dictation; and, little as he desired to excuse the attitude of the Turkish Government, he thought that people in this country sometimes ascribed to sheer malevolence on the part of an Oriental Government what was due, in fact, to an obstinate and no doubt very irritating conservatism. Although the Turks had, undoubtedly, obstructed the progress of the reform scheme, that obstruction must be admitted to have been mainly passive in its character. In spite of the grave depletion of the revenue, they had spent a considerable amount of money in rebuilding the houses in the destitute villages. They had brought back 25,000 men who had been in active revolt against their Government in a province not so far removed from the capital itself. They had accepted the whole machinery and *personnel* in connection with the civil administration and *gendarmerie* which was pressed upon them as necessary by the European Powers; and since they had accepted these officers it could not be said that they had actively interfered with the performance of their duties. He did not admit that the reform scheme was a failure; and he observed that the mover of the Amendment had not brought forward any argument to show that it was a failure except the strange argument that the Armenians were eager to obtain the benefits of that scheme for themselves. There was a tendency to ascribe the responsibility for the tardy execution of the reform scheme not merely to the Turks themselves, but to the two Powers, Austria and Russia, who had accepted the chief responsibility for carrying out this programme, and the Civil Agents of those Powers had been selected as the special objects of animadversion. He did not think it was fair, having pledged ourselves to support the work which Austria and Russia had taken in hand—the two Powers who were themselves bearing the burden and heat of the day—to criticise the work of their agents without taking into consideration the difficulties which they had had to encounter and the character of their mandate. What, after all, was the definition of their duties laid down in the Mürzsteg programme? They were to bring any case of outrage to the notice of Hilmi Pasha and to communicate to him the recommendations of the Ambassadors. Nobody would say they had not fulfilled that part of their task at any rate. What was the report of our Consul on the subject?

> "The programme set before themselves by the Civil Agents on their arrival at Monastir, was firstly to ascertain the material needs of the population with a view to the repatriation of the refugees and reconstruction of the villages destroyed in last year's events; secondly, to effect an improvement in the method of collecting the tithes; and thirdly, and most important of all, to reorganise the financial system as an indispensable preliminary to reform in any other direction. The execution of the first part of the above programme has entailed upon the Civil Agents the necessity of visiting and personally inspecting some fifty ruined villages, in districts lying as far apart as Malissia in the vicinity of Dibra to the north and Castoria to the south of the vilayet; and as many of these journeys, owing to the impossibility of the roads, presented more than ordinary difficulty, it can hardly be laid to the charge of the former that this part of their task was carried out in a perfunctory manner. Moreover, the direct nature of the contract entered into with the population by the Civil Agents is further shown by the fact that no less than 1,000 petitions were received by the latter from the villagers, all of which met with due attention, while 500 were given practical effect to. Most of the disputes between the peasants and the beys were satisfactorily arranged by the Civil Agents, with the aid of Hilmi Pashi, without the necessity of recourse to the tribunals, and this, I may remark, was

regarded as a particularly encouraging symptom for the future pacification of the country."

It could not be said that they had placed too narrow an interpretation on the responsibilities which were assigned to them under the Mürzsteg programme, seeing that they had interpreted those responsibilities as justifying them in drawing up a scheme for the financial reorganisation of their districts. Hon. Members seemed to be surprised because the Civil Agents had not thrown on the table a cut-and-dried scheme of reform long ago. He thought that in the history both of the Balkan Peninsula and of Armenia there had been too much of paper reform schemes. They knew exactly what they led to, and he was not inclined to blame the Civil Agents because they had thought it desirable first of all to try and acquaint themselves by personal travel and investigation with the circumstances of the country and the needs of the people, and had left the framing of academic solutions to armchair politicians at home.

In the case of the *gendarmerie* he thought, at all events, they might claim that they had obtained a very conspicuous measure of success. In reply to the question of the hon. Member for the Eye Division we had appointed another officer to the Drama district, but as regards the latitude of the powers which belonged to the officers there had been no change, nor did he think that any was required. Colonel Fairholme reported long ago that he had not had any complaint to make of obstruction on the part of the Turkish authorities in his district, nor did he complain in any way of the powers conceded to him by the Turkish Government. On the contrary, he said that his authority was as great as if he had been in actual command, and that in point of fact his utility was greater, because his attention was not necessarily monopolised with small and trifling details. He had also since reported that the local authorities had offered no objection to British officers attending trials or carrying out a periodical inspection of the local prisons. Coming to the training of the *gendarmerie* in the reorganisation schools at Salonika and elsewhere, everybody was agreed in praising the appearance and discipline of the recruits recently turned out; and if he was told that the results of the reorganisation, though satisfactory in the British sphere, had been far less so in the areas assigned to the other Powers, he would ask the House to remember certain facts which supplied at all events a partial explanation. Apart from the lack of funds, which of course affected equally all the provinces of Macedonia, the area assigned to Great Britain was far smaller than those assigned to the other Powers, and, therefore, naturally the means at our disposal were more commensurate with the work we had to do. The only remedy for this was an increase of officers, and he ought to mention that in addition to the officers representing the Powers there were a certain number of other European officers, Belgians, Norwegians, and Swedes, who had been employed by the Turkish Government in various parts of the country, which were not included in the purview of the Mürzsteg scheme. There was another reason which explained the want of success in the other spheres, and that was that those spheres contained what the British sphere did not, a very large element of the disaffected Bulgarian population. He did not think it possible for anybody who approached this question with an impartial mind to come to any other conclusion than that the main responsibility for the slow progress of the reform scheme had been, and was at this moment, the action of the revolutionary committees. It was they who necessitated the upkeep of this vast army in Macedonia, which was draining away funds which they should like to see applied to administrative reforms, and it was they also who were delaying the pacification of the country, which the Mürzsteg scheme declared to be the necessary preliminary to the introduction of administrative and judicial reform. The noble Lord had charged him with having said that because the Christian peoples committed atrocities, that absolved the Turkish Government from the charge of maladministration.

Lord EDMUND FITZMAURICE said he did not put it quite so strongly as that. He thought the noble Lord had dwelt with undue emphasis on the fact that there were faults on both sides, and that there was more to be said in favour of the Turkish Government than was admitted.

*EARL PERCY did not really think the question of atrocities committed by the Christian population had anything to do with the responsibility of the Turkish Government. The Turkish Government, of course, was responsible for the government of their country, and so long as there was not good government so long was the Turkish Government to blame. But he did not think that it was true to say that the atrocities committed by the Christian population were caused by the misgovernment of the Turks. It was a remarkable fact that while there were a great number of Christian races in Turkey, both European and Asiatic, the number of disaffected Christian races was comparatively small. He denied the right of the revolutionary committees to be regarded in this country as the representatives and advocates of the Christian population in Turkey. What was the state of affairs in Armenia? Stories were told last year of atrocities committed by the Kurds, and the usual charges were made, without the slightest investigation, against the Turkish Government. Two of our Consuls were instructed to enquire into the truth of these charges. They reported that there was a definite policy on the part of the revolutionary committees to provoke massacres by the Turks in order to arouse the attention of Europe, and that with regard to the villages which had been burned there was good reason to believe that they had been burned by the villagers themselves. They said that the charge of massacre could not be substantiated, that there was no evidence of participation by the Kurds, and that the orders of the authorities were undoubtedly against it. One of the Consuls, Captain Tyrrell, made a personal investigation on the spot. His Majesty's Government had been pressing the Turkish Government to afford relief in money to the distressed villages.

"There is no doubt," said Captain Tyrrell, "that the villagers were told by the revolutionary committees in the summer to accept nothing from the Turkish Government, and not to admit that anything had been done for them, to deceive the Consuls, and, in short, to make the worst of everything."

The result was that one village refused the money. In another village the villagers complained to him that they could not eat the wheat which had been given to them; that they did not think wheat was fit for human sustenance, and they wanted millet. Then when he suggested to the Turkish authorities that millet should be given to them, as it was cheaper than wheat, the people made a great outcry and demanded wheat. In another of these villages the people begged Captain Tyrrell to give them money instead of grain or any other form of relief, as they could buy food from the neighbouring Kurdish villages much cheaper. Finally, Captain Tyrrell reported that he found among the people a tendency to regard it as a duty on the part of foreign Governments to provide for them. The same state of things existed in Macedonia, where there had been a succession of sickening outrages perpetrated by the bands, not on the Turks only, but on one another and on the population which refused to join the agitation. And these were the people who were referred to in speeches on the platforms of this country as deserving creatures, whose faults were the result of Turkish rule and whose only aspiration was to be relieved from Turkish misgovernment and corruption. Ever since the European Powers had taken the reform scheme in hand the Christians had been occupied in cutting each other's throats, and their one idea seemed to be to prove to Europe that however much they disliked the Turks they disliked each other infinitely more. There was no Christian race in Macedonia who, if they were offered relief from Turkish government in exchange for that, say, of Austria or Russia, would not reject the proposal with scorn. He did not adduce these facts in order to absolve the Turkish Government from their responsibility. Undoubtedly a great responsibility rested upon the Government of Turkey for the condition of their country. But he did say that it was not fair to the Turkish Government to ascribe the conduct of those quarrelling Christian races within their territory to their misgovernment.

It was necessary for the House to realise what was the aim of these revolutionary committees. The great bulk of the Christian people of Turkey did not sympathise with those whose object was to force the unhappy peasants into insurrection in the belief that Europe might be relied upon to come to their assistance. The only way to defeat this policy of the revolutionary committees was to show quite clearly that we did not intend to have our hands forced by such measures; that the Powers were determined to continue to act in concert, and to carry out the scheme of reform to which they had pledged themselves in their own time and in their own way. But it was difficult to convey that impression so long as speeches were made in this country—the only speeches quoted in the journals of the Near East—which denounced the reform scheme from its inception as a sham, which made groundless insinuations of jealousies between the Powers, and put forward proposals, such as that for a Christian governor, which, good or bad, were not at the moment within the bounds of practical politics.

Hon. Members opposite were entitled to hold that the proper solution of the Macedonian question was to be found in the appointment of a Christian governor. But he doubted whether it would be very easy to find a gentleman unconnected with the Balkan States willing to undertake the government of these quarrelling races, or to persuade Sir Antony MacDonnell to accept the position, as had been suggested by the noble Lord the Member for the Cricklade Division. But, even if the appointment of a Christian governor were practicable, that solution had never been adopted in any case remotely analogous to that of Macedonia without necessitating beforehand military occupation by a European Power. In any case no one was entitled to say that the appointment of a Christian governor was the ideal solution, or the only solution in the minds of His Majesty's Government. They had never said anything of the kind. What His Majesty's Government had done, before the Mürzsteg scheme was proposed, was to point out that it was idle to insist on the mere acceptance of paper reforms without providing some machinery of control, and Lord Lansdowne suggested it might be found in the appointment either of a Christian governor or of agents of the two mandatory Powers. It was the second alternative that had been accepted by Austria and Russia; but His Majesty's Government had never expressed a preference for one solution more than the other.

In conclusion, he would only add that whatever our views might be as to what was the proper remedy to be applied to Turkish misgovernment, it was most important that we should concentrate our efforts on remedies that were practicable. This was not a Party question. But what would happen if speakers in this country—whether inside or outside the House—were to give the impression to the people out there that if there were an insurrection to-morrow, supposing another Party to be in power, they would be prepared to give their countenance and support to the movement? Either they would have to embark this country on a crusade in which she had no interest of her own to serve, or else they would have to leave to their fate people whom, by their speeches, they had encouraged to desperate courses. It was for that reason that he thought it vital that we should disillusionise the leaders of the revolutionary movement abroad of the idea that any Government in this country, no matter from what side it was drawn, would lend them any encouragement or support if they precipitated matters and deliberately and intentionally made impossible the execution of the reform scheme which the European Powers had undertaken to carry out. At all events, as far as His Majesty's Government was concerned, he did not think it could be too clearly understood that we had never pledged ourselves to embark on an isolated policy in a matter in which this country had no primary interest—and surely we had enough on our hands already—and a matter, moreover, in which we acknowledged no special responsibility. ["Oh!"] That we had responsibilities and obligations with regard to the government of the peoples of the Balkan States we did not deny; but they were obligations and responsibilities incurred by all the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, they did not devolve upon us any more urgently than on any of the other signatories, they were obligations to collective and not to isolated action, and anybody who pressed us to take isolated action appealed to us, not on the grounds of that treaty, but on something else. What was the something else? It might be said that it was on the ground of simple humanity. He did not know, if considerations of humanity stood alone, that there was any particular reason why we should interfere with the internal government of Turkey in Europe any more than in that of Persia, Afghanistan, or any other of the Governments of the East, whose integrity or independence we had thought it right to assert and maintain because it suited the interest of this country to do so, and because we believed it conduced to the maintenance of the peace of the world. We did not accept any special responsibility apart from the other Powers, in this matter; and, although we were willing and anxious to do all that we could in the way of giving our consistent support to the efforts of Austria and Russia, Powers which in virtue of their proximity, racial connection, and knowledge of the circumstances, were better fitted to advise on details of administration there than we were, and although we were ready to suggest amendments and improvements in their scheme of reforms where we thought it was capable of amendment or improvement, we were certainly not willing to insist on an ideal policy, which we had no means of pressing to a successful conclusion, and which might involve us in liabilities the extent and magnitude of which we could not foresee.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) expressed his regret at the tone of the speech of the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which, he said, surprised him the more when he contrasted it with the entirely different tone in which these questions were discussed in another place by the noble Lord's official superior. From the very beginning of this melancholy question, both in his speeches in the Upper House and in his despatches, Lord Lansdowne had expressed a cordial and hearty sympathy with the sufferings of the Christian population, severely censured the conduct of the Turkish Government, and stated his earnest desire that the whole power and influence of this country should be exerted in the endeavour to bring the Turkish Government to a sense of its duty, to spur the other Powers into doing their duty, and to secure a better condition of affairs for these unhappy people. There had been nothing of that kind in the speech just delivered. He had never listened to the noble Lord with more disappointment, and he could not understand how, with the knowledge he possessed, both from his official position, and from the journeys he had made in many provinces of Turkey, the noble Lord could use the language he had just used about the Turkish Government.

EARL PERCY said he was not aware that he had used a single word in extenuation of the Turkish Government.

MR. BRYCE said he would endeavour to explain the impression the speech had made upon him. The noble Lord began by stating some facts which they were very glad to hear. The first was that an improvement had been effected in the vilayet of Adrianople by repatriation. The noble Lord's account did not tally with the accounts he had received, according to which not one half of the people had been repatriated, but possibly the noble Lord was more correctly informed. He had also stated that he was not satisfied with the progress of the Mürzsteg programme. As far as he (the speaker) could gather, the progress of the Mürzsteg programme had been little or nothing; the powers were not sufficient to enable much to be done. The noble Lord also said he was not entirely satisfied with the *gendarmerie*, though he endeavoured to give certain explanations, and seemed disposed to say that the condition of things was better in consequence of the *gendarmerie*. But what he (the speaker) had heard, was that the condition of things was not better. The test of the success of the scheme was to be found in the condition of the country. Was the country any quieter? Were life and property any safer? Were the raids made by the different populations one upon another repressed by the Turkish Government? Was there any prospect of content? Was there reason to believe that the revolutionary party were expecting something better? Were they hoping with some confidence for an improvement in the condition of affairs? The noble Lord had not ventured to suggest that any one of these things had happened; in fact, he could not deny that all those questions must be answered in the negative. The noble Lord would not deny that all the schools were closed, that the churches were practically closed, that the Turkish soldiery were quartered upon the people, that they were eating up everything the people possessed, and that the people were flying to the mountains because they might as well live there as endeavour to inhabit the ruined villages. The noble Lord did not deny that that was so.

EARL PERCY: I did not deny it, because I have not the facts before me. But I have no reason to think it is true.

MR. BRYCE said it had been stated by previous speakers in the debate, but the noble Lord did not say anything to show that the condition of things was better than hon. Members had made it out to be. The reason the revolutionary bands continued was that they had no ground to expect that things were going to be any better. He would not venture to say when the new outbreak would come; it might be in the spring, or in the autumn, or a year hence; but every impartial account received from Macedonia indicated that the revolutionary movement was stayed only by want of money. As soon as they got more money and more rifles, and as soon as the Bulgarian Government was supposed to be more ready for the action it was believed it contemplated, a renewal of the rising and of all the terrors which existed in that country a few years ago might be looked for.

AN HON. MEMBER asked whence the revolutionary bands were getting their money.

MR. BRYCE said he did not know, but he believed they were getting it very slowly, and that was the reason they were not rising. The noble Lord also stated that the Mürzsteg programme ought not to be blamed, because it was never intended to effect a complete reform.

EARL PERCY: No, I did not.

MR. BRYCE said the words of the noble Lord were that it was intended to protract the *status quo*. But the *status quo* was the very thing of which complaint was made, for what did the *status quo* mean? The noble Lord said that the Turks did not welcome these reforms. Conservatism might be good or bad, and the noble Lord might think they were showing an obstinate conservatism in their adherence to certain fiscal principles, but the value of conservatism depended upon what they were going to conserve. Conservatism of the Turk took the form of brigandage, extortion and massacre, and this was why they believed there would be no permanent improvement while they tried those petty or insignificant remedies of putting in a Civil Agent here and *gendarmerie* there without any real authority to deal with the evils existing. These *gendarmerie* were merely confined to drilling and instructing recruits. They had no power to arrest a single criminal or to receive complaints or organise expeditions to seize bands of brigands.

EARL PERCY: They may receive petitions relating to *gendarmerie.*

MR. BRYCE: But they do not take any action upon petitions relating to breaches of the law and violence of justice.

EARL PERCY: Yes, relating to *gendarmerie.*

MR. BRYCE: But what use is it to have *gendarmerie* officers if they are not able to redress the very grievances which drive people to insurrection.

EARL PERCY: We have received no complaints as to the limitation of the powers of any *gendarmerie.*

MR. BRYCE said he was told that the *gendarmerie* officers had no power to receive petitions with regard to the grievances from which the people were suffering; and he believed there was foundation for that statement. Proceeding, the hon. Member declared that it was perfectly clear that the British area of *gendarmerie* was a small and quiet area, where there was no considerable difficulty. He asked why this was so, whether it was not possible for the British officers to do more useful work, suggesting that, if there was to be an increase, officers might be sent to the vilayet of Adrianople, where they would have ample scope for endeavouring to restore order and secure proper administration. The noble Lord dwelt very much upon the outrages perpetrated by the Christians. That was no doubt a lamentable fact, but he did not mention that the Turks took no steps to stop it. They had allowed raids of Bulgarians upon Greeks and Greeks upon Bulgarians, and had actually fomented and encouraged these attacks of two Christian races upon one another, because they acted upon the maxim, "Divide your enemy."

The noble Lord referred to Armenia. He (Mr. Bryce) did not deny that disturbances there had resulted from the action of revolutionary bands and that the action was taken in the hope of drawing the attention of European Powers, but he was not aware that anyone in England had ever given the slightest encouragement to the revolutionists. He, personally, had never lost an opportunity of pointing out that they were committing a great offence and doing themselves a bad service, bringing nothing but suffering and misery to their people. But these revolutionary movements sprang from the intolerable sufferings these people had to endure. Challenged by the noble Lord, the hon. Member said he did venture to say that the case of Armenia was worse, because there they had been baulked of certain reforms promised by the Treaty of Berlin. An Article in the Treaty held out the hope of reform and gave reason to believe that the Powers would secure some improvement. It was because of that that they thought the revolutionary movement would have the effect of attracting the attention of the Powers, and it was for that reason that they had embarked upon this movement. The noble Lord had cast some scorn on the idea of appointing a European governor. He spoke as if it was an impossible suggestion. He was surprised that the noble Lord should hold the language he did with reference to the appointment of a European Governor, because it was a proposal which emanated from his own chief, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. It was not the passing idea of some whimsical humanitarian or crank on either side of the House. It was the suggestion of Lord Lansdowne, and made because he knew that no other solution would be sufficient. It was clear to any one who read Lord Lansdowne's despatch of September 29th, 1903, that the Secretary of State's preference was for the scheme of a European Governor. He confessed he wished that Lord Lansdowne had confined himself to that scheme; but the Secretary of State could never have contemplated that his other alternative would have been so much weakened and whittled away as it was by the Mürzsteg programme, which had turned out to be entirely ineffective, because it had given very little power to the Assessors, and very little power to the *gendarmerie*. The noble Lord had asked whether they were in favour of the *gendarmerie* system being applied to Armenia. He himself would rather have it applied to Armenia than nothing. Hon. Members on the other side of the House were not in favour of it. [AN HON. MEMBER: Yes, certainly.] He understood that the noble Lord had poured some little contempt on the proposal that the *gendarmerie* scheme should be applied to Armenia. If it was impossible, as he presumed it was from the language of the noble Lord and from the language held by His Majesty's Government, to have a European Governor for the Armenian provinces because Russia would not help them, then a *gendarmerie*, even with limited powers, would be better than nothing. He had always pleaded for more Consuls. Let them have some people inside Armenia who could see what was going on and who could do something, however little it might be, to remove the evils the people were suffering from.

He confessed he left this subject that day with a great sense of disappointment and regret. They were always ready to allow for a certain amount of official optimism, and, of course, they did not expect the noble Lord to indulge in such strong condemnation of the Turkish Government as private Members did. But he would ask any one in that House whether the Turkish Government, when they read the speech of the noble Lord, would not see in it a palliation of their sins, would not find in it an encouragement for their obstinacy, and would not recongnise a very marked difference between the language which he had held and the language of menace which they were accustomed to hear from the Secretary of State? He deeply regretted that the noble Lord should go so far to nullify the effect of Lord Lansdowne's despatches as he did in the language which he held in that House. They were quite aware of the great political difficulties with which the question was surrounded. They had never pressed the Government for any positive declaration of the course they would take in eventualities which were not yet disclosed. They had pressed them not to allow what appeared to be the almost exclusive action of Russia and Austria, because they considered that England, France, and Italy were no less entitled to deal with this matter. They regretted that the two Powers which had shown so little earnestness and zeal in the matter should have been allowed to have it practically at their own disposal. But they knew how many difficulties there were and how easy it was to make a mistake it was hard to retrieve. They knew that the difficulties we now suffered from were the results of the fatal mistake which Britain made at the time of the Crimean War, and repeated, with less excuse, when she substituted the Treaty of Berlin for the Treaty of San Stefano. They did not agree that there was no special responsibility on the British Government. They thought there was a very heavy responsibility upon those who put back Macedonia under the dominion of the Turks; and they earnestly hoped that, in spite of what the noble Lord had said, the sentiments which Lord Lansdowne had repeatedly declared would continue to animate him, that he would endeavour to carry at any rate the other two great Western Powers who were perfectly disinterested along with him in representing to all the Powers the necessity for far more vigorous and strenuous action than any yet taken, that he would not acquiesce in the Mürzsteg programme, that he would see that the question was urgent and that the delay of a few months might mean a recrudescence of massacre in these provinces, and that he would do all he possibly could to exert all the influence this country was entitled to exert in order to secure that there should be some settlement of these provinces not dependent on the good will of the Sultan, but under the control of European Powers.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I have listened very carefully to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, who has criticised my noble friend, and criticised him very unjustly, as I think; but I am at a loss even now to discover in what substantial and important respect the policy which the right hon. Gentleman advocates differs from the policy which His Majesty's Government are pursuing. The right hon. Gentleman thinks many mistakes have been made in the past. He thinks that the Crimean War was a mistake, and he thinks that the Treaty of Berlin was a mistake.

MR. BRYCE: I did not say it was a mistake. I said it was a mistake to put Macedonia back under the rule of the Turks.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I gathered from the right hon. Gentleman's brief historical survey that he appeared to think that the proper reforming authority in the Balkan Peninsula was the Russian Empire. I cannot agree with that proposition. I have always dissented from it, and I dissent from it now,

MR. BRYCE: I never made it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am quite unable to agree with the right hon. Gentleman's view of the action of the British Government of the time of the Crimean War, and of the action of the Conservative Government in 1878. Then I ask myself, What is it that the right hon. Gentleman desires the Government to do which they are not doing?

MR. BRYCE: I am not complaining of Lord Lansdowne. Nobody has complained of Lord Lansdowne. I said I hoped Lord Lansdowne would persevere in the policy he has frequently outlined, and that the more energy is desirable because the circumstances have become intolerable.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I admit I got up under a misapprehension. I understood that the right hon. Gentleman was supporting an Amendment directed against the policy of His Majesty's Government; but I find he is ardently supporting His Majesty's Government. Therefore I presume that the right hon. Gentleman agrees wholly with the policy of Lord Lansdowne.

MR. BRYCE: I did not say I agreed wholly with it. The right hon. Gentleman has not heard the whole of this debate, and does not understand that the debate has not been directed at all against Lord Lansdowne's policy. We do not agree with it on all points, but we think on the whole it is a policy which we can heartily support.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am glad of that. The right hon. Gentleman simply has a quarrel with my noble friend near me, who, he thinks, does not represent Lord Lansdowne. He is quite mistaken in that particular. My noble friend never for one instant suggested that the policy of a Christian governor in Macedonia would be a bad policy. On the contrary, he considers that it would be a very excellent policy. What he did suggest was that it was a policy very difficult to carry out. Anybody who knows anything of the question, and especially the right hon. Gentleman, who has made a continuous and ardent study of it, knows that the difficulties of carrying out the reforms you would like to carry out are enormous. They are enormous for three separate reasons. There is first the difficulty of dealing with the Turks, with their well-known unwillingness to do what I think it is their plain duty and manifest advantage to do. Then there is the difficulty of dealing with the Christian populations, who, even before the Turks came to Europe at all, back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were torn by mutual divisions, stained by mutual crimes, and whose division was responsible for the Turk ever being in Europe at all, and has been responsible for his staying ever since. The third difficulty, I will not say is greater, but it is almost as great. It is the difficulty of working through so cumbrous a machine as the European Concert. Nobody doubts that the European Concert is a cumbrous machine, that it is excessively difficult to get the Great Powers to work earnestly and harmoniously for any common end, and that when some of them have divergent interests, or conceive that they have divergent interests, the task becomes almost impossible. Are we, then, to sever ourselves from the European Concert? Are we, because we think a particular reform might be better, that if we were left to ourselves we might devise some scheme more appropriate to the situation and more thoroughgoing—are we, therefore, to separate ourselves from the European Concert? Is that what any responsible statesman on either side of the House or on that side of the House would suggest? I am sure my right hon. friend would not suggest it. He may criticise the imperfections of the machinery of the European Concert as if we were responsible for it; but when directly questioned I am confident that he, like every other rational man, would admit that, cumbrous as it is, unsatisfactory as are its results, slow as is its working, everything would be worse, the results would be poorer, incomparable misfortunes might overwhelm the Eastern world, and might involve even the Western Powers, supposing we were to separate ourselves from the European Concert and take separate action in these provinces. Is it conceivable that against the will of Russia, and against the will of Austria, when the other Powers at the best are luke warm, we could either morally or materially carry on any great scheme of reform? The thing is not possible as far as I am concerned—I would never consent to such action on the part of this country. I heard a laugh when my noble friend said we had sufficient responsibilities on our shoulders without taking that new responsibility. It is no laughing matter. The burdens which this country has already to bear are sufficiently great; and this Government, at all events, is not going to add to them by an insane policy of philanthropic adventure in the Near East. And I venture to say their successors, when they come nearer the fence and contemplate the perils that lie on the other side of it, will swerve aside with a greater rapidity than perhaps at this moment they are aware of. Therefore let it not go forth to any part of the world that, because we think that in certain particulars the schemes of the Powers are imperfect, we are going to separate ourselves from them and advance our own scheme by the strength of our own right hand. That would be no service to the Christian populations; it would be the greatest disservice we could do to the cause of European peace and all that is bound up with the cause of European peace. Therefore I venture to think that speeches like that which the right hon. Gentleman has delivered, though they be, as I have just learned, in the interests of the Government, if they raise any hopes in any part of the world that a change of Administration would produce a change of policy in relation to these unfortunate populations—speeches like that, though not intended to be mischievous, will be mischievous indeed. I do not think I need pursue that theme. The particular ground and policy on which we base our action are not shaken, and cannot be shaken, by any mere detailed accounts of the harrowing horrors which undoubtedly take place both in Eastern Europe and in Armenia; you cannot base a policy upon considerations like these taken alone. If your policy is to endure, and if it is to be fruitful of good, you must consider not merely what it is you would desire to do, but what means you have of doing it, and how those means can be adjusted to the desired end. The right hon. Gentleman tried in vain to make the House believe there is any difference of opinion between my noble friend on this bench and my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. They have dealt with the same subject in the same spirit and in the same manner, and they have recommended an identical policy. That policy is so solidly based on ascertained facts that no Party mutations in this country will directly change the course that we have determined to pursue.

Question put, and negatived.

Main Question again proposed.

*MR. KEARLEY (Devonport) said it was now practically three years since the Government had committed this country to the Sugar Convention, and sufficient time had elapsed to enable the House to appreciate the advantages or otherwise arising from the step the Government then took. In the Amendment he had placed upon the Paper he had expressed in no uncertain terms the evil consequences that had arisen from the agreement to which His Majesty's Government had been accessory. In putting their case before the House three years ago the Government had said they were not actuated in taking this step by cosmopolitan benevolence, but by their concern for British interests and the national welfare generally; that if British interests were not involved they would not have lifted a hand to assist continental sugar-growing and bounty-giving countries in relieving themselves from a burden which they had already found intolerable. The Government declared too, that in fact the abolition of bounties would be such a notable advance in the direction of free trade that British trade would benefit through channels the course of which it was not possible to trace out exactly beforehand. The House heard once more of the hard case of the British refiners and the West Indian planters and it was said that only through the abolition of the bounties could those industries survive. It was, perhaps, a little unfortunate for the Government that Messrs. Tate about this time turned their business into a limited company, and issued a prospectus in which they boasted of an unbroken record of increasing prosperity for forty-five years during which they "had competed successfully with both British and Foreign sugar, notwithstanding the advantage possessed by the latter in the bounties given," a statement luminously illustrated by the fact that in that year, when sugar fell lower than ever before—in 1891, supposed to be a deadly year for sugar refiners—they realised a handsome profit of £200,000. There was some inconsistency in the declaration made by the Government of having British interests at heart, because in the same breath they declared that even if the interests of the consumers and users of sugar suffered, they would still be justified in continuing to work for the object they had in view, but that their fears were groundless; that in the long run neither the sugar consumers or other sugar interests would suffer by abolition, but that they would be protected from the danger of a still greater rise in prices which was likely to fall upon them if the abolition of the sugar bounties did not take place.

The Government had said the abolition of the bounties would bring to an end all violent fluctuations; that the violent fluctuations in the previous twenty years were quite unnatural; that they had been caused by the bounties, which encouraged over-production, and that unless bounties were abolished sugar would be much higher in the future. With the bounties gone everything was to fall into a well-ordered groove, sugar-making and selling were to become humdrum vocations, that to the cost price of production, which the Government knew all about and had worked out with nice precision, was to be added a mere working profit, and that that was to constitute the normal and natural price of sugar in the future. The House was assured that in the next ten years the average price of sugar would not exceed 10s. a cwt., and the probability was that it would be considerably less. That was the case of the Government. In contrast to that the Opposition contended that, however great the evil of bounties might be, especially to those countries which gave them, we ought to consider the question in its entirety as to how it affected British interests, that we objected to the smaller interests of special industries being promoted at the expense of the whole community. It was urged that if the Government pursued this policy the consumers would have to submit to a tax of some millions sterling a year in order to put money into the pockets of the West Indian planters and a few sugar refiners in the United Kingdom. That to deliberately raise the price of a commodity in order to benefit a particular interest was rank protection. We also said that the Convention would destroy the independence of our commerce, which up to that point had enjoyed open ports, unrestricted markets, and the privileges of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest—and that in joining this Convention we should not only be injuring our commerce but should be handing over the control and direction of a great trade to a foreign syndicate in which our voice would only count as one to ten. That had been one of the most serious developments of this Convention. Every step the Convention had taken had been in the direction of shutting out sugar from all parts of the world from this country, and it was becoming abundantly clear that the object of the Convention was to make sugar at home dearer, and that was the object of the Government also, so as to benefit that select coterie of planters and refiners who had manipulated in their own interests the successful agitation.

In addition to making sugar dearer to the consumer, the Convention had brought about a great advance in the price of a raw material, and strangely enough, whilst doing all this injury to the sugar-using industries and consumers at home, it had actually relieved the foreigners and given them cheap sugar. Whereas the Continental consumer had had the price of his sugar reduced by 50 per cent., we, in this country, had had the price of ours increased by 100 per cent. Finally, the Opposition said that this was at best but a bad transaction; that it taxed us to the extent of some millions in order to give relief to the West Indies, especially as there was evidence to shew that cane sugar could be grown at £6 a ton and sold at a profit at very little over that price. Those were the two sides of the argument put forward at the time this Convention was under discussion, and every argument of the Opposition had come true. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite now contended that the rise in the price of sugar had been brought about by the drought which had occurred on the Continent this last year. That argument had been used by every hon. and right hon. Gentleman opposite, and with the exception of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade very little, if any, attempt had been made to prove it. That hon. Gentleman made a speech to his constituents in Glasgow, argued his case very fairly and made several good points which it was only fair should be answered if it were possible to answer them. The first point the hon. Gentleman made was, if the Convention was responsible for the rise in the price of sugar, the rise would naturally take place the moment it became certain that the Convention would come into operation, and then by a series of carefully manipulated figures dealing with the average price of sugar three years before and after the Convention, he demonstrated to his own satisfaction that nothing of the kind had happened, but that sugar had been actually cheaper by 1s. per cwt. since the Convention.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Main Question [14th February], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign*,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Question again proposed.

*MR. KEARLEY (continuing his speech) said he would now trace the record of prices from the signing of the Convention in March, 1902, as he preferred to deal with facts rather than the ingenious figures of the hon. Member, which showed that the hon. Gentleman had only a very superficial knowledge of the subject upon which he argued. Had his knowledge been more profound the hon. Gentleman would have been aware that prior to the Budget of 1902 there broke out in this country and upon the Continent a huge gamble in sugar in the anticipation of there being an increase in the duty. Everybody who had any interest in sugar participated in the speculation and filled themselves up with duty-paid sugar. When the Budget was introduced, and it became known that there was no addition to the duty the market became stagnant, and some of the speculators had to make forced realisations of their stock. That was the reason for the fall in sugar at that time and so overloaded was the market that in July prices sagged away until they reached under 6s., the lowest ever recorded. He (Mr. Kearley) would prove that statement. The total imports of sugar that year—1902—were 1,578,000 tons, and more than half, viz., 785,000 was shipped to this country in the four months preceding the Budget, and nobody could deny that that was the cause of the fall in the market. But later in the year these large stocks of duty-paid sugar had gone into consumption, and in October sugar had risen 40 per cent. above the price it was when the Convention was signed. Another point made by the hon. Gentleman was that when the Convention actually came into force—in September, 1903—prices did not rise, but fell; therefore, he argued, how could it be said that the later rise was due to the Convention? The reason sugar did not rise immediately after the Convention came into force was that when the Continental countries realised that the bounties were to be swept away they intimated to the sugar refiners that all sugar declared for shipment, whether shipped or not, would have the benefit of the bounty, with the result that every ton of sugar was declared and huge stocks accumulated, in all the Continental ports awaiting shipment. These overshadowed this market and had a depressing influence. The average weekly stocks in Hamburg alone were some hundreds of thousands of tons in excess of any other corresponding period. But by April of last year those stocks had been shipped and consumed, and then for the first time the full effect of the Convention was felt. The market began to rise in April, and in the following May sugar was 60 per cent. higher than it was at the lowest point, soon after the Convention was signed. There as no mention or even a whisper at that time of the shortness of the crop, the seed was hardly in the ground and had certainly not begun to germinate, yet we had this rise. In all those commodities where there was a great market, the question of what stock there was on hand had a tremendous effect upon the course or tendency of prices. Yet this advance took place when there was a visible supply of 2,500,000 tons. Three years previously, when there was the same amount of visible supplies, and when there was no Convention, the price of sugar fell to the lowest point on record, but in May with the Convention sugar rose 60 per cent. and the visible supplies were as large as ever before. That was a matter which he would have to ask the Government to explain. He should like to know whether the drought which had not then occurred was responsible for this increase in the price. It was only in August that rumours of shortage began to be circulated, and it was not until October that it was actually known that there was a serious deficit of 1,100,000 tons in the crop. He did not argue that such a huge deficit would not have any effect on prices; so serious a deficit at any time would have made itself felt, but the point was would the effect have been anything so serious had we maintained our commercial independence, free to buy from whence we chose and with our Ports open to all? We had sacrificed that, and instead of being able to take our sugar from whence we chose, we had to take it from a syndicate of countries by whom we were ruled in this matter, and in the discussions with whom our voice counted only as one in ten.

The deficit in the beet sugar crop was 1,100,000 tons, but at the same time there was an increase in cane of 400,000 tons, so that the actual deficit in the sugar crop was only about 700,000 tons. This would occasion a rise of 1s. or 2s. at any time, but the Convention was solely responsible for two things which immensely aggravated the situation, In the first place, since the Convention had been signed the consumption of sugar on the Continent had increased by 840,000 tons. Had it not been for the Convention that sugar would have been available for us, but owing to its policy the Convention had given the continental peoples cheap sugar, with the result that they had eaten 840,000 tons of practically our sugar. In the second place, we had shut out by the Convention 1,000,000 tons of sugar from Russia. Russia had always been the second largest beet sugar producer on the Continent, so that there would have to be added to the actual deficit the effect of practically 2,000,000 tons being no longer available or visible for our market. These were made up of the 840,000 tons consumed by the Continental peoples, the Russian crop, and the Argentine crop of 130,000 tons; and if the Convention had had its way it would soon shut out every other crop, because it was only at the eleventh hour that Lord Lansdowne had entered his protest against the supply of a further seventeen other countries being ruled out among which were the Brazil crop of 190,000 tons, the Hayti crop of 45,000, the Philippine crop of 120,000, so that the House would see the point to which we were approaching if we allowed the Convention to have its way. Under these circumstances, it was clear and beyond question that the normal condition of things would not in itself have warranted the market going up in the way it had done. The Continental speculators had had an eye upon the situation all the time; they saw that there was a favourable opportunity, and they initiated a highly profitable boom in sugar at our expense and the whole of that speculation which enhanced the price suddenly, and if they liked, unduly, must be attributed to the Sugar Convention. The shortage of beet would have caused a rise of some kind, no doubt a shilling or two shillings a cwt., but sugar had risen 150 per cent., and all this fictitious rise was the handiwork of the Convention of Brussels.

He had endeavoured up to this point to set forth the effect of the Convention on beet sugar, and he would now turn to see what had been the effect on cane sugar, because it was really in the interests of cane sugar that this Convention had been entered into. The House remembered the tale of the terribly sad conditions in the West Indies. The Government had stated that the sugar of Germany and Austria was gradually driving that of all other competitors out of Europe. That was not the fact, because they had only to refer to the increased crop of France in order to see that it was not correct, but that was the case of the Government; but there was the other great point that the effect of the low price of beet sugar, which was sold below the cost of production in Europe, was having such an effect on the cultivation of cane that they were beginning to leave off producing it. The case of the Government was that the Convention would extend the area of production. They now claimed that so far as cane sugar was concerned, thanks to the Convention, the crop was 400,000 tons greater. Not one single ton of that increase was to be attributed to the action of the Convention. It had taken place in countries over which the Convention had no influence, in countries which were essential, under American influence, where their sugar was mainly consumed. The argument of the Government all through had been that the Convention would benefit the West Indies. How much had the West Indies contributed to the increased cane production? Not a single pound. As a matter of fact, since the Convention had come into force the production of the West Indies had declined and was continuing to decline. Those countries which produced the increased cane crops had America for a market. The Philippine production had increased by 40,000 tons, Louisiana by 124,000 tons, Puerto Rico by 25,000 tons, and Cuba by 160,000 tons. Not one of these was a country for which the Government legislated. The Government legislated for the West Indies, and in these alone of all the cane-producing countries of the world was there a decline. Java was another country which had increased its production, and had already discovered a way by which they could produce cane sugar at £6 a ton and sell it at a profit at very little over that amount, while the West Indies had never been able to produce it at less than £8 a ton. Java had steadily increased her sugar production, which had gone up in the last ten years by over 500,000 tons.

In 1904 the West Indies were estimated to produce 221,000 tons, whereas in 1903 they produced 249,000 tons; in 1902, 239,000 tons; and in 1901, 258,000 tons; so that there was a continuous decrease. The returns from Java showed that cane sugar could be produced to pay a handsome profit at a low price, provided proper appliances were used. The cause of the decline in the West Indies was economical. The estates had been divided and sub-divided to such an extent that it was impossible to carry on a large system of manufacture unless the methods were altogether changed. Sugar production in Java had been brought to a fine art, and the figures of the increase were so important and had such a bearing on this question that he would quote them to the House. In 1894 the total Java crop was 530,000 tons, and every year there had been an increase until for the present year it was estimated to produce 1,086,000 tons. That was an instance of a country where, working with the best methods, they were able to increase their crop and make a handsome profit, although at a far lower price than the West Indies had ever been asked to accept. The prevailing idea at the time of the Convention, and one fostered by the arguments of the Government, was that the production of cane sugar the world over was dwindling, the alleged reason being that beet production was carried on at such a price, owing to the bounty system, that it really did not pay to persevere with cane. But what were the real facts? The production of cane sugar the world over during the last twenty years had more than doubled, and in the last five years it had increased by over 1,000,000 tons, while in the last five years the production of beet had decreased by 1,000,000 tons.

Then as to the effect of the Convention on the sugar-using industries, which throughout the controversy had been treated by the Government as of little account, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade had stated that he had no sympathy with them, because they were crying out before they were hurt.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): I said I had no sympathy with their agitation; I never said I had no sympathy with the busnesses.

*MR. KEARLEY said that that was too nice a distinction to appreciate. What was the agitation for but to save their industries ?

MR. BONAR LAW : They were agitating for protection.

*MR. KEARLEY said he had forgotten for the moment that according to the Prime Minister this Convention contained the pure gospel of free trade, and that they on that side of the House did not know what free trade was. What would be the use of the industries crying out after they were hurt ? But the hon. Gentleman went on to say that he did not believe they ever would be hurt. Did he believe that now, seeing that the trades employed 12,000 fewer men than before the Convention, and that at the busiest time of the year, during the Christmas season, when the sugar-using industries were most actively employed, 50,000 men were working short time ?

MR. BONAR LAW asked whether the same circumstance never occurred during the bounty period.

*MR. KEARLEY said he should say distinctly not, as the increase in these sugar-using industries had arisen in consequence of sugar being cheap and of there being no interference with our getting supplies from all parts of the world. Until recently these trades employed 120,000 men, and had an invested capital of £12,000,000, whereas in their most flourishing days the refineries, for whom the interests of the British consumers as a whole had been sacrificed, employed only 5,000 men, while the number now employed was only 3,000. The reason for the decline and fall of the old refineries, who made bad sugar by indifferent methods, was not the bounty system or Continental competition at all; it was the competition of up-to-date sugar refiners like Tate and Lyle, who were now putting on the market twice the amount of sugar the refineries produced thirty years ago, and were able to do it with 2,000 fewer men. The effect of the Convention on the sugar-using industries had been disastrous. Whereas formerly they were supreme not only in neutral but also in protected markets, they were now being excluded because the sugar-producing countries were manufacturing confectionery themselves. Holland and Germany were running up jam factories, and even Austria was sending confectionery to this country. It was entirely due to the Convention, which deprived the British manufacturer of the boon of cheap sugar and conferred it on the foreigner, that the Continental manufacturers were now beginning to invade our own market in all directions.

He desired to refer to the misleading figures given by the President of the Board of Trade as to the importations of Russian sugar into this country. The right hon. Gentleman declared that in 1901 the total amount exported from Russia was 126,000 tons, of which only 700 tons came to the United Kingdom, and that in 1902 only 1,000 tons came to this country.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (MR. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I said they were the figures given by the Russian Government, and so they were.

*MR. KEARLEY was sure the right hon. Gentleman did not wish to convey that he had wilfully misled the House, but he was in this dilemma: either he had made statements by which he wished to mislead the House—which of course was not the fact—or he had put forward statements the accuracy of which he had not taken pains to investigate. Did the right hon. Gentleman wish to own up ?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR : When I come to speak in my turn I shall be quite prepared to give my explanation of the circumstance. Meanwhile I am quite propared to admit that there was a certain amount of sugar coming from Germany of which I was not aware.

*MR. KEARLEY said that that was only part of the case. What he was now arguing was that the Convention was obtained under false pretences, that the House was misled by not being put in possession of all the facts, and that if the attempt were made afresh the Convention would not get even a Second

Reading. From inquiries which he had made he found that the total amount of Russian sugar, refined and raw, sold by five brokers of Mincing Lane, was in 1902, 36,050 tons, and in 1901, 21,500 tons, and that one firm alone, Messrs Meyer Fr. Sohn, sold no less than 11,000 tons in 1901, and 16,000 tons in 1902. He had also ascertained from the British Vice-Consul at Danzig that the exports of Russian sugar from that port to the United Kingdom were 7,483 tons in 1901, and 9,748 tons in 1902.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.) asked whether those quantities were included in the 21,500 and the 36,050 tons previously mentioned.

*MR. KEARLEY was not certain, but probably they were. But in any case there were 21,500 tons and 36,050 tons of Russian sugar known to be sold on the London market by these five brokers alone, as against the 700 tons and the 1,000 tons stated by the President of the Board of Trade.

He would only say, in conclusion, that this policy was believed to be a first instalment of the greater protection revival of which the country had heard so much, and about which it had formed such a decided view. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was proclaimed by his friends to be its author, and he was entitled to the full credit for the results of his handiwork. Those results had been disastrous to the British consumer and manufacturer. The Convention had conferred cheap sugar on our Continental rivals and dear sugar on the home consumer; it had halved the price to the consumer abroad, and doubled the price to the consumer at home. The right hon. Gentleman in his speech on the Second Reading of the Convention Bill said—

> "I wish I could address an audience of working men. I would appeal to their pockets and their interest, and say, 'What have you done? You have destroyed a trade which might have given employment to goodness knows how many people, and you have allowed trades one after another to be thrown away, or handed over to our competitors.'"

Why had not the right hon. Gentleman gratified his wish and addressed a meeting of working men on the Sugar Convention? Was it because he was afraid that they might ask: "What have *you* done?" He begged to move.

*SIR J. DICKSON-POYNDER (Wiltshire, Chippenham), in seconding, said he wished to deal with the broader aspect of the Convention in its relation to our present free-trade system. After nearly a century the bounty system had been found by the Continental nations to be intolerable. It was based on the same false principle that lay at the root of every protectionist measure. The bounty system was protection in its most concentrated and direct form. The artificial stimulus given to beet cultivation had resulted in such over-production that it had had to be exported at one-fourth of its actual cost, with the result that we in this country had not only had sugar for domestic purposes at one-half the price prevailing in other countries, but had become the greatest sugar-manufacturing nation in the world, and had actually been able to re-export sugar to the very countries from which we originally received the raw material. That was the condition of affairs when the Government precipitated the abolition of bounties by joining the Sugar Convention. He did not believe the foreign countries would ever have come to a simultaneous decision if Great Britain had not joined the Convention. What would be the effect? To treble the price of sugar in the United Kingdom, while the price in foreign countries had been reduced by one-half. This result had been clearly pointed out by the mover of this Amendment. In other words, the inhabitants of the United Kingdom had been compelled to bear the cost of abolishing bounties, instead of the inhabitants of the bounty-paying countries bearing the cost themselves. Therefore the whole loss and hardship of the reversal of the bounty system had been borne by this country, which was the one country that was in no way responsible for the system. Supposing it had been proposed that a fund should be formed for compensating growers of beet and manufacturers of beet sugar in order that by degrees they should reduce their bounties, and supposing it had been suggested that the British Government should subscribe a certain sum to that fund, he ventured to say that such a proposal would have been scouted as too preposterous for consideration. If a proposal of that kind had been seriously made by a Minister in the House of Commons it would have been defeated upon a division by an overwhelming majority. And yet it was absolutely certain, in the light of recent events, that this would have been a far more practical and economical operation than that which the Government actually compelled the House to adopt in the Sugar Convention.

What had happened? For the first time in fifty years there was a falling-off in the consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom and the Board of Trade Returns showed a falling off of 3 per cent. That was an alarming sign. It not only meant a considerable reduction in the consumption of sugar but a reduction amongst all the sugar-using industries. They were told that this was due to shortage in the crop on the Continent of Europe, and that this was the reason for the rise of price in England. He ventured to say that that could not be seriously contended. If it were true that there was a shortage on the Continent, it was a remarkable fact that sugar in France and Germany was half to-day what it was, and that the consumption of those countries had doubled. It was not natural causes that had brought this catastrophe, but the violent interference with trade by the Government, who had no idea of the forces they were dealing with, and the result they were going to bring about. What had been the result in broad figures? He did not pretend to uphold the bounty system, for it was obvious that that system must have come to an end sooner or later; but it was no business of ours to hasten its abolition; and had we abstained, it would probably have taken twenty or thirty years for foreign countries to escape that incubus which they had themselves created. That would have given time for our sugar manufacturers to adapt themselves to the gradual diminution of supply of beet sugar, and it would also have given time for the sugar-cane growing countries to meet the demand created by the cessation of the beet sugar manufacture. But the Government decided suddenly to effect a change which but for them must have been very gradual, and which they were now compelled to admit inflicts grave hardship on the consumer, and serious and increasing loss on many thriving sugar industries.

What was the motive put forward at the time by the then Colonial Secretary? It was the generally acknowledged desire of the Secretary for the Colonies to benefit the sugar planters of the West Indies. In short it came to this, that it was a colossal measure of retaliation for the purpose of obtaining an infinitesimal amount of preference. He challenged the Government to show any benefit which had been afforded to the West Indies or any other portion of the Empire proportionate to the sacrifice which the United Kingdom had been compelled to undergo. Those responsible for the project had ignored the economic necessity attending the transfer of a gigantic trade from one source of supply to another. Sugar was the fourth greatest of our imports of food. How could the West Indies under the most favourable circumstances expect to provide anything approaching the quantity of sugar required for the British consumers and the manufacturers of this country? Where was the capital to come from? It could only come from England; and the money market was not favourable to invest millions in the West Indies on so precarious an undertaking. How did they know that there was the necessary enterprise in the West Indies? The most energetic colonists there had already turned to other pursuits, such as coffee, cocoa, spices, and it was hardly to be expected that they would retrace their steps to the precarious pursuit of sugar growing. But assuming they were desirous, where was the labour to come from? Were they to have another Chinese Ordinance for the West Indies? He thought the Government had better get off with the old love before they came on with the new. It was really a matter of the cold calculation of supply and demand, because neither the West Indies nor all the cane-sugar producing parts of the Empire could supply us with half the sugar we required within a reasonable time. Natal was confronted with labour difficulties, and Mauritius already produced to its full capacity. In Queensland the labour law made it a negligible quantity as a sugar-exporting country. Was not this an object-lesson of retaliation and preference in full working, and showing how results differed from anticipations?

The Government supported the abolition of bounties on the pretence that it was a great measure of free trade, but why they should go out of their way to reform foreign countries in the direction of free trade, whilst they advocated precisely the same measures for industries in this country he could not understand. The Prime Minister the other day was good enough to tell them during the fiscal debate, with a wave of the hand, that none of them understood, what free trade meant. Some of them had been trying to study the fiscal question during the last two years, and although they knew more about economics than they did before, many of them were just as much in the dark as regarded certain aspects of this question as they were at the commencement. He supposed that the most proper interpretation of free trade would be a trade free from Government interference, in which the trader would make his own bargain in a market which suited him best, and in which he bought his goods at the cheapest price. If that was a fair interpretation of free trade then the Sugar Convention was not a particularly successful method of enforcing that doctrine, for it shut the trader out of the cheapest market, and forced him to pay £8,500,000 more than he would have had to pay if left to himself. This £8,500,000 in the past had been the penalty which foreign countries had paid for their system of protection attended as it was with the certain consequences of cartels, trusts, and combinations. The Convention relieved the delinquent countries of this penalty, and now dumped that burden on the unfortunate British consumer. That was an expensive form of education for this country, and it was a disastrous method of arriving at free trade. Free trade, like charity, should begin at home. The best way to teach foreign countries to leave the bad paths of protection and direct them into the paths of free trade was to tell them to come over to England and see our great sugar industries which were prospering through their folly and ignorance. No, Sir, foreign countries must work out their own redemption, and that was the only way in which they could be expected to adopt the system which for many generations this country had enjoyed the benefit of.

There was only one consoling feature in this unfortunte business, and it was that it was the most convincing example which could possibly be furnished of the injurious results of the Government policy of retaliation and the Birmingham policy of colonial preference. Nothing could have happened more opportunely to assist in the destruction of both of these mischievous proposals. His position in this Parliament was necessarily one of detachment, and he could and intended to vote on questions according to their merits. What a pity more hon. Members were unable to take the same course. Were other Members equally independent, this Convention would receive the large measure of condemnation it deserved, and many who now would vote silently in its favour would vote, like he intended to, for the Amendment.

Amendment proposed.

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that Your Majesty's Government in committing the country to the policy of the Brussels Sugar Convention have inflicted heavy losses upon trade, diminished employment of labour, enormously increased the cost of a necessary food to consumers, without any compensatory advantage; and we humbly submit to Your Majesty that these evil results call for an immediate remedy; and that the Convention should be denounced at the earliest possible moment.'"—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added.

Sir WALTER PALMER (Salisbury) said that upon this occasion he again could not agree with the Amendment which had been brought forward and supported so very lucidly by the hon. Member for Devonport. The hon. Member had stated in most explicit terms the nature of his grievance, and he hoped to show, in a very few minutes, that the Convention, whatever the views of the hon. Member might be with regard to particular trades, was not the whole question, and that he had omitted that part which might have been included, and which had been the real grievance. He was afraid that the mover of the Amendment was not altogether in favour of free trade if they accepted the older definition, namely, that free trade meant "an interchange of commodities at their natural prices." What was the alternative if they reverted to the state of things before the Convention? They would, of course, be having sugar under the system of bounties, and that was, he presumed, what the hon. Member wished. The Amendment denounced the Convention as having been the cause of heavy losses in trade, and as having increased the cost of the food of the people. The hon. Member had argued that the cost of sugar had been rendered higher in consequence of the Sugar Convention. He confessed that he could not follow the arguments of the hon. Member in that respect, and he was afraid that he had failed to convince him that the Sugar Convention had, in any way, tended to make the price of sugar higher than it was before. [OPPOSITION Laughter.] Hon. Members opposite laughed, but he wished to put before them this consideration. Did the line of prices since September, 1903, justify this suspicion? The hon. Member was continually talking about the price of sugar having been 6s. per cwt., but was it fair to take one particular fall in price, the result of a very heavy crop in that particular year? They all knew very well that the price in September, 1903, was about 8s. 5d. per cwt., and it fell in the following February to 7s. 10½d., whilst in April of last year it was 8s. 7d., or about the same as it was at the time the Convention came into operation.

*MR. KEARLEY: What was it in May?

*SIR WALTER PALMER said they all knew that April was about the time when people began to form their estimate of the growing crops. The hon. Member had given them a great many figures with regard to stocks on the Continent, but he wished to ask him one question upon this point. If the estimate of the crop on the Continent had been normal at that particular time would there have been any rise in the price of 8s. 7d.? The hon. Member had said nothing as to what the price would have been had the crops remained normal. Had crops remained normal, and the price had not been raised, it would have been impossible to argue that the Sugar Convention had in any way increased the price of sugar.

He would take another consideration which the hon. Member had dwelt upon, namely, had the disturbing effect of last year's deficiency caused as great a loss to the country as would have been the case without the Convention? Last year's deficiency, as the hon. Member had told them, sent up the price in December to nearly 6s., and 7s. in the middle of January, or in other words, we paid £2,250,000 more for the sugar bought in this country.

*MR. KEARLEY: The price of sugar to the consumer has risen to just double what it was before the Convention. It was 1½d. per lb. before the Convention and it is now 3d. per lb. That represented a sum of over £8,000,000.

*SIR WALTER PALMER: I prefer to take the figures given in the Blue-book.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: You are quite right.

*SIR WALTER PALMER said that if they paid only £2,250,000 more for sugar, what became of the statement made by the Leader of the Opposition that the Sugar Convention had cost this country over £8,000,000 a year? If the Leader of the Opposition spoke upon this question he would like him to show how he made out that this country had been charged £8,000,000 a year by the Convention.

There was another consideration he wished to point out. Was the rise in price last year less or more than during similar years when bounties and cartels existed? According to the estimate of the hon. Member for Devonport the deficiency last year was 750,000 tons of sugar. That was a fact generally known, but the hon. Member did not state that the deficiency in the production of beet sugar was the worst which had been known for the last forty years, and it was this that had caused the rise in price of 6s. and 7s. per cwt. Let them now compare this variation in price with the variations of other years. In the year 1888–9 sugar rose from 13s. 2d. to 27s., which was more than double the rise which took place last year. That rise, he need scarcely point out, was due to the deficiencies in the crops, mostly in the West Indies, which also affected the United States supply, and led to a great deal of speculation and a very great rise in prices. He would take another rise in price which occurred in 1892–3, for in that year the price rose from 12s. 9d. to 18s. 9d. The variation in that crop was vastly less than was the case last year. If the crop last year was the worst they had experienced for forty years, if it was worse than in 1892–3, why had the price not now gone up very much more than it had done? The reason why the price had gone up only 6s. was because the systems of cartels and bounties abroad had been abolished. Take the year 1893–4 when the price fell from 18s. 9d. to 8s. 3d., or a fall of 10s. 6d. per cwt. That was entirely due to over-production in the previous year. He wished to ask the hon. Member if he thought these extraordinary fluctuations were good for trade; at any rate those interested in the trade did not think so. The average price for last year worked out at about 12s. 3d. per cwt. for refined sugar, and that was an increase of 1s. 4¼d. on the previous year. But even then the average price paid in 1904 was less than in any year before 1901. In fact previous to the years of the sugar duty, sugar had always cost more than it had since without the sugar duty.

He thought the hon. Member for Devonport had very much failed in his argument respecting the sugar industries of this country. The dead-weight upon those industries had been the sugar tax, and he would give the House figures to prove this. The Treasury Returns showed that the yield from the sugar tax for 1901–2 was £6,399,000; in 1902–3 it was £4,478,000; and in 1903–4 the amount was £5,725,000. He would next take the Board of Trade figures. In 1901 the importation of sugar was just over 33,000,000 cwts.; in 1902 it was 31,451,000 cwts.; in 1903, 31,134,000; and last year it was 32,294,000 cwts. What he was contending was that there had been a falling-off in the importation of sugar owing to the sugar tax. He would next take the quantity of sugar consumed per head of the population. In the year 1901 the percentage per head of the population was 88·9 lbs.; in 1902, 83·9 lbs.; 1903, 82·2 lbs.; and for last year he had not been able to get the figures. There was one fact which he particularly wished the hon. Member for Devonport to notice, and it was that the duty imposed upon sugar had raised the price nearly to what it was ten years ago. The average price for the five years 1890–1894 was 16s. 9d.; for the seven years 1895–1901, 12s. 6d.; and for the four years 1901–1904, 11s.5d., but, adding the amount of the sugar duty, this became 15s. 7d. Therefore the cost of sugar to the buyer had come back to what it was nearly ten years ago. He entirely disagreed with the expression of opinion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the deputation which recently waited upon him. The right hon. Gentleman said that the tax on sugar was only sensible because of particular circumstances which had occurred last year. He entirely disagreed with that statement, for the sugar tax had raised the average price of sugar during the time it had been imposed more than 3s. beyond the average which had existed during the previous seven years. The mover of the Amendment, in stating that the Convention had inflicted heavy loss on trade, had diminished employment, and so on, was entirely beyond the mark. The hon. Member had failed to show that the Convention had really affected the price of sugar, and he omitted altogether to keep in view the fact that the rise had really been caused by the sugar tax. In support of this he ventured to quote the statement made by Messrs. Icke and Sharp, Limited, who said—

> "As regards our own firm, we have been unable, since the tax of 1900, to pay any dividend to the ordinary shareholders, and is it to be wondered at, considering that the tax has been the means of reducing our turnover by over £50,000 a year?"

It was a little extraordinary that the hon. Member should come forward, as he had done again and again, asking for the abolition of the Convention on these grounds. Of course it was useless to refer him to the well-known opinions of the authorities on his own side—Mr. Gladstone and Lord Farrer. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, speaking in 1899, said that bounties were only another form of protective duty. The late Sir William Harcourt had also expressed a similar view, and the Trades Union Congress had twice done so. The depressed state of the various trades using sugar had not been due to the Convention, but he believed, nevertheless, that the working of the Convention and the abolition of the cartels had prevented the excessive rise in price which had happened on previous occasions, and had probably saved the country a very large amount of money. That, at all events, was his opinion. He believed that the abolition of bounties would in a short time be recognised as an enormous benefit to this country and the Colonies. Might he give one parallel? This year in the United States there was an enormous deficiency in the wheat crop, and he believed England had received very little wheat from the United States. But we had received enormous supplies from India and other places, and the consequence was that the price of wheat had been very little interfered with. The hon. Member opposite deprecated the encouragement of the cane industries, though this year, owing to a deficiency in the beet harvest, prices were sent up comparatively high because of that deficiency, and because we were not yet able to get our supplies from the cane producers. The hon. Member referred to the large increase in production which had taken place in different parts of the world. He himself had been to Java, though not to the West Indies. Java, he believed, was cultivated entirely by Chinese coolies. It had been mentioned that in Cuba there had been an increase of 1,000,000 tons within a certain time. There had been in Cuba an increased production from 485,000 tons in 1882 to 1,250,000 tons at the present time, owing to the encouragement given by the United States. He believed that the situation alluded to in the Amendment was due not to the Convention but to the deficiency in the crop together with the sugar tax, which was not before them that night. The depressed state of the trade of this country was also a matter which should be taken into consideration. He looked forward to better times when the finances of the country would be regulated in another way. He hoped the House would not be led astray by the statements which had been made by the mover of the Amendment.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said he was glad to be able to follow the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, because he represented a constituency which was largely interested in sugar industries. In Dundee there was a large number of people whose wages were small, and many of these were women who were self-supporting. In the immediate neighbourhood of the city there was a great fruit-growing industry which served the sugar-using industry. His constituency, therefore, was hit three times over by the Convention. The poor, who were the consumers, were hit, the confectioners who manufactured the sugar into confectionery, were hit, and the fruit growers in the neighbouring districts were also hit. The head of the greatest confectionery business in Dundee informed him that the price of sugar had risen 100 per cent. The authority of Sir A. Jones, however, was good enough for him, because he stated that—

> "It is to Mr. Chamberlain we owe it that sugar has risen from £6 to £16 per ton."

That statement, he admitted, did not appear in the revised report; if it had been suppressed by the author he was only following the distinguished example of another who had spoken on fiscal matters. In connection with the effects of this sugar policy in general, he regarded the case of the working people as by far the most serious, and he agreed with the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down that they could scarcely consider the Sugar Convention alone in this debate. The sugar policy of the Government was divided into two branches—the part which imposed a tax and the part which dealt with the sugar bounty question in the Convention. He condemned them both, and regarded them both as diseases acting concurrently. He agreed with the hon. Member for

Salisbury in condemning the sugar tax. They could not separate the two branches of the Government's sugar policy, because if the effect of the Convention was to impose a burden on the people, however small, it was an aggravation of the burden caused by the sugar tax. He read the other day in a Board of Trade Blue-book that the average wage of an Irish agricultural labourer was something between 10s. 6d. and 11s. a week. If the sugar tax and the Sugar Convention had the effect of increasing the price of sugar in the least degree, then he said, no matter how low the degree, that a wage of 10s. 6d. was one that could bear no diminutions, and to take from a man who was earning that wage the smallest scintilla of a farthing was not a change that could be defended.

The hon. Member for Salisbury condemned the sugar tax and praised the Convention. He found that was very common with protectionists. One hon. Member had candidly given the reason. The reason was simply this, the whole of the proceeds of the sugar tax, hardly as it bore on the poor, went into the Exchequer, and not a farthing went into private pockets. In the case of the burden laid on the people by the Convention not a farthing of it went to the Exchequer, but the whole of it went into private pockets. Part of it went to the agricultural interest, because it was the West Indian equivalent of the English agricultural dole, part of it went to a small branch of the sugar trade in this country, and the rest, and by far the greater proportion, went to the consumer in foreign countries. There was a very useful institution connected with the Press which, he was told, supplied leading articles free gratis and for nothing to country newspapers. One of these denounced the tax and praised the Convention. The writer of the article asked what good the tax did, seeing that it all went to the British Exchequer. That was the real reason why gentlemen of the fiscal persuasion, like the hon. Member for Salisbury, made the discrimination which they did. He himself condemned bounties as much as any one. But here was a bounty paid by a foreign Government for the export of raw material which was not produced in this country at all, and that kind of protection he was prepared to take lying down. He should lie on his back, open his mouth, and ask for more. But what he desired particularly to draw attention to was the case of sugar products. He recollected the astonishment and dismay which spread over the House when it was stated, on behalf of the Government, during the discussion of the Bill of 1903, that bounty-fed sugar was to be excluded but bounty-fed sugar worked into products was to be admitted. It was pointed out that if that were allowed British confectioners would be exposed to unfair competition from foreign manufacturers, who would be able to procure bounty-fed sugar. The Prime Minister then said that the Government did not believe that there would be any chocolates or similar products made from bounty-fed sugar imported into this country, but if that did occur it would be the duty of the Government to stop it by legislation. In other words, they would increase the burden on the poor. Did the Government still hold to their belief that these products did not and would not come in?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Hear, hear!

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said they did and would come in. He himself believed that imports of that sort had increased and were increasing, but it was now clear that the Government took an opposite view; and he presumed, therefore, that the legislation projected, under certain circumstances, by the Prime Minister two years ago would not be brought in to stop this particular import. He took it there was no intention to do so this session at any rate?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Hear, hear!

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he would now refer to sugar products coming from countries which were not parties to the Convention. They were told that British confectioners would have the benefit of the limitation of the surtax proposed in the Convention. What had been the history of this question? Here it was in a report by Sir Henry Bergne—

> "A vote was then taken on the question, 'Whether the contracting States had the right

to levy on sugared products a surtax higher than that fixed by Article III. of the Convention.' The result was: eight votes in the affirmative; one vote in the negative (Great Britain); two abstentions (France and Italy). The further question was then raised whether contracting States were bound to penalise sugared products containing bountied sugar; and after a debate in which various views were expressed, it was decided to postpone any settlement of the question until sufficient time had elapsed to enable the Commission to perceive whether the existing laws of the various contracting States in regard to this matter gave rise to difficulties in practice."

That was the result so far of failing to have a recognition of the principle that the limitation of the surtax fixed by Article III. of the Convention was to apply to sugared products as well as to sugar. At another sitting of the Convention Sir Henry Bergne drew attention to the decision of the Commission that the limitation of the surtax stipulated by Article III. of the Convention was not applicable to sugared products and submitted the following question—

"The question arises whether by Article I Contracting States have power to levy a surtax on sugared products sufficiently high to give rise to a bounty.

"Article I of the Convention is as follows:—

"'The High Contracting Parties engage to suppress, from the date of the coming into force of the present Convention, the direct and indirect bounties by which the production or exportation of sugar may profit, and not to establish bounties of such a kind during the whole continuance of the said Convention. For the application of this provision, sugar-sweetened products, such as preserves, chocolates, biscuits, condensed milk, and all other analogous products containing, in a notable proportion, artificially incorporated sugar, are assimilated to sugar.

"'The preceding paragraph applies to all advantages derived directly or indirectly, by the several categories of producers, from State fiscal legislation, and in particular to . . .

"'(*f.*) Advantages derived from any surtax in excess of the rate fixed by Article III.'

"Sir H. Bergne is convinced that the Commission will decide this question in a negative sense.

"It is necessary to settle this question definitely before it is possible usefully to approach the question of the application of the penal clause to sugared products, and the British delegate has been instructed by his Government to ask that the matter be put to the vote."

"Great hesitation was manifested in giving a direct reply to this question without further explanation, and as none of the delegates were prepared at the moment to make any statement, the discussion. . . ."

What was the end of it all? In the last White Paper which had been published they found that Sir Henry Bergne offered a compromise, and that the following declaration was agreed upon by nine votes to two—

"Should one of the Contracting Parties believe itself to be able to prove the existence of an appreciable bounty on sugared products, arising from an excessive surtax, it shall have the right to submit this proof to the Commission which, if the facts are found to be correct shall give its opinion as to the measures to be taken to put a stop to bounties of the kind in question."

The Commission was to express a pious opinion!

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: Not necessarily.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said it would have no executive power.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: It is assumed.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said this was not one of the things that were obligatory on the Commission, and any executive action in the matter would be *ultra vires*. Here was how Sir Henry Bergne reported this very important fact that all those countries would be barred out by this foreign tribunal sitting in Brussels—

"Rates of countervailing duties were fixed as being applicable to the following States: Bolivia, etc;"

and he added:—

"No appreciable amount of sugar from any of these countries appeared to be now imported into the United Kingdom."

How much sugar did these countries produce? He believed it to be very much more than people imagined; it must be something very considerable. Sir Henry Bergne merely reported, however, that these countervailing duties had been fixed for these countries. That was on October 26th. What happened? Six weeks after, on December 2nd, the Foreign Office suddenly woke up, and a telegraphic despatch was sent by Lord Lansdowne to Sir Constantine Phipps to this effect:—

"You should hand in to-day without fail to the Belgium Government a Note appealing under Article VII. of the Sugar Convention against the decision arrived at by the Commission at the recent sittings as regards all the countries named except Brazil."

To appeal against the exclusion of these seventeen States! Sir Henry Bergne reported the fact of their exclusion, and seemed to justify it, but the House was entitled to know whether he voted for or against their exclusion; to know what our delegate did when this important matter was under discussion. If he voted against their exclusion, why did he not say so; if he voted for it, why did he not tell his Government? Surely unless this was a mere farce——

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Oh! it is a farce.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: But it was a tragedy as well. Unless this was a mere farce they in that House were at least entitled to know what our delegate did when this important question was under discussion. If Sir H. Bergne voted for the exclusion of these countries, as he was entitled to assume he did from the slight reference to it in his own report which suggested, as an excuse for it, that very little sugar came here from those countries, what position was this great country in whose Foreign Minister appealed against the decision of his own subordinate officer? The Secretary of State called it an appeal, but it was not an appeal at all. It was something in the nature of a re-hearing, and a re-hearing before the same judges. And what was the reason given for this appeal? The report was still more mysterious in regard to that. Here was what Lord Lansdowne said in another dispatch—

"The appeal lodged by His Majesty's Government only covers the case of countries in which they are in a position to offer positive evidence that no export bounty does in fact exist."

Had the Government evidence? Of course they had. Did Sir H. Bergne have it when the question was before the Commission? Did he lay it before the Commission? If he had it, and did not lay it before the Commission, then he did not do his duty. All these were mysteries that wanted clearing up. Now he thought this thing, this Convention, had once been called a "working model of Protection" He pitied the industries, and he pitied the dignity and honour of this country, if proceedings like this, which had become applicable to one great trade, should be extended to all other trades

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN: It is quite true, Sir, as one of the preceding speakers has said, that I take a very great interest in this matter. But I cannot admit the soft impeachment of the hon. Member for Plymouth that I was the author of the Convention which he has so strenuously condemned. That honour, as I think it, must be given to my right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade and to my right hon. friend the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Member for Bristol, both of whom were really, in the first place, responsible for the measure. But that I concurred in the measure and that I am glad to accept any responsibility in connection with it is absolutely true; and I am perfectly ready to defend the measure against all comers even in an assembly of working men, if I could find an assembly interested in the subject. [Opposition ironical cries of "Hear, hear"] It will be evident to hon. Gentleman opposite that even in a public meeting you cannot deal with all subjects at the same time; and when I attend a public meeting with a special object, I am generally inclined to confine myself as far as possible to the object for which I have undertaken to speak. I think, therefore, the reproach of the hon. Member for Devonport that I did not reply to the interruption of a single gentleman in a meeting consisting of 6,000 people, and did not divert myself from the object of the meeting to a long discussion on a perfectly separate subject, is, on reflection, I think he will feel, quite unnecessary. I can hardly believe that he would be quite so discursive as he suggests that I should have been.

***Mr. KEARLEY**: That was not my point. I referred to a fervid passage in a speech delivered in this House more than two years ago, in which the right hon. Gentleman said he would like to address an audience of working men on the sugar question. I wanted to know why the right hon. Gentleman has never gratified that desire.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I repeat the statement that when anything of importance turns upon this question, and if I am invited by working men, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to address them. Meanwhile I have matters to deal with that seem to me to be of greater importance.

I am anxious to deal to-night with the general aspects of this question. Before I do so I will touch upon one or two observations of the speakers who have preceded me that would not otherwise have come into my general argument. I need not dwell long on the speech of the hon. Member for Dundee, to which we have just listened, although I admit it has for me a particular and special interest, because, although during the whole time that we have been colleagues in the House of Commons I have never found a single subject upon which I did not profoundly disagree with him, and I have never observed in him a train of sentiment with which I have the slightest sympathy, to-night in one observation which he made I really felt inclined partially to agree with him. The hon. Gentleman said that he could not separate the question of the sugar tax from the question of the Convention. But with great determination and courage he proclaimed that he was opposed to both. He is one of those hon. Gentlemen whose *rôle* it is to be "agin the Government." Consequently, I am not at all surprised that on this occasion he was against two things which the Government have done. But where I felt a certain inclination to join him was in his statement that he did not approve of the sugar tax. I admit I do not approve of the sugar tax. I regard it at the present time as a necessary means of raising revenue. But if the hon. Gentleman will suggest any satisfactory alternative to the sugar tax—I am almost afraid to say it, but I think I might find myself in the same lobby with him. He will remember that I have proposed an alternative scheme. He will, no doubt, recollect that I have felt that a tax like the sugar tax, which comes, every penny of it, out of the pockets of the working men, might be advantageously abolished in favour of a tax which, in my opinion, comes in part out of the pocket of the foreigner. As to the rest of the speech of the hon. Member, it appeared to me to deal with the details of a discussion which took place before the Convention was agreed to.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I did not say a word about the discussion before the Convention was agreed to; I was referring to the discussion by the Commission.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon. He quoted Sir Henry Bergne and other members of the Commission. However, I do not think that any one will feel that the technical point which he raised regarding the discussion of the Commission was very important, or bore any particular relevancy to the discussion in which we are engaged. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh."] Hon. Gentlemen opposite, who were very attentive during the speech of the hon. Gentleman, were more fortunate than myself if they really understood its bearing upon this discussion.

Now Sir, I come to the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Devonport, and I will deal with it in my general argument. There was one point at which, I admit, I did not quite understand what he said. The hon. Member said that by the Convention we had deprived our own market of cheap sugar and had presented it to Austria.

*MR. KEARLEY: I never made any such statement. I do not know what the right hon. Gentleman is referring to. I cannot make those words fit in with any of my statements.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I took down the hon. Member's words. He said that we were depriving our market of cheap sugar and presenting it to Austria —[MR. KEARLEY dissented]—and then followed the statement that the hon. Member had somewhere or other met an Austrian confectioner.

MR. KEARLEY: If I made such a statement it was by a slip of the tongue. I had no intention of making any such statement. I did say that, as a result of the Convention, we had deprived the users of sugar in this country of an advantage and had conferred an enormous benefit on the users of sugar on the Continent by making the article cheap there.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : That is exactly what I said, except that I used the word Austria and the hon. Member applies his statement to the whole of the Continent. And it certainly does so apply if it applies at all. But I deny the statement. I say that at the present time sugar is as cheap in this country as in any country on the Continent. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh."] There is not a single country in which sugar is before and since the Convention cheaper now than in England.

*MR. KEARLEY : What is the relative position before and since the Convention ?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : I will come to that a little later, but bear this in mind : what the hon. Gentleman is claiming is that we should have an unnatural price of sugar. And he calls himself a free-trader ! Then the hon. Member for the Chippenham Division of Wiltshire, from his great knowledge of colonial affairs, declared that this Convention had given no advantage whatever to the West Indies. [Cries of "No" and "Yes."] I assert that he said so. Let the hon. Member deny it if he can. I quote from the hon. Gentleman's words, that this Convention had given to the West Indies no benefit. Now, what I have to say to that is that the hon. Gentleman is entirely and utterly mistaken. I was not going to deal with the West Indies. The question to-night is whether this country has been injured. But as it is charged that the Convention has done no good to the West Indies, I venture to tell the hon. Gentleman that there is not a single person connected with the West Indies who will agree with his statement—whether he be a Tory, a Liberal Unionist, a Radical, or an independent person, as the hon. Gentleman calls himself—something like Mahomet's coffin, between heaven and the other place. None of these people connected with the West Indies will justify the statement the hon. Member has made ; and if he wants an illustration I will refer him to the Radical candidate for Buteshire, Mr. Lamont, who is, I believe, connected with the West Indies, and who told his constituents—[AN HON. MEMBER on the OPPOSITION Benches : Hear, hear ! They will be]—in a speech only the other day that no greater boon had ever been conferred on the West Indies than this Convention.

*SIR J. DICKSON-POYNDER : I never argued that the existing cane producers had not profited. I tried to point out that there had been no increase or extension of cane production in the West Indies as the result of the Convention.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : From that statement also I am obliged to dissent. But it must be remembered that after such a great change as the abolition of the sugar bounties represents you must wait a little time to see a natural effect.

Well, now, what is it that we are discussing to-night ? We are discussing a phenomenon which is a perfectly common phenomenon—namely, a very great and sudden rise in an article of general consumption. It is a thing which is continually happening in every trade which depends in any way upon a production which itself is subject to variations of climate. Now to most the rise in the price of sugar would appear to be a matter very much to be regretted, but at the same time not to be at all a subject for Parliamentary discussion. It is happening every day. It is happening in all sorts of trades. Why, just think for a moment of our own experience. Last year, was it not, a tremendous rise in the price of cotton took place—a matter of infinitely more importance than the rise in the price of sugar, a matter paralysing the whole of the vast trade of the biggest industry we have, except the industry of agriculture. Was there any kind of Party, what you may call political, discussion during the whole course of the dearth of cotton? It was due to the same cause as the rise in the price of sugar. It was due to the diminution of the crop in America, and to the natural consequences of such a diminution, the attempts of monopolists to control the crop. Well, I do not take that alone. I heard some fear of something of the kind now—I am not really informed on the subject—but again and again a failure in the crop of potatoes in Ireland has been infinitely more serious. That has not touched merely the question of a slight rise in price of a necessary of life; it has been the question of the existence of a people. But there, again, has anybody ever charged, has even the most bitter opponent charged the Government with having, by artificial means, caused a catastrophe which was due to the act of God? Those are big things, but there has recently been, from the same cause as that affecting the price of sugar, a drought—there has been an enormous increase of 400 per cent. in the price of onions. I wonder whether anyone who knows anything about English or Irish affairs is going to speak with contempt of a thing which is really a matter of serious importance to a vast number of poor people. There again, does any one say—[An HON. MEMBER: "Pickles"; and cries of "Order."] Well, Sir, that may be offensive, but it has nothing to do with the argument. There again, I ask, has any one read a debate in this House on an increase in the price of onions? I will take another thing in which the rise is less; I will take the rise in the price of corn. It is well known to every one that in the last year the price of wheat has risen by 5s. a quarter. Why, good heavens! we are told that the skies will fall if a duty of 2s. is put on it, and here by purely natural causes there is a rise of 5s., and no one lifts a hand or speaks a word in reference to it. I say in all these cases—and I might quote many others—the matter is treated as regrettable, no doubt, but as due to causes which are beyond human control. But now, from causes which I shall show to be the same, there is a rise in the price of sugar, and the Opposition no longer attribute it to these ordinary and natural causes, but to the indescribable malignity of the men who sit there, "the worst Government that the world has ever known," and they say it is due entirely to their infamous, nefarious action. [An HON. MEMBER on the MINISTERIAL Benches: Stupid.] "Who fills the butchers' shops with big blue flies?"—The Government. Now, Sir, really it is all very well, but I do not believe in the long run that that is good political strategy. This attack upon the Government is supported, or attempted to be supported, by the grossest mis-statements and exaggerations. I will not say hon. Gentlemen, but their supporters, have in defence of this ridiculous proposition gone almost as far in the way of reckless mis-statement as they have done in the case of Chinese labour. Now, Sir, I have always a great belief in the common sense of my countrymen. I believe in it, and I show it. I think sometimes hon. Gentlemen opposite may believe in it, but they do not show it. But I am certain that in the long run this grotesque exaggeration does harm to the cause which employs it.

We are told, for instance, by no less a person than the Leader of the Opposition that this thing is going to cost the country £8,000,000 a year. It is ridiculous. The difference in the cost of sugar between 1903 and 1904 was, as stated by the hon. Member for Salisbury, who knows something about this matter, a little over £2,000,000. Then comes the hon. Member for Devonport. He cannot deny that that is the cost, but he says that when you come to the consumer it is £8,000,000. I really am unable to accept his statement, but if it be correct what are we to say of the middlemen? This increase in price amounting to something like £2,000,000 was almost entirely confined to the last months of the year. Up to the last months of 1904 there was practically no rise at all, and yet this Convention which has had this fatal effect had been in operation twelve months. The fact that it was coming into operation was known before, and really therefore the trade had had a period for preparation much longer than twelve months. The Convention brought practically no rise. ["Oh!"] Out of the rise of which I have spoken—out of the £2,000,000, more or less, I do not know the exact amount, and I suppose nobody can give it—£1,900,000 belongs to the later months of the year. And mark this—that rise was coincident with the reports which were coming in from the Continent that there would be a short crop; and it increased just as it became certain that these reports, which were only rumours in the first instance, were being confirmed day by day, and that the results would be even worse than had been in the first instance anticipated. That is significant. That suggests—and I am going to prove it—that the rise in the price of sugar is due to the natural cause of the loss of production owing to the drought, and had nothing whatever to do with the Convention.

Then let us go to another point. We are told that this rise—for the moment I leave out of sight to what it is due—has ruined great trades in the country—jam and confectionery—and thrown out of employment numbers of people. It is very difficult to follow the argument. I take jam. Here is a curious fact. At the end of 1904 the wholesale price of jam was lower than it was before the Convention. ["No."] I do not attempt to explain it. That seems to me to be inconsistent with the argument that the Convention has ruined the jam trade. If, after the Convention, and even after the rise, jam manufacturers are able to sell their jam at a lower price than they did long before the Convention came into operation, for the life of me I do not see how the Convention is answerable for the ruin of the jam trade. Now take sugar. No doubt the experience of different firms is different, but this is undoubted, that well-managed firms have during recent years made gigantic profits. On the other side of the House it is a constant part of their argument, brought in on every occasion, that we ought to disregard any representations which come to us from South Africa, from the people who are really assuring the prosperity of South Africa because the dividends are so large there. But the dividends of the confectionery manufacturers here, have gone up 37½ per cent. I have not heard of anything like that on the Rand. I do not grudge them their profits, and I think that the explanation of them lies in the condition of the trade itself. You never find profits of that kind permanent. You find them in a trade in which there is fluctuation, and in fact a fluctuating trade could not go on unless it had very good times to make amends for the very bad times. If you carry the illustration out, you will find that in the coal trade, when there is a boom in the industry, the colliery owners are all making large profits, and then there comes a series of years in which they find it difficult to make both ends meet and keep the mines open. If that is the case, why should not the sugar people have made preparation? They know that their trade has been—it is not now—has been, ever since it existed as a trade, subject to great and violent fluctuation. Why did not they make preparation out of the good years for the bad years which were certain to come? Why are they ruined the moment a bad year comes? If the coal owners behaved that way there would not be a coal-mine open at the present time in England. Let us see what these confectioners could have done. Only last May—only a few months ago—they could have bought sugar at 9s. 6d. a cwt., or 88 per cent. less than now. That is something more than a moderate price, for it is a price at which it is hardly possible that sugar can be produced in any country without a loss. They could have bought sugar then at 9s. 6d. per cwt., and that price is 11d. lower than in 1900, 6d. lower than in 1899, and in 1899 you had not even heard of the Sugar Convention. They could actually have bought a few months ago lower than the price at the time when the bounties were in full force, and when sugar was considered to be at a starvation price. They did not do it. It is not for me to criticise the action of private firms; but I think, at all events, the point wants explanation before we accept as true the statement that the jam trade and the confectionery trade have been absolutely ruined because they have had one or two months of excessively high prices.

Another point I want to emphasise is this. The conditions are not new. To hear the hon. Member for Devonport one would suppose there had never been fluctuations in the sugar trade before, but nothing is more contrary to the fact. The sugar trade has been one continuous series of fluctuations of price; but it must be borne in mind that the disturbance has always been temporary, as it will be now. Trade has gone on and prospered because people engaged in the trade have, in times when high prices were threatening, taken care to buy something in advance. We shall all admit that a trade with fluctuations of this kind is rather to be pitied. I think all of us in trade would rather have a business which gave security for a moderate return, than a business which at one time gave us a very large profit and at another time involved us in a very considerable loss. Therefore, our object should be, if we want to benefit the sugar, jam, and confectionery trade, to reduce the amount and the number of these fluctuations and to secure more regularity. Surely that is a desirable thing to do. The fluctuation we are considering now is not an exceptional circumstance. This particular fluctuation is no more due than any of the previous fluctuations were to the Convention. The fluctuations in the sugar trade in the past have been due to the bounties, and by removing them we have removed the great cause of fluctuation, and we may hope in the future the sugar trade will be more regular. It is too early to expect that by a stroke of the pen or the movement of a wand you can immediately make this great change; but we shall do it if we have patience, and we believe it will have this effect before very long. The old traders in sugar, as well as in everything else, did not desire these fluctuations. They wished to avoid them, and they did not approve of the bounties. The modern confectioners, the clients of the hon. Member for Devonport——

MR. KEARLEY: Not *my* clients, but your constituents!

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN:—seem to have changed. I think they do desire bounties. Now let us see what that means. This is an entire reversion of any argument we have ever had in this House. Here are people who want bounties and who are free-traders. Why do they want bounties? There is only one reason, and that is because bounties have in the past from time to time given them sugar at a lower price than it could possibly be made at anywhere. Two years ago sugar was at 6s. and something—I forget exactly—per cwt. Does any hon. Member believe, does the hon. Member for Devonport believe, that sugar under the most favourable circumstances in any country could possibly be made at that price? It is absolutely impossible. Every cwt. sold at that price is sold at a direct loss to the producer. That is an unnatural price. It is an artificial and temporary price; but they want it because when sugar is at this unnatural price they make large profits. I want to remind you of this—if this great trade depends on unnatural prices and on the gigantic and unnatural profits which are made at times when sugar is sold, as under the bounty system, below cost price, then according to the doctrine of free trade it has no right to exist. According to every doctrine of free trade no trade under these conditions has a right to exist. I have spoken of fluctuations. In 1887 there was one of them. What did sugar come to then when there was no Convention? It went up from 11s. to 28s. 3d., a rise, therefore, of 17s. 3d. in a single year. The confectioners approached the Government and said that the trade was paralysed, which was perfectly true. One of the greatest of them complained of this violent fluctuation, pointed out its consequences, and asked for a remedy. What was the remedy the confectioners asked for? They asked that the bounties should be abolished. They said that that was the only true remedy—that until you got rid of the bounties you would never have regularity in the trade. It is quite true, absolutely true. It has been proved by the Convention, and yet the Convention, as I have said, has not had time to show what it can do; but already, although it has only been in existence twelve months, and it takes time to bring new machinery into operation, 400,000 tons of cane sugar was added last year to the world's production. Even that made an enormous difference. Some people seem to me to be in the most absolute ignorance of business principles. I will lay down a business principle. Let us see how many will deny it. I say that in these questions of alternation of prices the amount of difference in the production is altogether disproportionate to the amount of rise and fall which is caused by that difference. If there are buyers for 1,000 tons and there are 1,100 tons to sell the goods will be cheap, although there is only 100 tons surplus; and if there are buyers for 1,000 tons and only a product of 900 to sell goods will be much dearer. The 400,000 tons of cane sugar has prevented the rise in price, great as it is, from being infinitely greater. What is wanted in order to change the state of things which we all deplore is a greater area of production. What is wanted also is a greater variety in the sources of production. The tendency of the bounties was to make the world's supply dependent on the beet—to give the beet a monopoly, and the beet was all subject to the same conditions. If there was any unfavourable climatic condition it affected the whole crop; and the monopolists had the matter almost in their own hands. But the tendency, since the abolition, is to increase the supply of cane, for you have two supplies under different conditions, and you are not liable to the same fluctuations.

I fear I am getting to the end of my time, and I revert to the argument of the hon. Member—that the Convention is responsible for the increase of price because we have prohibited sugar from Russia and the Argentine. Now, I do not like prohibition. I prefer retaliation. You owe prohibition to my right hon. friend the Member for Bristol, who would be admitted by everybody to be a true free-trader, and you owe it to free-trade influence; and as I was indebted to the initiative of my right hon. friend for a reform which I believed was a very great advantage, I respected his view, although I do not agree with prohibition. When the time comes for reconsidering the Convention, if the hon. Member objects to prohibition I shall be with him in a strenuous endeavour to substitute retaliation. That by the way. The influence of the Russian and Argentine import is infinitesimal. I was surprised that the hon. Gentleman attacked my right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade on an absolutely trumpery difference, and made a point which, to people not acquainted with the figures, might seem a good one, because of imperfect information—not surprising, in the circumstances of the case, and in view of the difficulty of obtaining true statistics of which we have had large experience. I do not profess any infallibility, and I do not grant any infallibility to you, but having had occasion lately to deal with statistics much more than at any previous period of my life, I have found—indeed, I have stated in public in reference to the Board of Trade Returns—how extremely difficult it is in the complicated circumstances of trade to obtain reliable statistics. My right hon. friend admits the error the hon. Gentleman referred to. The error is absolutely insignificant in comparison with the whole amount in question. Let us see what it is. During the last five years the imports into Great Britain of Russian sugar have been 3,000 tons a year, and from Argentina 25,000 tons, 28,000 tons altogether. Now, what does the hon. Gentleman say with his extra information? He said that in 1901 the importation from Russia was 21,000 tons, and I say the average has been 3,000.

*MR. KEARLEY said he mentioned the result of his inquiries from five brokers.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Oh, I am not going to deal with imaginary figures. In 1902 the amount was 36,000, and I take the two 57,000, as compared with what I suppose is the average, 6,000. Now, what is the consumption of Great Britain ? 1,600,000 tons. What, then, does it matter whether the total is 36,000 or 3,000 a year, either of the amounts are absolutely insignificant in the total consumption ? It is really unworthy of the hon. Member to introduce a little petty correction of that kind. In the same way with Argentina. It cannot be a large amount. The Russians know what they export, and the amount is 160,000 tons to all countries, and Argentina exports 30,000 tons. In these circumstances it is ridiculous to suppose that there has been any considerable increase in price owing to the stopping of these imports. The real fact is, it makes not the slightest difference, for what they would have sent to us has been sent to the Mediterranean, setting free German sugar for importation into this country.

But I must conclude. Not a word would have been said about this matter if the Opposition had not thought they could make political capital out of it. They thought they could mix it up with the fiscal controversy. But it is absolutely irrelevant to that controversy —it has no more to do with it than the Goodwin Sands have to do with Tenterden Steeple. If anything, the Convention is an obstacle to my policy, as it prevents me from giving a preference—I speak as if I had the power—the Convention prevents the giving of any preference in regard to sugar; and I hope that may be altered when the Convention is revised, for I think it would be a wise thing to give a moderate preference to our Colonies to stimulate the production of cane sugar. Why, the Convention is a free-trade institution; it aims at what Cobden desired to secure, that commodities should find markets at their natural prices. Applied to sugar it means that we do not want sugar made artificially cheap; we want it at its natural price. Bounties have been declared to be protection by every free trader until within the last year or two. They were so described by Mr. Gladstone, by Sir William Harcourt, by Lord Farrer, by Lord Avebury—who is the last of these great free-traders living. They have described the system as the worst form of protection. The hon. Member for Chippenham said the right course for us would be to allow bounties to gradually extinguish themselves and not to hasten the process, but what an opinion for a free-trader. No man who called himself a free-trader in the past ever ventured to make a suggestion of that kind. For forty years every Liberal Government has denounced bounties and declared an earnest desire to remove them. During the same period Chambers of Commerce have again and again voted unanimously for a penal clause to remove bounties, and trade unions have done the same thing. I may call attention to the fact that my hon. friend the Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) introduced a deputation on the subject, declaring opposition to bounties because, he said, the deputation were free-traders. Because we have succeeded where Liberal Governments have failed these free-traders —new free-traders—turn round on their policy and denounce ours.

And, it being Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 28th February, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Metropolitan and Great Central Railway Companies [H.L.]; Southend and Colchester Light Railways [H.L.]; County of London Electric Supply Company [H.L.]; Dearne Valley Railway [H.L.].

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

BARRYMORE ESTATE.

Petition of the right hon. Arthur Hugh Baron Barrymore, praying leave to introduce a Bill "To enable the Baron Barrymore to restore certain forfeited leases in the town of Tipperary, and for other purposes"; together with a copy of the proposed Bill annexed thereto; read, and referred to the Examiners.

Clyde Navigation (Reconstitution) Bill [H.L.]. Presented, and read 1^a.

Cardiff Railway Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a; and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Hastings Harbour District Railway (Abandonment) Bill. Read 2^a; and committed.

Rhymney Railway Bill [H.L.]; Commercial Union Assurance Bill [H.L.]; Clyde Navigation Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^a, and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION.

Fifty-seventh Report from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England; with an Appendix. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (PROVISIONAL ORDERS).

Report by the Board of Trade of their proceedings under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, and the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, Amendment Act. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

NAVAL WORKS (PORTSMOUTH BARRACKS SITE) BILL [H.L.].

Report from His Majesty's Attorney-General received, and ordered to lie on the Table.

STREET BETTING BILL [H.L.].

[Second Reading.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord DAVEY: My Lords, this is identically the same Bill as was passed through your Lordships' House last session, after having been extensively amended at the suggestion of the Government. It is unnecessary, therefore, for me to trouble you with a speech on this occasion. I will merely briefly remind your Lordships that the object of the Bill is to render betting in streets and public places a statutory offence, instead of its being left, as at present, to be dealt with by municipal by-laws. It also increases the penalties which may be imposed on persons found betting in the streets, and for a third offence enables the magistrates to imprison an offender. Since the Bill was before your Lordships I have had a great many communications from magistrates and other people in different parts of the country urging that the Bill should be proceeded with as a very necessary measure. I will not trouble your Lordships by reading all the communications I have received, because it would be a little monotonous, but I will quote some statistics which have been sent to me from Stockton-on-Tees. In that town on one day eighteen so-called commission agents were brought before the magistrates for bookmaking, and of that number one had been convicted thirty times, one twenty-three times, one twenty times, one seventeen times, one sixteen times, two fifteen times,

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

two fourteen times, and so on. One would scarcely believe that such a record could be furnished in one Police Court, and the writer of the extract I have in my hand concludes by stating that—

> "The convicted person pays the fine with a smile on his face, as much as to say to the presiding magistrate, 'It is all right, old man, so long as I know you cannot increase the penalty or send me to prison.'"

My Lords, that is exactly what is proposed to be done by this Bill. I cannot pretend that the Bill can be passed through the House of Commons without the assistance of the Government, and as it is substantially the Bill of the Government, all their Amendments having been embodied in it, I hope I may claim some assistance from the Government in passing it through the other House.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Davey.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LINLITHGOW): My Lords, the Bill which I now ask you to read a second time seeks to enlarge the powers of the Congested Districts Board for Scotland. Section 4 of the original Act of 1897 confers upon the Board certain powers of expenditure of money placed at their disposal, but eight years experience has proved that those powers are insufficient. So long ago as the year 1899 my noble friend Lord Balfour of Burleigh introduced and passed through your Lordships' House a somewhat similar Bill to the one which I now present to you. It went to the House of Commons but did not obtain a Second Reading there. In the year 1893, and again in 1894, a similar measure was introduced into the House of Commons, but did not reach its Second Reading. The provisions of this Bill are briefly these; to enable the Board to make provision for the practical instruction of youths and girls in agriculture, trades, and other industries within the congested districts. Boys are to be taught seamenship, carpentering, tailoring, and other trades, and girls cooking, laundry work, and housework, so that they may be turned out into the world useful citizens, not forgetting, of course, that this practical instruction should only be supplementary in all cases to the ordinary school course. The second provision is to permit grants in aid of public health objects to be given to hospitals, and in respect of medical attendance and nursing in districts where the full statutory public health rate has already been levied or where the burden of general rating is oppressive and local resources are exhausted. In the third place it provides that advances are to be made for the improvement of existing and the erection of new dwellings. The Board are confident that if these powers are granted they will greatly accelerate the improvement which is already showing itself amongst the people in the congested districts. I ought to mention that the Board are by this measure restricted to devoting a maximum of one-fifth of the whole of their funds to the new objects under the Bill. I trust that your Lordships will pass the Bill and that before the end of the session it will become law, for it is a very necessary piece of legislation.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Linlithgow.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Monday next.

RESERVE FORCES BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Bill reported without Amendment.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, this Bill is in the same form in which it passed your Lordships' House last year, and, as I have said, it embodies the Amendments suggested by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Monkswell). I would therefore ask your Lordships to negative the Standing Committee.

Moved, "That the Standing Committee be negatived."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore*).

LORD MONKSWELL: I offer no objection to the Motion.

On Question, Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª on Thursday next.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five o'clock, to Thursday next half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 28th February, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS (STANDING ORDER 63 COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, referred on the First Reading thereof, Standing Order 63 has been complied with, viz.:—Great Berkhampstead Gas Bill; Norwich Union Life Insurance Society Bill; South Oxfordshire Water and Gas Bill.

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time.

Metropolitan Pneumatic Despatch Bill; Morley Corporation Bill (by Order); Rhondda Urban District Council Bill (by Order), Otley Gas and Improvement Bill (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

STANDING ORDERS.

Resolutions reported from the Select Committee:—

1. "That, in the case of the Heckmondwike Improvement, Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill, provided that Clauses 10 and 11, and so much of the Preamble as relates thereto, be struck out of the Bill. That the Committee on the Bill do report how far such Order has been complied with."

2. "That, in the case of the Wigan Corporation, Petition for Bill, the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with. That the parties be permitted to proceed with their Bill, provided that the powers to construct Tramway No. 2 be struck out of the Bill, unless the consent of the Aspull Urban District Council be proved before the Committee on the Bill. That the Committee on the Bill do report how far such Order has been complied with."

3. "That, in the case of the Coventry Electric Tramways, Petition for Bill, the parties have stated their intention not to proceed with their Bill."

First Two Resolutions agreed to.

Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

DEORIKAR, KESHO RAO BALVANT.

Petition of Kesho Rao Balvant Deorikar, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN WORKHOUSES.

Petition from Bradfield, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

Petition of the Trustees of the British Museum (King's Recommendation signified), for grant in aid; to lie upon the Table.

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION.

Copy presented, of Fifty-seventh Report from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, with an Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PRISONS (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented, of Rule made by the Secretary for Scotland as to the appointment of Visiting Committees to the Prisons at Barlinnie, Perth, and Peterhead [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 67.]

AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION SCHEMES (IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th June, 1904: *Mr. Sullivan*]; to lie upon the Table.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (PROVISIONAL ORDERS).

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade of their Proceedings under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, and the General Pier and Harbour Act (1861) Amendment Act, Session 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 68.]

TREATY SERIES (No. 5, 1905).

Copy presented, of Convention between the United Kingdom and France respecting Newfoundland and West and Central Africa. Signed at London, 8th April, 1904. Ratifications exchanged at London, 8th December, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TREATY SERIES (No. 6, 1905).

Copy presented, of Declaration between the United Kingdom and France respecting Egypt and Morocco. Signed at London, 8th April, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TREATY SERIES (No. 7, 1905).

Copy presented, of Declaration between the United Kingdom and France concerning Siam, Madagascar, and the New Hebrides. Signed at London, 8th April, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1904–5).

Estimate presented, of the Further Amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1905, for the Irish Land Commission [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 69.]

DEER FORESTS (HIGHLAND CROFTING COUNTIES).

Return ordered, "giving the name of each Deer Forest in the six Highland Crofting Counties, the amount of its assessment, its acreage for the years 1883, 1898, and 1904, and showing the increase or decrease in the acreage between the years 1898 and 1904, in the following form:—

County.	Name of Deer Forest.	Assessment.	Acreage, 1883.	Acreage, 1898.	Acreage, 1904.	Between 1898 and 1904—		Remarks.
						Increase.	Decrease.	

—(*Mr. Weir.*)

REVENUE (COLLECTION OF TAXES).

Return ordered, "showing for each of the three Kingdoms (1) the amount charged for Income-Tax, Land Tax, and Inhabited House Duty for the financial years 1903, 1904, 1905; and (2) the amounts and percentage of same collected in each country by the 31st day of January and the 28th day of February respectively in each of the said years." —(*Mr. McCrae.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Report of the Royal Commission on London Traffic.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department when the Report of the Committee which has deliberated upon the Street Traffic of London will be laid upon the Table.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I am informed by the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the means of locomotion and transport in London that they are now considering their Report, but cannot state exactly when it will be presented.

Sale of Surplus Discharged Soldiers' Clothing.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY (Somersetshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the 17,000 new suits sold or advertised for sale by Messrs. Spencer, Turner, and Boldero at 7s. 11d. each were made by Messrs. Buckley and Sons, Hollington and Co., S. Hamond and Co., and others, for the War Office at 11s. 9d. a suit; and if he will say at what price these suits were sold by the War Office to Messrs. Spencer, Turner, and Boldero, or to the persons from whose hands they passed to Messrs. Spencer, Turner, and Boldero.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) A considerable number of suits of discharged soldiers' clothing which were found surplus to requirements at the close of the South African War were sold by tender; but the firm mentioned in the Question did not tender for the goods. It is not known whether these are the suits in question, nor, if so, how these were obtained.

Case of Private T. Coughlan, Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the charge upon which T. Coughlan, of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, was sentenced to death on June 28th, 1901, and the grounds upon which his sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, and his release ordered after he served two and a-half years in prison.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The case of Private T. Coughlan, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, is as follows:—This man killed a comrade by shooting him with a rifle. He was tried on a charge of murder and convicted, but the Court recommended him to mercy "on the grounds that at the time he committed the offence he was beyond the power of self-control, owing to the liquor he had taken without any food, and exhaustion caused by galloping horses about in the heat of the day, he being a man apparently physically and morally weak." The confirming officer thereupon commuted the sentence of death to one of penal servitude for life. The Judge Advocate-General in South Africa considered that "it was a case in which a verdict of manslaughter might properly have been found. There appears to have been an absence of motive." The medical officer who examined Private Coughlan prior to the trial, while certifying him fit for trial, expressed some doubt as to his mental condition. In all the circumstances the Commander-in-Chief considered, when reviewing the case in August, 1903, "that this man might be released on the 21st December, when he will have been in prison two and a-half years." The release was ordered accordingly.

Changes Necessitated by Adoption of New Guns.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for War, why does the adoption of a new field gun necessitate the expense of new wagons; also, why does the change to a quick-firer necessitate a change in harness; and what is the difference between the new pattern and the old pattern harness.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The introduction of fixed ammunition for the new field gun necessitates a different arrangement in the wagons for carrying it. The new wagons are made of bullet-proof steel to enable them to be placed near the guns in action and to facilitate rapid supply. As regards harness the change has been already adopted for present equipments, and no further change is necessitated by the new gun. The new harness has breast collar instead of the neck collar used with the old pattern and is lighter. Parts of the old harness are retained in the new.

Brigading of Highland Light Infantry.

MR. MALCOLM (Suffolk, Stowmarket): To ask the Secretary of State for War why the Highland Light Infantry has been detached from the other Highland regiments and is to be brigaded with

Lowland regiments at the Hamilton depôt; why, if one Highland regiment had to be thus detached, the second senior regiment was chosen; and whether the distinction of wearing the trews, granted to the Highland Light Infantry for their valour in the Peninsular War, militates against their being brigaded with the other kilted regiments.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The organisation effected by the Special Army Order of January 6th has apparently been misinterpreted. The Highland Light Infantry has not been detached from the other Highland regiments, or brigaded with Lowland regiments. The 26/71 regimental district remains as hitherto with a double depôt at Hamilton. The Army Order does not brigade, but merely groups under one officer existing regimental districts which are conveniently situated.

Abandonment by the Admiralty of Mine Fields and Quick-Firing Batteries.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, having regard to the announcements of the representatives of the War Office on the Military Works Bills of 1897 and 1899 that the War Office had been obliged to propose the greater part of an expenditure of several millions, afterwards agreed to in those Acts, under urgent pressure from the Navy, the present Board of Admiralty propose to institute a change of policy leading to the abandonment of mine fields and quick-firing batteries; and, if so, when a statement will be made upon the subject.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) It is not proposed, so far as the Admiralty are aware, to abandon quick-firing batteries, nor is it proposed to abandon electric lights in cases where the latter are essential to the efficiency of the gun defence. The question of mine defence is under consideration.

Cost of Sending Seamen from the United Kingdom to their Homes Abroad.

MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby): To ask the President of the Local Government Board what Department of His Majesty's Government, and under what Act, brought to Liverpool negro sailors who deserted from their ship in the Azores; and whether he has suggested or will suggest to such Department that it should reimburse the expenditure of the Liverpool Select Vestry incurred in sending them to their homes.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) These distressed seamen from the West Indies were relieved at Fayal and Lisbon, and were sent to this country by the Consul at Lisbon under the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act administered by the Board of Trade. There were no opportunities of sending the men to the West Indies either from Fayal or from Lisbon, and there are no funds at the disposal of the Board of Trade to which the cost of sending seamen from the United Kingdom to their homes abroad can be charged.

Channel Fleet—Suggested Visit to Portree.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether arrangements will be made for the Channel Fleet to visit Portree, Isle of Skye, this summer, so that recruiting for the Royal Navy in the Western Highlands may be encouraged.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The suggestion to visit Portree will be kept in view in the event of the Channel Fleet proceeding on a cruise in Scottish waters during the year.

Wei-hai-Wei—Expenditure.

MR. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Oswestry): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what has been the expenditure to date on the naval station at Wei-hai-Wei; and what further expenditure is at present contemplated upon that station.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The expenditure to date, in round figures, is £93,000. During the ensuing year 1905–6 it is estimated that a sum of £7,560 will be required, which is mainly for dredging operations.

Audit of Irish Public Accounts—Transfer to Dublin.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether favourable consideration has been given to the question of the transfer of the audit of the Irish Public Accounts from London to Dublin; and, if so, when it is proposed to effect the change.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) No change has taken place in the position of this matter since the replies to the Questions of the hon. Member for Limerick, East, on June 29th,[†] 1903. It is doubtful whether any saving could be made by transfer of the audit to Dublin; but if any should arise it would not compensate for the inconvenience of the absence of direct supervision of work and of personal conference with the officers engaged on it.

Irish Post Office Accounts—Transfer to Dublin.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether favourable consideration has been given to the question of the transfer of that part of the Post Office Savings Bank dealing with Irish accounts from London to Dublin; and, if so, when it is proposed to effect the change.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) As the hon. Member was informed in reply to a Question on June 30th,[‡] 1903, it is more convenient and economical to keep the Savings Bank accounts at one central institution; and greater facilities are afforded in this way for making or withdrawing deposits at any office in the United Kingdom than would be possible if the Irish accounts were dealt with in Dublin. It is not, therefore, proposed to make any change in the present system.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that the Irish postal orders paid in Great Britain, and *vice versa*, form a very small percentage of the whole, he will arrange, in the interests of economy, to have all the clerical work in connection with Irish postal orders done in Dublin.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The present system, under which all postal orders form a continuous series and are audited in London, is at once the most economical and the most convenient, and I see no reason to make any change.

Printing of Irish Post Office Documents on Irish Paper in Dublin.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that a stores branch already exists in Dublin, and that labour is as cheap, if not cheaper, and more required in Ireland than in England, he will arrange that all Post Office documents shall be printed on Irish-manufactured paper in Dublin.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) As I informed the hon. Member on February 4th.[§] 1904, printing work arising out of postal business in Ireland is already done in that country so far as is consistent with economy and efficiency. As regards the paper used for such printing, I am informed by the Stationery Office that it is their practice to invite Irish firms to tender with others for supplies of paper required for the public service. Such firms have, of course, an advantage in tendering for paper for delivery in Dublin; and it is open to them to tender for the supplies needed for use in all parts of the United Kingdom. In response to a recent invitation for tenders for sixty different sorts of paper for the public service forty-five tenders were received, but only one was from an Irish firm.

Delay in Belfast to Londonderry Telephone Extension.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state the cause of the delay in the extension of the trunk telephone system from Belfast to Londonderry; has any progress as yet been made with the extension; and, if so, when may the citizens of Londonderry expect to be placed in communication with the trunk system throughout the kingdom.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) A considerable amount of work is involved in the extension of the telephone trunk system to Londonderry, but substantial progress has been made, and I hope to have the work completed about the end of April. I am informed by the National Telephone Company that they have recently concluded an agreement with the Corporation of Londonderry which will enable the company to convert their exchange system in Londonderry into a double wire system suitable for use with the trunk lines, and that the company hope to complete the work of reconstruction in about three months.

[†] See (4) *Debates*, cxxiv., 797.

[‡] See (4) *Debates*, cxxiv., 926.

[§] See (4) *Debates*, cxxix., 357.

Reduction of Trunk Telephone Charge.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will consider the advisability of reducing the present charge over the trunk telephone lines through the United Kingdom so that the commercial community of Great Britain may in this respect have similar advantages as received by Continental nations.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The average payment for a conversation over the telephone trunk system of the United Kingdom is less than 6d., and having regard to the cost of the trunk lines and to the difficult conditions to which the construction of those lines is subject in this country, I am not prepared to recommend any reduction in the present scale of charges. New trunk lines are filled with traffic almost as soon as they are opened, and it is difficult to keep pace with the demand for increased facilities even at the present rates. The charges in other European countries are subject to conditions which do not obtain here. For instance, in most countries in order to obtain prompt communication the public have to pay three times the ordinary rate; and in one important country, at least, the capital for construction is provided without interest by local authorities or by commercial bodies and not by the administration which conducts the service. I may, perhaps, mention that in the United States the charges for the same distances are much higher than in this country.

Post Office—Promotion of Second-Class Engineers.

Mr. SCHWANN: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that certain officers of the engineering department sat for an examination and passed for the positions of second-class engineers in April, 1904; whether these officers have received promotion, seeing that other persons examined on November 8th, for the same positions, have received appointments; whether he is aware that the men examined in April, 1904, have been in the Department for many years and have rendered good service to the Department, whilst the men promoted as a result of the November examination are juniors who have had to be taught their duties since their entry into the engineering department; and, if so, will he redress any well-founded grievance which he may find to exist.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The officers to whom the hon. Member refers underwent a Departmental examination to test their eligibility for promotion within the service. This examination, unlike the examination of the Civil Service Commission, is conducted without reference to the number of vacancies in existence. After the officers have passed, they are promoted from time to time as suitable vacancies occur. The persons who are described by the hon. Member as "juniors" were outside the service, and passed a competitive examination before the Civil Service Commissioners for specific vacancies which had been reserved for open competition. I am not aware of any grievance created by these circumstances. Any of the officers in question who are duly qualified will be promoted as vacancies among the appointments reserved for persons in the service become available.

Post Office Wages Committee—Alleged Failure to Comply with Terms of Reference.

Mr. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): To ask the Postmaster-General if there has been any correspondence between the Post Office and Sir Edward Bradford's Committee dealing with the question of the alleged failure ot the Committee to comply with the terms of reference; and, if so, will he lay it upon the Table.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) There has been no official correspondence with Sir Edward Bradford's Committee on the subject mentioned by the hon. Member. I have had some private correspondence with Sir Edward Bradford on the subject, but I do not propose to lay this upon the Table.

Inspection of Meat.

MR. FIELD: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that a master butcher in Ealing recently purchased a number of pigs in the Central Meat Market, Smithfield, London, E.C., which he was informed were Norfolk pigs, slaughtered at Islington Market where they would undergo examination in the ordinary course, and having purchased these pigs at top market price they were delivered at Ealing, where the inspector condemned two heads as being affected with tuberculosis, as a result a summons is now pending with a view to secure a criminal conviction; and whether he will make inquiries in this case in order to ensure uniformity of inspection, and thereby safeguard a trader from criminal proceedings in respect of meat purchased *bonâ fide*, passed by one inspector and subsequently confiscated by the inspector in another district.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have made inquiry with respect to this matter. I understand that the pigs were not cut up at the Islington Market or at the Central Meat Market, and the medical officer of health for the City points out that it was quite possible that disease which would not show itself in the carcase would become apparent after cutting up. I am informed that proceedings in the case are now pending before the justices, and hence I cannot take any further action with regard to it. But I may state that one of the medical inspectors of the Department is engaged in inquiring into the methods of meat inspection in London with a view of reporting to me on the subject. I may add that the Ealing Town Council have issued a circular to the butchers in the borough, in which they state that the sanitary inspector may, at the request of a butcher, visit his premises and inspect any meat which has been delivered to him, as to the condition of which he may be doubtful, and that, in the event of any of it being found to be diseased, the inspector will take steps to have it destroyed in manner prescribed by law. The town council point out that in such a case the risk of exposing for sale meat unfit for human consumption would be minimised.

Arsenical Poisoning—Adoption of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission.

SIR CUTHBERT QUILTER (Suffolk, Sudbury): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is now able to announce the course it is proposed to adopt with a view to giving effect to the large and important recommendations of the Royal Commission on Arsenical Poisoning, more especially with regard to the appointment of a special expert officer to inquire into and advise upon all questions affecting the purity of manufactured, preserved, or prepared foods, whether of home or foreign origin.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have given consideration to this subject, and I am making arrangements with regard to the matter referred to in the latter part of the Question which I hope will take effect at the commencement of the ensuing financial year.

Agricultural Rating Bill—Date of Introduction.

SIR WALTER THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can say at which period of the session the Government will introduce a Bill to renew the Agricultural Rating Act.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I hope to introduce the Bill at an early date.

Death Certificates for Members of Trade Unions and Friendly Societies—Assimilation of Charges.

COLONEL SADLER (Middlesbrough): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in view of the fact that the charge made for certificates of death for members of trade unions is 2s. 7d. each, while the charge made for a member of a friendly society is 1s., he will consider the advisability of making the charge uniformly 1s. in both cases.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I will take note of this suggestion, but legislation would be necessary in order to give effect to it.

Case of Mr. John Godden.

SIR ERNEST FLOWER (Bradford, W.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can explain the reasons which caused the Foreign Office, after their protest and demand in 1887, to accept as decisive in the case of Mr. John Godden, a British subject, the opinion of Mr. De Brauw, a Dutch lawyer moving in Government circles, although the Law Officers of the Crown had in 1887 declared that they differed from Mr. De Brauw.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) On further consideration of the facts submitted to them the Law Officers saw reason to alter the opinion they had originally expressed.

Sugar Imports.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the President of the Board of Trade can he say what were the total imports in cwts. of sugar into the United Kingdom during the year 1904, and what were the imports in that year respectively from Russia, Argentine Republic, Denmark, Chile, Peru, the British West India Islands, British Guiana, and Cuba respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The total imports of sugar into the United Kingdom in 1904 amounted to 32,289,443 cwts. The following shows the quantities imported from the countries mentioned in the Question, and also the quantities actually consigned to the United Kingdom from those countries:—

Countries.	Quantities imported from the countries named.	Quantities consigned from the countries named.
	Cwts.	Cwts.
Russia	—	—
Argentine Republic	—	—
Denmark	—	—
Chile	24,409	—
Peru	1,017,537	1,051,830
British West India Islands	705,248	685,006
British Guiana	340,742	282,819
Cuba	—	349

Price of Sugar in Great Britain, Argentina, and the Continent.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: To ask the President of the Board of Trade can he state the present price of similar kinds of sugar in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Holland, Russia, Denmark, the Argentine Republic, and Great Britain respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) If the hon. Member will move for a Return, specifying the date and the kinds of sugar for which he desires the prices to be stated, and whether wholesale or retail, inclusive or exclusive of duty, I will see what can be done to supply the information.

World's Production of Beet and Cane Sugar.

MR. PARTINGTON (Derbyshire, High Peak): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can give the World's production of beet and cane sugars in weight and values for the last ten years, and the amount from each producing country.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) Complete official information as to the quantities of beet and cane sugars produced is not available, and there is no information as to values.

Attendance at Church as School Attendance.

MR. FREDERICK WILSON (Norfolk, Mid.): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether, in cases where a school attendance authority makes by-laws counting the attendance of children at church as attendance at school, the Board of Education will recognise the practice.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) If a school attendance authority, by by-law or otherwise, signify their readiness to regard attendance of children at church as attendance at school, during the time allowed for religious instruction, either generally or on certain days, the Board would not withhold approval from time-tables on which entries of such attendance appeared.

Bishop's Stortford College—Dismissal of Mr. Kitchener.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether his attention has been directed to the dismissal of Mr. Kitchener, assistant master in The College, Bishop's Stortford, formerly known as the Nonconformist Grammar School, on the ground of his having become a Catholic; and that, in the letter of dismissal, it is stated by the headmaster that the school was founded with very definite religious aims, that parents have been asked to send their sons there because those are the aims, and that the presence of a Catholic master was inconsistent with those aims; and, if so, whether seeing that The College, Bishop's Stortford, is aided by a contribution from the Hertfordshire County Council, he will state whether he proposes to take any, and, if any, what action in the matter.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The College is not aided by the Board, and, as at present advised, I do not consider that this is a matter in which the Board can properly intervene.

Coal Exports—Revenue and Exemptions from Coal Tax.

SIR WALTER PLUMMER (Newcastle-on-Tyne): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will state the amount of coal tax at each shipping port in the United Kingdom in the year ending December 31st, 1904, and the total quantity exported in that year from each of such ports of coal on which tax was remitted on the ground that its value did not exceed 6s. per ton.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The following table gives the information for which the hon. Member asks:—

Port.	Net Amount of Coal Tax.	Total Quantity of Exported Coal on which the Tax was remitted on the ground that its value was not exceeding 6s. per ton.
	£	Tons.
London - - - - - - -	4,977	—
Liverpool - - - - - - -	12,820	42,437
Blyth (including Amble) - - - -	111,840	886,849
Boston - - - - - - -	4,833	—
Bristol - - - - - - -	684	—
Cardiff - - - - - - -	617,703	2,173,281
Chester - - - - - - -	13	—
Dartmouth - - - - - -	5	—
Fleetwood - - - - - - -	10	105
Gloucester - - - - - - -	4	—
Carried Forward	752,889	3,102,672

Port.	Net Amount of Coal Tax.	Total Quantity of Exported Coal on which the Tax was remitted on the ground that its value was not exceeding 6s. per ton.
	£	Tons.
Brought forward - - -	752,889	3,102,672
Goole - - - - - - -	27,230	151,325
Grimsby - - - - - - -	44,757	22,187
Hartlepool - - - - - - -	27,153	5,046
Hull - - - - - - - -	74,686	140,047
Ipswich - - - - - - -	73	—
Llanelly - - - - - - -	9,488	65,607
Lynn - - - - - - - -	4,005	616
Manchester - - - - - -	3,773	14,103
Maryport - - - - - - -	86	—
Middlesbrough - - - - - -	2,907	72
Milford - - - - - - -	11	—
Newport (Mon.) - - - - - -	146,703	254,559
Plymouth - - - - - - -	104	—
Portsmouth - - - - - -	21	—
Port Talbot - - - - - -	34,783	71,827
Preston - - - - - - -	79	—
Runcorn - - - - - - -	171	—
Southampton - - - - - -	8	—
Stockton - - - - - - -	32	—
Sunderland - - - - - -	114,253	130,173
Swansea - - - - - - -	66,319	430,922
Tyne Ports - - - - - -	400,042	681,755
Weymouth - - - - - -	—	—
Wisbeach - - - - - - -	9	—
Workington - - - - - -	4	—
Aberdeen - - - - - - -	3	—
Alloa - - - - - - - -	10,208	—
Arbroath - - - - - - -	5	—
Ardrossan - - - - - - -	2,052	970
Ayr - - - - - - - -	134	—
Bo'ness - - - - - - -	24,155	45,209
Dundee - - - - - - -	99	—
Glasgow - - - - - - -	69,454	66,819
Grangemouth - - - - - -	54,211	113,212
Granton - - - - - - -	3,970	7,240
Greenock - - - - - - -	1,218	183
Irvine - - - - - - -	51	—
Kirkcaldy - - - - - - -	96,358	224,578
Kirkwall - - - - - - -	5	—
Leith - - - - - - -	26,000	69,100
Lerwick - - - - - - -	1	—
Methil - - - - - - -	42,824	99,602
Montrose - - - - - - -	1	—
Peterhead - - - - - - -	1	—
Troon - - - - - - -	2,595	2,929
Limerick - - - - - - -	1	—
Total - - -	2,042,932	5,700,753

Closing of Cooper's Hill College—Instruction for Indian Forest Service.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the closing of Cooper's Hill College, it has been determined to give a temporary monopoly of the instruction of forest students to the University of Oxford; if so, whether this scheme is a strictly temporary expedient for one year only, and whether in a permanent scheme the graduates of all Universities in the United Kingdom will enjoy equal opportunities for entering the Indian Forest Service; and whether he will lay the correspondence on this subject and the regulations for entrance and instruction of Indian forest students upon the Table of the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The details of the scheme are still under consideration, and I will ask my right hon. friend to repeat his Question shortly.

Indian Army Reorganisation—Lord Kitchener's Proposals.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether Lord Kitchener's proposals for Army reorganisation in India have been adopted by the Government of India; what is their estimated cost: and will Papers on the subject be laid before the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) Lord Kitchener's proposals for Army reorganisation in India have been accepted in general principle, but details are not yet thoroughly worked out; it is therefore impossible to give their estimated cost, and at present Papers on the subject cannot be laid before the House. I have agreed to the Government of India making a provision for special military expenditure in the Budget of 1905–6.

Dredging of Galway Docks.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, when were representations first made to the Board of Works with respect to the docks at Galway filling up with sand and rendering access to steamers almost impossible; whether, seeing that complaints have been forwarded by the Limerick Steamship Company that their steamers cannot now enter at times, and in view of the fact that a dredger was promised two years ago, he will say when one will be available for the Galway Docks.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) Representations were first made to the Board of Works in July, 1900, and the Board then offered to hire to the Harbour Commissioners a grabber steam crane and grab. The Commissioners declined the offer. The Board are unaware that any promise was given to lend a dredger, but an application for the hire of the dredger recently acquired was received from the Harbour Commissioners on the 22nd instant, and is now under consideration. Owing to previous applications, however, the dredger will not be available for work at Galway for some time to come.

Swine Fever—Dr. Gibbon's Herd—Compensation for Losses.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to correspondence published between Dr. E. A. Gibbon, of Sleedagh, county Wexford, and Mr. T. P. Gill, secretary to the Agricultural Department of Ireland, on the subject of an order given by the latter for the destruction of Dr. Gibbon's herd of pigs because his boar had been with a sow belonging to Mr. Stafford, Baldwinstown Castle, which was subsequently slaughtered for swine fever, and no disease found; whether he is aware that, in consequence of Dr. Gibbon's refusal to slaughter his herd, the Department quarantined his entire stock for three months, thereby putting on him a loss in respect of extra feeding of animals that were fit to sell; whether he is aware that, although the disease was suspected in Stafford's herd on December 16th, the suspected animals were not slaughtered till January 18th, a period of over a month, during which no quarantine was in force in his case; whether he is also aware that Stafford's labourers' pigs as well as his own were slaughtered, and no disease found; and, if so, will he direct an inquiry into these cases, with a view to give Dr. Gibbon compensation for his losses.

(*Answered by Mr. Atkinson for Mr. Wyndham.*) The facts are substantially as stated in the Question. Owing to the absence of regulations by the local authorities controlling the movement of swine generally in each county in Ireland, the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries of Great Britain recently passed an Order interfering with the free admission of swine from Ireland into Great Britain, and the Irish Department would not feel justified in relaxing any precautions which its professional officers advise as necessary to guard against possible extensions of the disease in any district where it may occur. The case has been dealt with in accordance with established practice. It is proposed to have a final inspection on or about March 9th of the swine belonging to Dr. Gibbon. The restriction period of three months deemed necessary will then have expired, and if the swine are certified by the veterinary inspector to be free from disease the restrictions will be removed. Loss stated to arise from the operation of restrictions is one of the ordinary risks attending the keeping of swine, and is not a matter in respect of which the Department can entertain a claim for compensation.

Yeomanry Ammunition Allowances.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in calculating the allowance of free ammunition to county Volunteer associations for their annual meetings, the Yeomanry within the county shall be reckoned as if they formed a part of the Volunteer force; and if he would issue a Memorandum to this effect.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The question referred to by my hon. friend is under consideration, and it is not possible at present to give a decisive reply.

Somaliland Field Force.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Secretary of State for War what is the military force at present in Somaliland, and whether he has any information to the effect that the Mullah is again active in the neighbourhood of Obbia.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The troops quartered in the Protectorate are:—

	Companies.	Fighting men.
33rd Punjaub Infantry	8	750
6th King's African Rifles	5	500
Total	13	1,250

The reply to the last paragraph is in the negative.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Skye and Barra—Royal Naval Reserve Batteries.

MR. JOHN DEWAR (Inverness): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state the cause of the delay in proceeding with the erection of Royal Naval Reserve batteries in the Islands of Skye and Barra; and will he say when the work will be commenced.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): As will be explained in the First Lord's Memorandum to be circulated with the Navy Estimates, the full numbers of the Royal Naval Reserve have been completed, whilst the growth of the Royal Fleet Reserve seems to make it possible that the further increase in the Royal Naval Reserve at one time contemplated will not now be required. Under these circumstances it is necessary for the Board of Admiralty to review afresh the whole distribution of Royal Naval Reserve batteries, and the particular batteries referred to in the hon. Member's Question will be fully considered with others.

Flogging on H.M.S. "Berwick."

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that in August last a boy named Thomas Jones was tried by Court-martial on board the cruiser "Berwick," and convicted of the stealing of two Post Office orders and of desertion, and was sentenced to dismissal from the service, and to receive twenty-four lashes of the birch; and that this flogging, notwithstanding the dismissal of the prisoner from the Navy, was actually inflicted; and, if so, what explanation can be given by the naval authorities, having regard to the defence and justification of the flogging of boys in the Royal Navy, in the interests of the service, and for the good of the boys themselves.

MR. PRETYMAN: The facts are as stated in the first part of the hon. Member's Question. No explanation seems necessary, as the punishment was in accordance with the principles quoted by the hon. Member.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is not the hon. Gentleman well aware that punishment of that kind cannot be inflicted by a civil Court, yet it was inflicted when this boy had been dismissed the Navy.

MR. PRETYMAN made no reply.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I must press for an Answer. I am entitled to one.

MR. PRETYMAN: The hon. Member made a statement, but did not put a Question.

Bloemfontein Fire.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the estimated loss incurred by the fire in the military stores at Bloemfontein in the last week of January, and is the loss covered by insurance?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The approximate loss sustained by the fire mentioned in the Question is £26,000, and the loss is not covered by any insurance. As the hon. Member is aware, in these matters the Government takes its own risks.

Colonel Morgan.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Colonel Morgan has denied that he had anything to do with the alleged improper sale of warlike stores in South Africa; and, if so, whether any responsibility attaches to Colonel Hipwell, or any other person in the department of the Director of Supplies in connection with such sale.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I cannot undertake to reply to any Questions connected with this matter until the case has been decided in the Courts.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Has the War Office placed any obligation on this gentleman to prosecute the action?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The actions are being prosecuted. The War Office is satisfied of that.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: And what steps are being taken by the War Office to prevent the evidence against this man being destroyed?

[No Answer was returned.]

Altcar Rifle Range.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been drawn to the closing of the rifle range at Altcar by order of the General Officer Commanding the North-Western District, which will seriously inconvenience all the Volunteer corps in the Liverpool district, the majority of whom have no other range, and cannot, therefore, perform the stipulated course of musketry for the current year unless the range is re-opened at once; and, if so, whether he will state what prospect there is of the range being available this summer, if any; or, if it is to be closed this year, whether it is likely to become so permanently.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The General Officer Commanding reports that the interruption of the use of the range, which is a private one, has been caused by the inability of the landlord to come to terms with the landlord of the property behind the targets; that the War Department has intervened to promote the continued use of the range; but that firing has been temporarily suspended pending the conclusion of arrangements for safety. He anticipates, however, that the range will be reopened at an early date.

Volunteer Capitation Grant.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for

War whether he will, in considering the abolition of the per capita grant for the Volunteers, at the same time consider the advisability of extending the proposed arrangement to the Imperial Yeomanry.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: There is no intention of altering the present system under which the Yeomanry and Volunteers are mainly financed by means of grants-in-aid in the form of capitation allowances.

Transvaal War Loan.

*MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state whether the revenues of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony are large enough to meet the necessary annual contribution for the redemption of a first instalment of £10,000,000 of the proposed Transvaal loan.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): The figures which I gave in my reply to the hon. Member for East Perthshire on Monday last† of the estimated revenue and expenditure for June, 1904–June, 1905, and the results for the half-year ended December 31st, 1904, do not show a sufficient margin at present.

*MR. McCRAE: Has the right hon. Gentleman taken the Chancellor of the Exchequer into his confidence?

MR. LYTTELTON: Yes, Sir

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has addressed any communication to the Transvaal Government urging the desirability of an early payment of the first instalment of the promised war contribution.

MR. LYTTELTON: I have already stated, in reply to a similar Question on the 22nd instant,‡ that I am not prepared to make any statement on this subject.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what, if any, were the conditions attaching to the South African War Contribution Loan of £30,000,000; were there any restrictions as to the period of issue; what was the exact nature of the guarantee, and who were the guarantors; and when is it proposed to issue the loan.

MR. LYTTELTON: The offer to the late Colonial Secretary and the arrangement on behalf of the guaranteeing firms will be found at page 21 of Cd. 1552 and page 2 of Cd. 1895. As to the conditions, restrictions, nature of guarantee and names of guarantors, I would refer my hon. friend to Cd. 1895 and to the speech of my right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham on May 6th,§ 1903. As to when it is proposed to issue the loan I am as yet unable to make any statement

*MR. McCRAE: Will the surviving guarantors be liable for the whole of the £10,000,000 if some of the guarantors die, or are unable to meet their obligations?

MR. LYTTELTON: I must ask for notice of that Question.

MR. WHITLEY asked whether, in his speech of May 6th, 1903, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham did not say that the £35,000,000 which we had already advanced was conditional on and went along with the £30,000,000 which the Transvaal now showed no intention of paying.

MR. LYTTELTON: The speech of my right hon. friend contained several conditions under which this war contribution was promised, and they appear in that speech. The suggestion the hon. Member has made is not a full or otherwise than a misleading account of the whole speech.

MR. WHITLEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman deny that these words were used—"conditional on"——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member cannot on this Question discuss what took place in a previous debate.

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† See page 591.

‡ See page 891.

§ See (4) *Debates*, cxxi., 1522.

MR. WHITLEY: But in his Answer the right hon. Gentleman refers to that speech.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is true, but it does not entitle the hon. Member to cross-examine a Minister as to its contents.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): Will the Colonial Secretary recommend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to grant a similar indulgence to the income-tax payers at home.

[No Answer was returned.]

Transvaal Mining Profits.

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state what were the declared profits of the Transvaal gold mines for the year ending December 31st, 1904; and what amount the Transvaal Treasury received on account of the profit tax for the same period.

MR. LYTTELTON: The information desired for the calendar year 1904 has not reached me.

MR. ROSE (Cambridgeshire, Newmarket): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state approximately the revenue derived by the Government of the Transvaal for the year ending December, 1904, from taxes imposed on gold mines and from taxes and its share of profits in respect of the Premier Diamond Mine, respectively.

MR. LYTTELTON: The desired information for the calendar year 1904 has not reached me. The receipts from the profit tax on gold mines during the financial year July, 1903, to June, 1904, amounted to £343,014. No revenue has yet been derived from the Premier Diamond Mine. The Government is not entitled under the Ordinance to receive any share of the net produce of a mine for precious stones until the whole amount of capital with certain interest has been set off.

Lascar Seamen's Conviction at Sydney.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that, on the 22nd instant, ten Lascar seamen, forming part of the crew of the Orient Company's steamer "Ortona," were taken before a magistrate at Sydney, just as the vessel was on the point of leaving the port, on a charge of smuggling walking-canes valued at about sixpence each, which it was shown in evidence a Customs officer had induced them to sell him; that the magistrate, while obliged technically to convict them, imposed the minimum fine and denounced the charge as trivial; that the Orient Company, regarding the action as a malicious attempt on the part of the local authorities to compel it to desist from employing Lascar seamen on its vessels, paid the fine subject to appeal; and, if so, whether he will state what steps, if any, he intends taking in the matter.

MR. LYTTELTON: I have no information as to the incident referred to by the hon. Member, but I will ask the Governor-General of Australia for a report on the subject.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: Will the right hon. Gentleman cable for information?

MR. LYTTELTON: Yes.

Lord Milner.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government have now decided to bring Lord Milner's tenure of office, as High Commissioner in South Africa, to a close; and, in that case, what date is it proposed to terminate it.

MR. LYTTELTON: Neither now nor at any time have His Majesty's Government decided or wished to bring Lord Milner's tenure of office in South Africa to a close.

Education in Ceylon.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will ascertain from the Governor of Ceylon whether it is practicable to adopt the suggestion of Mr. Howard, the present Director of

Public Instruction, and establish central schools to serve more than one estate; and will he state the approximate cost of establishing schools under the grant-in-aid system on or near estates throughout the planting districts.

MR. WEIR: I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will consider the expediency of recommending the Governor of Ceylon to appoint inspectors with a knowledge of Tamil to visit and report periodically on all existing schools on Ceylon estates, including the so-called line schools which received no Government grant.

MR. LYTTELTON: The Governor has informed me that there is no intention of abandoning the proposal to group estates for school purposes where that is found to be a convenient course. He has appointed a Commission to deal with the whole subject of coolie education, and I have requested that their report may be submitted to me without undue delay. I have no doubt that the question of appointing inspectors with a knowledge of Tamil will be considered by the Commission.

Lord Curzon.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether Lord Curzon of Kedleston, who, on his departure from India, had, in accordance with statutory provisions, *ipso facto* vacated the position of Governor-General of India, was, for several months during his residence in this country and previous to his reappointment to the Governor-Generalship of India, practically discharging from this country the functions appertaining to the office of Viceroy, and directing and dictating the policy of the Indian Government in its controversy with the Imperial Government with reference to the Tibetan Expedition as to the terms of the treaty with Tibet; whether confidential communications between the India Office and the Acting Viceroy of India were open to the perusal of Lord Curzon when in this country; and whether there is any and, if so, what precedent for the active interference in the government and policy of India of a person holding no official position, and irresponsible to Parliament, and exempt from its criticism.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): It is not the case that Lord Curzon, while he was in this country, practically discharged the functions appertaining to the office of Viceroy. During that time His Majesty's Government were in frequent consultation with him on matters relating to India, including Tibet, and many confidential documents were shown to him; but as long as he held no official position he took no official part in the government of India. His Majesty's Government were glad to avail themselves of the experience which Lord Curzon had recently gained during the six years of his Viceroyalty, and it was obviously desirable that, as Viceroy-designate, he should be kept fully informed on current questions.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: When did Lord Curzon become Viceroy-designate? Before he did so, were not confidential communications between the Acting Viceroy and the Cabinet submitted to him?

MR. BRODRICK: Lord Curzon became Viceroy-designate on the notification of his reappointment. I do not remember the precise date. His Majesty's Government are always glad to avail themselves of the experience of retired Viceroys, and the Viceroy-designate is kept fully apprised of all that is going on before he goes to India.

Cost of British Garrison in Egypt.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in view of the fact that the charges made on the Government of Egypt for the maintenance of British troops have recently been increased from £E84,825 to £E97,000 (£100,000), will he state whether the British force has been in any way increased, and its present composition.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): The Answer to the first paragraph is in the negative. The contribution from the Egyptian Exchequer has been fixed by agreement between the two Governments on the basis of the amount by which the cost of the garrison in Egypt exceeds the cost of its maintenance at home. Its present strength is as follows:—1 Battery Royal Field Artillery, 1 Battery Mountain Artillery, 1 Company Royal Engineers, 3 Battalions Infantry.

Finance.

*MR. McCRAE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what provision is being made to meet the balance of last year's deficit amounting to £1,500,000, for which no estimate was made in the Estimates of Expenditure for the present financial year.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The hon. Member's Question cannot be answered until the accounts of this year are made up.

London Unemployed.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is now in a position to propose any steps whereby sufficient funds may be placed at the disposal of the Central London Unemployed Committee in order to enable that Committee to tide over the present period of distress.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I am in communication with the Central Committee on this subject, and am awaiting some further information from them.

Heavy Motor-Car Regulations.

MR. GARDNER (Berkshire, Wokingham): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has received from municipal or county councils, district councils, or other bodies or persons interested, objections to the heavy motor-car regulations; and, if so, from how many; and, in case of such objections having been received, what action does he propose to take.

MR. WALTER LONG: Since the regulations were issued, I have received from the Board of Trade certain suggestions for an alteration of the Order which have been submitted on behalf of some of the railway companies, and I am in communication with the Board of Trade on the subject. Besides this, the only objections that have reached me, since the issue of the regulations, have been from one county council, two metropolitan borough councils, two rural district councils, an association of jobmasters, and one private individual. These objections, so far as they have been stated, do not appear to me to be of a nature that I can entertain.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): Will the House have an opportunity of discussing these Orders?

MR. WALTER LONG: I appointed a Committee, of which the right hon. Member for Somersetshire was Chairman, to deal with this question. They took evidence from the local authorities, and on their recommendation I issued the regulations.

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has been requested by any municipal or other local authorities to receive deputations in reference to the regulations to be issued in regard to heavy motor-cars; if so, will he state whether he has consented to receive such deputations, and the date on which they will be received; and whether he will defer the bringing into force of the proposed regulations until he has ascertained the objections of the local authorities.

MR. WALTER LONG: The Paddington Borough Council have recently asked me to receive a deputation on the subject of the regulations from various metropolitan borough councils. I have replied that in the first instance I shall be glad to receive the representations of the councils in writing. The regulations come into force to-morrow, and I cannot undertake to postpone their operation. A draft of them was circulated to the associations representing various classes of local authorities, and their observations were carefully considered before the regulations were issued.

GENERAL LAURIE: Am I to understand that the regulations were circulated among the local authorities.

MR. WALTER LONG: I did not say that. What I said was that the draft was sent to the associations representing the local authorities. As my hon. and gallant friend knows, municipalities have recognised associations to represent them, and it is our practice to send, not to the hundreds of authorities throughout the country, but to the representative body.

GENERAL LAURIE: Am I to understand that deputations from the local authorities will still be received, and that their recommendations will be considered.

MR. WALTER LONG: My hon. friend is not to understand that. After I have received the representations of the councils in writing, I shall, if I think it worth their while and mine, be glad to receive a deputation, but I make no promise.

Australian Mail Service.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General what is the amount of the subsidy paid by Australia for the carriage of mails under the new contract; whether it has resulted in a curtailment of the postal service carried on previously, and, if so, for what reasons; and if the service is now carried on upon a reduced scale, is he prepared, in view of the prejudicial effect it must have on the volume of correspondence between Great Britian and Australia, both for commercial purposes and for the object of promoting the unity of the Empire, to take any, and, if any, what action in the matter.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The Australian Commonwealth makes no contribution to the subsidy payable to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company under the new contract which recently came into operation, providing, *inter alia*, for one of the two fortnightly mail services to and from Australia of which the other was formerly carried by the Orient Steam Navigation Company. Up to the end of last month the Australian Government contributed its quota towards each of the two subsidies. But the Commonwealth Legislature decided not to support, under any fresh contract, any undertaking which admitted of the employment of coloured labour on board the packets; and the Imperial Government has therefore provided its share of the Australian mail service in the shape of one fortnightly service to be paid for out of Imperial funds, leaving the Commonwealth Government to arrange for another alternating service, making its own terms with the contractors. His Majesty's Government has done all that can rightly be demanded of it, and I do not think that any further representations would be of assistance to the colonial authorities at present, especially as I have no reason to suppose that they have abandoned the endeavour to obtain a fortnightly service. In the weeks in which no British Mail Packet starts for Australia, mails will be sent from this country by such other advantageous opportunities as offer, and due notice of them will be given to the public.

MR. CATHCART WASON: Was it part of the bargain that the Australian Commonwealth should pay the whole cost of one fortnightly service and that we should pay for the other?

LORD STANLEY: We were to contribute one-half of the cost, and we did so by sending a mail every fortnight.

MR. CATHCART WASON: Is there no burden on them?

LORD STANLEY: No.

Court of Criminal Appeal.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, as the results of inquiry in the case of Adolf Beck, he can state if it is intended to establish a Criminal Court of Appeal; and, if so, when.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): A Bill has been introduced, in another place, to amend the law relating to the Court for the consideration of Crown Cases Reserved, which already exists as a Court of Appeal on questions of law in criminal cases. This Bill will carry out the recommendations of the Master of the Rolls Committee as to legislation.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Why was not this Bill introduced in this House? Why was it brought in in another place the Members of which are triable in a different way and not subject to this grievance?

[No Answer was returned.]

Employment of Children By-Laws.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can state for how many and which towns the Home Office has given sanction to by-laws under the Employment of Children (1903) Act; and for how many and which towns proposed by-laws are now awaiting Home Office sanction.

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: By-laws under the Act have been confirmed, and are now in force for the county of Gloucester, and for the following cities and boroughs:—Birmingham, Blackburn, Bootle, Brighton, Carlisle, Doncaster, Dudley, Hornsey, Hull, Liverpool, Middlesbrough, Plymouth, St. Helens, Swindon, Walsall, Warrington, Worcester. Draft by-laws have been submitted by fifty other local authorities. In sixteen cases the by-laws have been provisionally approved, and are awaiting confirmation in accordance with the procedure prescribed by Section 4 of the Act. In nearly all of the remaining cases I am awaiting the replies of local authorities to my inquiries and suggestions.

Boys in the Mercantile Navy.

Mr. CHARLES McARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will state the number of boys carried and the amount allowed out of the light dues for their carriage under the boy sailor scheme of the Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Act, 1898, for each year during which that scheme has been in force; and whether, having regard to the national importance which attaches to the training of boys for the mercantile marine and as a reserve for the Royal Navy, he can state the intentions of the Government in pursuance of that object when the present arrangement expires.

Mr. CHARLES McARTHUR: I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will say what amount was allowed off the light dues in respect of boy sailors for the year which ended March 31st, 1904, and whether this amount has been deducted from £497,240 1s. 5d. shown in the last lighthouse accounts for dues collected; and, if so, whether, in view of the fact that the Lighthouse Fund will be increased by this sum after March 31st when the boy-sailor scheme expires, he would reconsider his decision with regard to making a reduction in the light dues.

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central): Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to answer his two Questions together. I regret that I am unable to state the number of boys actually carried each year under the boy-sailor scheme, as that information can only be ascertained by examining the record of each boy year by year. I shall, however, be happy to furnish my hon. friend with a statement showing the number of boys enrolled in the Royal Naval Reserve, and the allowances paid in respect of them. The total number of boys enrolled up to the 24th instant is 4,326, and the allowances paid up to the end of 1903–4, the last year for which the figures are available, amount to £13,653 16s. 2d., the amount paid during 1903–4 being £4,533 10s. 3d. Those allowances are, in accordance with the provisions of the Act, paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, and are not a charge upon the General Lighthouse Fund, so that no increase in that fund will result from the cessation of the allowances. The Board of Trade, in conjunction with the Admiralty, have considered the question of making some other arrangements upon the expiration, on the 31st proximo, of Section 6 of the Act under which the existing scheme was inaugurated; but, as at present advised, I do not propose to take any further steps in the matter.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR: Is it not provided by Parliament that the abatement shall come out of the light dues?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No, Sir.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR: May I ask whether any provision has been made to meet the case of the boys already enrolled, and who have entered upon certain obligations? Are they now to lose their employment?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I must ask for notice of that Question.

Underfed Children.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether any local education authorities have either petitioned or forwarded resolutions to the Board of Education in favour of such an extension of their powers as would enable them, out of the funds at their disposal, to provide food for underfed children on the lines suggested in the unaminous recommendation of the Physical Deterioration (1904) Committee; and whether, if any, he will state the names of such authorities.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The Board has received resolutions on the lines referred to in the Question from the following three local education authorities; in May, 1904, from Reading County Borough, in December last from Sheffield County Borough, and in January last from Tottenham Urban District.

DR. MACNAMARA: Will the Board of Education inform the local authorities that it is not proposed to take any action at present on the lines suggested in their memorial?

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: It has not been suggested to the local authorities that any such action will be taken.

Water Supply for Ross-shire Public Schools.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether he is aware that the medical officer of health for Ross and Cromarty in his last report directs special attention to the necessity for a suitable supply of pure water for the public schools; and, seeing that out of fifty-three schools on the mainland of Ross-shire only thirteen have water laid on to the premises, will he consider the expediency of taking such steps as may be necessary to secure a suitable supply for the remaining forty schools.

* THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): The Local Government Board have this question fully in view, and have been in communication with the school boards through the local authorities concerned. The results are so far satisfactory and the matter will be further pressed.

Norwegian Trawlers in Dornoch Forth.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether he is aware that trawlers registered in Norway, but fishing from Grimsby with English fishing masters and crews, have recently been detected fishing within the territorial water of the Dornoch Forth, and will he state whether the fact of the captains of these vessels being Norwegian, though resident all the year round in Grimsby, places them on a different footing to purely British trawlers, and exempts them from prosecution for fishing within territorial waters, unless they are within the three-mile limit.

* MR. SCOTT DICKSON: I have had information to the effect stated in the first part of the hon. Member's Question, subject to the qualification that in certain cases the trawlers were fishing outside the three-mile limit. The legal point raised in the latter part of the hon. Member's Question is at present pending in the Scottish Courts, and I must, therefore, refrain from expressing any opinion upon it.

CAPTAIN ELLICE (St. Andrews Burghs): Will the right hon. Gentleman lay on the Table the correspondence last year between His Majesty's Government and the representative of Christiania?

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: I must ask for notice of that.

Longford Magistracy.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the number of appointments to the magisterial bench made in county Longford during the year 1904, and say how many of such appointments were conferred on Catholics.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N., for Mr. WYNDHAM): Two, both of whom are believed to be Protestants.

Expenditure on Police Removals in County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the cost put upon the rates of the county Longford for the past five years for charges incurred in the removal of policemen from one police station to another; what necessity there was for such removals on the ground either of disciplinary or other regulations; and will a direction be given that in future such removals will only be made for misconduct and at the expense of the police themselves.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The Question appears to be based on a misconception. No expense to the rates has been incurred by the removal of policemen under the circumstances mentioned.

Irish National School Teachers' Pension Fund.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain why pension stock in connection with pension fund of national school teachers has been sold at a great loss, while the yearly income has exceeded the expenditure; and why, seeing that the Act of 1879 establishing the pension fund specially provided for quinquennial revision, and that the first revision occurred in 1885, when the fund was reported as flourishing and benefits to teachers increased, the next revision of which any authentic account was given did not occur until 1897–8, when the fund was reported as £1,200,000 to the bad.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): Pension stock is occasionally sold in order to enable payments to be made at a time when the receipts of the fund fall short of the amount necessary for such payments. No considerable loss has been incurred on such sales, and it is probable that the alternative of keeping large balances uninvested, with consequent loss of interest, would prove more expensive. The point raised by the hon. Member will, however, not be lost sight of. Quinquennial valuations of the fund were duly made for 1890 and 1895. The hon. Member will find a reference to them in paragraph 1 of the Report of the Committee of 1897, which was laid before Parliament in that year (Parliamentary Paper C. 8471 of 1897).

MR. SLOAN: Why has the national school teachers' benefit been reduced while this fund has been growing at the rate of £40,000 a year.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: I must ask for notice of that.

Dundrum Asylum Shoemaker.

MR. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state for what offence Shoemaker Attendant James M'Keough, of His Majesty's asylum, Dundrum, was called on to resign on July 11th, 1903, and why he was not allowed an opportunity of defending himself; and if, having regard to his state of health, he will grant him an inquiry to clear his character and obtain redress.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): Three inquiries on oath were held by the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums into the conduct of this attendant, at each of which he was afforded every opportunity of defending himself. As a result of the third inquiry he was called upon to resign on the grounds of insubordinate conduct and failure to satisfactorily discharge his duties. He refused to resign and was dismissed. It is not proposed to direct a further inquiry in the matter as suggested.

Mr. MOONEY: Is it not the fact that this man, after ten and a-half years service, was dismissed on a secret report, and that he demanded a public inquiry which has not yet been held?

Mr. ATKINSON: I do not know whether the inquiry was public or private. It was held according to the rules of the Lunacy Department.

Mr. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S): What was the act of insubordination?

[No Answer was returned.]

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich): Was the man dismissed because he was physically unfit.

Mr. ATKINSON: No, for insubordination and improper discharge of his duties.

Kerry County Council Audit.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the county council of Kerry complained of the report and conduct of the auditor, Mr. Cyril R. Browne, in his recent audit of their accounts; that the auditor passed or approved of the assessment of the purchase price of the Limerick and Kerry Railway money received by the council, and subsequently made a private report to the Valuation Office with reference thereto, and that the county council has been refused a copy of the report; and, if so, whether it will now be furnished; whether the auditor's object was to bring under the notice of the Valuation Office the fact that this money was credited to the ordinary and not to the separate charges estimate for railway guarantees so that the Valuation Office might deduct these receipts from the assessment by the council for railway and harbour charges, and thus reduce the council's claim for refund under Section 58 (4) of the Local Government Act, 1898; and whether, seeing that the result so far has been to deprive this county of a sum of £480 already deducted from the Government grants, he will say what action, if any, he will take in the matter.

Mr. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The county council made a complaint of the character stated. When the first transactions concerning the Great Southern and Western Railway Company were before the auditor he found that a portion of the purchase price paid by the company was properly applied in relief of the separate rates in respect of railway and harbour charges. Subsequently, however, he found that the council had changed its procedure and had applied a further portion of this money, not in relief of the separate rates mentioned, but of the ordinary district rate leviable off the guaranteeing areas. This would have resulted in the council obtaining a larger sum from the local taxation account than that to which the council was legally entitled. The rate in consequence was wrongfully assessed. The auditor made no report to the Commissioner of Valuation, but he did bring the facts under the notice of the Local Government Board and a copy of his report to the latter Department was forwarded by the Board to the Commissioner of Valuation.

Captain Caldbeck's Estate, Queen's County.

Mr. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the estate of Captain Caldbeck, Ballacolla, Queen's County, at present before the Estates Commissioners for sale, contains out of a total of 470 acres 241 acres of untenanted land, and that the landlord and his agent have parcelled out the untenanted land amongst business men occupying independent positions, large farmers, and the bailiff of the estate; and, if so, in view of the fact that there are a number of small holdings on this and adjoining estates requiring enlargement, he will state whether the Estates Commissioners are prepared to sanction this sale.

Mr. ATKINSON (for Mr. WYNDHAM): This estate has been referred to the inspector, whose report has not yet been made. The Commissioners are not, at present, in a position to make any statement on the matters alleged in the Question.

Mr. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether an inspection of the Caldbeck Estate, Ballacolla, Queen's county, has yet been made; and, if so, will he furnish a copy of the report of the inspector.

Mr. ATKINSON (for Mr. Wyndham): The inspector has not yet made his report on this estate. The reply to the second inquiry is in the negative. The inspectors' reports are confidential documents, made for the information of the Commissioners, and cannot be produced or laid on the Table of the House.

New Irish Local Government Orders.

Mr. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received resolutions from the General Council of County Councils and the majority of county, district, and urban councils protesting against the enforcement of the new local government Orders; and whether, in face of the opposition to their adoption, he will consider the advisability of conferring with representatives of those elective bodies with a view to so modifying those Orders as to make them acceptable.

Mr. ATKINSON (for Mr. Wyndham): The resolution of the General Council did not protest against the new Orders being put in force. It merely took exception to the old Orders being rescinded without consultation with the bodies immediately concerned. But it has already been pointed out that this was not the case.

Mr. CULLINAN: Have not the urban and district councils throughout Ireland generally objected to this new Order? Are the Government going to enforce it in face of that?

Mr. ATKINSON: I have no further information on the subject.

Mr. CULLINAN: The right hon. Gentleman will hear a great deal more about it.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Who is the Local Government inspector who drafted the Orders?

[No Answer was returned.]

Clause 6 of The Local Government (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1902.

Mr. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received resolutions from the General Council of County Councils, county, and district councils asking for the repeal of Clause 6 of The Local Government (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1902; and whether, in view of this demand, he will take steps to have the clause repealed.

Mr. ATKINSON (for Mr. Wyndham): Such resolutions have been received. The necessity for this section of the Act was explained by my right hon. friend in the Committee Stage of the measure on December 12th,† 1902. The Government are not prepared, for the reasons then stated, to agree to the repeal of the section.

Mr. CULLINAN: Was not this important alteration made in an autumn session called for the special purpose of proceeding with the Education Bill and behind the backs of the Irish Members? Will the Government reconsider the matter?

Mr. ATKINSON: According to my recollection the Irish Members fully discussed this matter on the Committee stage of the Bill.

Drainage of the Riffey.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Board of Works, whether any steps have yet been taken by that Department to form a drainage board for the district of Cam and Clonwhelan, through which the River Riffey flows, in which in consequence of flooding in 1903 two men lost their lives, and which is a source of loss to the farmers of this district.

Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The Board of Works have no power to take any steps in the direction of forming a drainage district except upon the receipt of a petition from persons interested, who must submit the necessary maps and plans. No petition has been received in the case of the localities referred to.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxvi., 1038.

Sir Antony MacDonnell.

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will lay upon the Table the letter, following a telegram, in which he signified to the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant his approval of the proposed appointment of Sir Antony MacDonnell.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): As the hon. Gentleman very well knows, I should not think of laying any communication between myself and a colleague.

Marine Insurance (Codification) Bill.

MR. CHARLES MCARTHUR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the expressions of opinion which have been addressed to him by shipping, mercantile, and insurance bodies in favour of the Marine Insurance (Codification) Bill, he will reintroduce and endeavour to pass this measure through its various stages at an early period of the session.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir, I understand that the Lord Chancellor hopes to pass in another place this practically uncontroversial Bill. It may possibly be advisable to bring it in first in this House, but I will take the course which will give it the best chance of passing into law, and I really think that there ought to be no serious obstacle in the way.

Aliens in Ireland.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Royal Commission of 1903 on Alien Immigration took evidence with regard to the influx of aliens into Ireland; and, if not, will he, in view of legislation this session, take some means of obtaining evidence concerning Ireland before the introduction of the Aliens Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In answer to my hon. friend, I have to say that no special investigations were made by this Commission into the subject of alien immigration into Ireland, and I understand that no evidence was given before the Home Office which would indicate that there are evils connected with alien immigration in that part of the United Kingdom. But any evidence which my hon. friend has to give to the Home Office on that subject will be gratefully received.

MR. SLOAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that an offer to give evidence was made to the Commission, and they refused to accept it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, I was not aware of that, and my hon. friend is aware that I have no control over a Commission. What evidence they shall take or not take rests in their own discretion.

MR. DELANY: Is it not a fact that the only undesirable aliens we have in Ireland are the men who are sent over from this country to govern Ireland against the will of the people of the country?

[No Answer was returned.]

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

John Sutherland Harmood-Banner, esquire, for the Parliamentary Borough of Liverpool (Everton Division).

SELECTION (UNOPPOSED BILL COMMITTEES) (PANEL).

Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had selected the following eight Members to be the Panel to serve on Unopposed Bill Committees under Standing Order No. 109:—Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Carvill, Mr. H. D. Greene, Mr. Paulton, Mr. Parker Smith, Mr. Worsley-Taylor, Mr. Crombie, and Mr. Bousfield.

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES) (CHAIRMEN'S PANEL).

Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had selected the following six Members to be the Chairmen's Panel and to serve as Chairmen of the two Standing Committees to be appointed under Standing Order No. 49:—Mr. John Ellis, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Sir James Fergusson, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Mr. Laurence Hardy, and Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

Report to lie upon the Table.

SELECTION (PRIVATE LEGISLATION PROCEDURE (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899) (COMMISSIONERS).

Mr. WODEHOUSE reported from the Committee of Selection; That, in pursuance of the provisions of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, they had selected the following fifteen Members to form the Parliamentary Panel of Members of this House to act as Commissioners:—Mr. Charles Hobhouse, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. A. K. Loyd, Mr. McCrae, Mr. William Maxwell, Mr. Pym, Mr. Parker Smith, Sir Walter Thorburn, Sir John Tuke, Mr. Levy, Mr. James Reid, Mr. Eugene Wason, Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk), Mr. Wylie, and Mr. Charles Douglas.

Report to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to amend the Law relating to the falsification of Seamen's and Soldiers' Certificates of Service or Discharge, and to false statements made, used, or given in connection with Entry or Enlistment into His Majesty's Naval, Military, or Marine Forces." [Seamen's and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [Lords.]]

NEW BILLS.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Merchant Shipping Acts, 1894 to 1900," presented by Mr. Louis Sinclair; supported by Sir Frederick Carne Rasch; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 67.]

MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY BILL.

"To establish a Bureau for a Minister of Commerce and Industry," presented by Mr. Louis Sinclair; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 68.]

TRAWLERS' CERTIFICATES SUSPENSION BILL.

"To enable Courts to suspend the Certificates of Trawlers convicted of illegal trawling," presented by Mr. Weir; supported by Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Leveson-Gower, Mr. John Dewar, Mr. Harmsworth, Sir Arthur Bignold, Mr. Cathcart Wason, and Mr. Black; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, March 8th, and to be printed. [Bill 69.]

CLOSING OF LICENSED PREMISES (CHRISTMAS DAY) (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law as to the hours of closing of Licensed Premises on Christmas Day in Ireland," presented by Mr. Nannetti; supported by Mr. Harrington, Mr. Mooney, Mr. Field, Mr. Charles Devlin, Mr. Sloan, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Crean, Mr. Waldron, Mr. O'Mara, and Mr. John Gordon; to be read a second time upon Monday, March 20th, and to be printed. [Bill 70.]

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [February 27th] to Main Question [February 14th], "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth:—

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that Your Majesty's Government in committing the country to the policy of the Brussels Sugar Convention have inflicted heavy losses upon trade, diminished employment of labour, enormously increased the cost of a necessary food to consumers, without any compensatory advantage; and we humbly submit to Your Majesty that these evil results call for an immediate remedy; and that the Convention should be denounced at the earliest possible moment.'"—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said he did not think it would be a matter of surprise to anyone that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham deemed it to be his duty to come and defend the Sugar Convention Act. It was the first great object-lesson of his policy—the new policy which he was trying to inculcate in this country. But there was one very significant fact, which was the most significant of all, and that was his attempt to disclaim the honour of initiating the Sugar Convention. A few years ago it was regarded as the inauguration of a new policy which was to revive our drooping industries. It was simply the first step to convince the country of the necessity for adapting it to other industries. Two years after the Convention, however, the right hon. Gentleman came down to the House, and at the beginning of his speech made it perfectly clear that he had absolutely nothing to do with the paternity of it. He offered the laurel wreath to the President of the Board of Trade, but apparently that right hon. Gentleman was not particularly delighted when the suggestion was made. On the contrary, he appeared to feel that the responsibility for the Act rested with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. It was he who was responsible for this monstrosity, and it was he who ought to have the scarlet letter on his breast. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman was in some respects very characteristic of his later methods. First, there was the scorn for statistics. He poured contempt on them, and especially on official statistics. They were not reliable. The statistics which the right hon. Gentleman believed in were bounty-fed statistics, and that was rather inconsistent with his position in regard to sugar. The Board of Trade statistics were crude, and it was necessary to set up a sort of statistical-refining industry. That the right hon. Gentleman had done in the name of the Tariff Reform League. Before presenting them to the country it was necessary to purify the statistics of the grossness of free-trade heresy which they naturally possessed when culled from the free-trade field of industry and commerce by Board of Trade officials. Again, the right hon. Gentlemen omitted from his facts every element which was relevant. He carried that so far as to omit a relevant part of his poetical quotation on the previous evening—after he quoted from "Rejected Addresses." He evidently regarded that as a congenial study at the present moment, and he quoted the line, "Who fills the butchers' shop with large blue flies?" but he omitted the most important part of that quotation, the line which preceded it, namely, "Who makes the quartern loaf and Luddites rise?" As he treated his poetry, so he treated his facts. Let them take, for instance, the manner in which he treated the facts concerning the price of sugar. That went to the root of the whole matter. He said, "Why, the price of sugar on the Continent is not higher than it is here." What he omitted, however, was the very important fact that, since the Sugar Convention had been adopted, the price of sugar had gone down one-half on the Continent, whilst it had been almost doubled in this country. One would have thought that that was a very important element of the fact. The right hon. Gentleman spoke about going to the country to talk to a working-class audience, but if it were his idea to present his case to a working-class audience in that fashion, he could quite understand why most of the members of the working-class audience arrived at the hall in motor-cars. The right hon. Gentleman said, "I am quite willing to present this thing to the country. I have a great belief in the common sense of the people." That belief was not shared in evidently by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, otherwise why were they postponing the appeal to the people?

Let them take some more facts. Let them look at the arguments at issue when that Act was before the House. He would put them broadly. Hon. Members sitting on his own side of the House said that the result of the Sugar Convention Act would be to increase the price of sugar, while the Prime Minister denied that, and so also, he believed, did the President of the Board of Trade and the Secretary to the Board of Trade as well.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): No.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he noticed that the hon. Gentleman repudiated it. He doubted whether the repudiation would have been so emphatic had the question been put to him when the Bill was passing through that House two years ago. At any rate, the Prime Minister denied that the effect of the Act would be to increase the price of sugar, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham also said so. He said, indeed, that the price of sugar would go down in this country. The second point at issue was that, while the Government and their supporters said that another result of the Sugar Convention would be to give increased employment, the Opposition, on the other hand, declared that it would decrease it. Now they had had two years experience of the working of the Act, and what did they find? As a matter of fact, could it be denied that as a result of the operation of the Sugar Convention Act employment had decreased in the sugar industries, and that something like 15,000 persons had been thrown altogether out of employment, while about 50,000 or practically 50 per cent. of the total of those engaged in the industries were out on half-time for some weeks at any rate? So far from the price of sugar going down it had increased by something like 100 per cent., and thus it would be seen that events had justified up to the hilt all the predictions made by hon. Members on his side of the House. What did that mean? That a *prima facie* case was established by the facts against the Sugar Convention Act. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had endeavoured to explain away those facts, and, indeed, there was no one more competent at explaining or ignoring them than he was. The right hon. Gentleman said his explanation of the increase in the price was the drought, and that was the explanation which was current on the other side of the House generally. He, of course, did not deny that drought under certain circumstances—Convention or no Convention—was an element in raising the price, but all artificial restrictions upon trade aggravated the natural evils. He would take an illustration given by the right hon. Gentleman on the previous night. The right hon. Gentleman then took the case of corn. Corn last year went up 5s. per quarter, and the right hon. Gentleman said that was due to the short crop in the United States of America. Yes, but supposing there had been a Convention excluding Russian and Argentine corn from this country; supposing that, in addition to the American drought, they had had the Birmingham blight, the increase in price would not have been 5s.; it would have been nearer 50s. The same thing applied to other cases. Let them take the onion market. There was a shortage of onions, and this was really the *reductio ad absurdum*. No doubt there was an increase in the price of onions. But suppose there had been a Convention excluding Spanish onions from this country, surely prices would have gone up much higher than they had done. The same applied to cotton. There was a shortage in that crop which affected prices, but if we had excluded Egyptian cotton, would not that exclusion, in addition to the shortage in the American crop, have produced absolutely prohibitive prices which might have ruined the cotton industry?

There was another circumstance which the right hon. Gentleman overlooked. The Convention had cheapened sugar on the Continent, and had thereby increased the consumption of sugar there. That was a not unimportant element when they were dealing with the great free-trade controversy. Cheapening an article meant increased consumption. The cheapening in the price of sugar had, he believed, increased the consumption by 800,000 tons on the Continent. In France it had practically doubled consumption, and prices had gone down from the very day that the Convention came into operation by nearly one-and-a-half. He did not think anyone could challenge the proposition that the Convention had decreased the price of sugar on the Continent, and that that depression of price had had the effect of increasing the consumption. Then he came to the second element. The price here had undoubtedly been affected. He knew it was stated that the difference amounted to only about £2,500,000, but that was a very considerable sum. It was £2,500,000 practically contributed by foreigners to a British industry; we had been, in fact, making the foreigners pay that amount. Let hon. Members look at the statistics for the present year. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said the increase in the cost was very largely due to the middleman. Of course that was one of the evils of increasing the cost of an article by artificial means; it meant increasing the profits all along the line. But the increase was not solely due to the middleman. Let them look at the statistics for the last month. According to the Board of Trade Returns, we imported into this country the same amount of sugar as in 1903 and 1904, but the difference in price represented a sum of £800,000 in one month. As he found that the quantity imported in January was practically the average for the whole year, it meant that if we kept sugar up to its present price—and it might, indeed, go up still higher—this country would actually lose something like £9,000,000 in the course of a year. Was not that a very important factor?

It was not merely the increased consumption of foreign countries; it was the exclusion from our markets of the sugar from Russia and Argentina and some other countries. It was stated by a great authority on this subject that the amount of sugar that came from Russia—not merely directly from Russia but through German ports before the Convention—was 100,000 tons per year. The amount from the Argentine was something like 40,000 or 50,000 tons per year. What did the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham say? He said hon. Members forgot one elementary business principle, namely, that if we fell short by a small quantity in our supply, the increase of price was quite out of proportion to the shortage in supply. But the same thing applied to a small surplus. Supposing they wanted 1,000 tons and there were only 900 tons available the increase of the price might be double though the deficiency might be only one-tenth. There never was a greater free-trade argument, and why on earth so clever a controversialist should have introduced it into the argument in favour of the Sugar Convention completely baffled him. In the very year in which there was a shortage in the crop they excluded 150,000 tons of sugar which they had been in the habit of getting from the Argentine and from Russia, and the result had been to increase the price enormously; it had, in fact, almost doubled it here while it had depressed prices abroad. That was what the Convention had done, and in doing so it had doubled the price of raw material for us, while it had halved the price of raw material for our competitors—that was to say, we were four times worse off in competing with foreign countries than we were before the Convention.

And what had been the effect on employment? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said that in 1889 certain confectioners came to the Board of Trade and said "The price of sugar has gone up, and we ask you to abolish bounties if you can." The right hon. Gentleman was the last man who ought to taunt anybody with opinions he held fifteen or twenty years ago. He believed the right hon. Gentleman had changed every opinion he had held, except possibly his opinion of the Prime Minister. Having had fifteen years more experience of bounties, these confectioners had come to the conclusion that they were a benefit to their industry. He had in his hand a letter given to him by an hon. friend from a firm who, he thought, circulated toffee the other day to Members of the House of Commons. They said—

> "We employ one quarter less hands at present than previously, and both our factories are running short time. Last year our turnover dropped £30,000."

The letter went on—

> "We are maintaining an export trade by selling without profit; that is to say, we are dumping."

The same tale of reduced profits and reduced employment for workmen was told in regard to other trades dependent on sugar, such as jam factories and mineral water factories.

*SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.): What is the price of sugar delivered next autumn?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he was told by his hon. friend the Member for

Islington that it was double what it was when the Convention came into force. He hoped that increase would satisfy the hon. Member, who would have done better not to ask the question. The Government had not abolished bounties; they had only secured a transfer of bounties which had benefited us by enabling us to get sugar cheaper than any country in the world. The surtax on sugar products had been practically turned into bounties to other countries. The sugar industries had been handed over to a Commission representing our great rivals—a Commission just as impartial as the Tariff Reform Commission—and we had armed that Commission with a power to destroy those industries. There never was such folly. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said the Opposition had characterised the Government's action in this matter as nefarious. That was not the word. It was "egregious." We had entered into a conspiracy with our trade rivals to rob our own warehouses. That was an offence for which no jury would convict a Minister. They would more probably cause him to be detained during His Majesty's pleasure. It was not folly: it was stupidity—not perhaps wanton—but the Government were blind in entering into it. They had given way to pressure from the right hon. Gentleman. He was then in the heyday of his power. He had won two elections for them; they were looking forward to winning another. They thought he brought them luck. He was, in the words of George Eliot, their crooked sixpence. He made the mistake of insisting on being taken out of the Government profits and being put on the counter on his own intrinsic value, and, of course, he lost by it. The right hon. Gentleman said truly the Convention had stopped fluctuations. That was perfectly true. Price used to go up and down; there was now no fluctuation, there was a constant rise. Of four elements effecting price, crops, demand abroad, freights, and bounty, the last was the only one that was certain, and losing that, the right hon. Gentleman contended, would stop fluctuations.

In suggesting that bounties on beet were destroying the sugar-cane industry, the right hon. Gentleman had not the slightest regard to facts. Cane sugar had doubled in the last twenty years, and in the last five had increased by 1,000,000 tons without regard to the Convention. It had not increased in the West Indies generally. It had increased in Java, where it was produced by Chinese labour. The right hon. Gentleman's partiality for Chinese labour, he thought, had led him into this blunder. What on earth had this to do with the fiscal question? asked the right hon. Gentleman. It had everything to do with it. It was a warning to the people of this country not to attempt interference with trade by artificial means of this character. He denied that the free-traders were supporting bounties. The bounties were not theirs. The right hon. Gentleman's policy was to tax the foreigner; but the free-trader, instead of taxing the foreigner, allowed him by these bounties to tax himself for our benefit. This Sugar Convention had exposed the miracles of a false prophet, and if the Prime Minister in partnership was to divide the profits he should share the loss. The hon. Member for Salisbury, on the previous night, said that nobody liked taxes. He feared the hon. Member was not an orthodox member of the Tariff Reform League, for the very essence of the policy of that league was that our industry should be manured with taxation, and that taxation was the real road to prosperity. The Secretary to the Board of Trade had asked, in his eloquent speech on the Second Reading of the Convention Bill, what consolation it was to the men thrown out of employment in Greenock to say that the jam industries of Dundee were prospering. Might he ask him now what consolation it was for the 15,000 men and women thrown out of employment in these sugar industries to know that a few hundreds had been added to those employed in the refining industries of Greenock and elsewhere? Every prophecy from the advocates of the Convention had failed. The Secretary to the Board of Trade, in his speech on the Convention, taunted the Leader of the Opposition and said—

> "Our industries are submerged by the waves of foreign competition, and in the interval, when there is a receding wave, he is found clinging shivering to the rock of free-trade principles."

Had the waves subsided? Had competition gone down? There had been no receding of the waves; they were increasing; and the hon. Gentleman had helped in the blasting of the rock.

MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby) said that the main argument of hon. Members opposite appeared to be that the prophecies made when the Sugar Convention was before the House had been falsified. The statement that there had been a rise in the price of sugar in consequence of the Sugar Convention was incorrect. The price of sugar at the time of the Convention was below the cost of production, and it was to remedy that state of things that the Convention was called into existence. What they said, and what he, knowing something of the matter, would reaffirm, was that ten years after the passing of the Convention the average price of sugar, taking one year with another, would not exceed the average price before the Convention [AN HON. MEMBER: How do you know?] He did not pretend to say he was an absolute prophet, but he maintained that the Convention was certain to call into existence a greater area of land fit for the cultivation of sugar, and the greater the area the more certain would be the produce. To follow up this argument, the more the produce the better it would be for the consumer and the worse it would be for the "rings." Some hon. Members had departed from the strict wording of the Amendment, and had thought fit to tax the West Indian planter with various misdemeanours in respect of cultivation, impecuniosity, and lack of labour. There never was a more unjust analogy stated to the House than the hon. Member for Devonport's attempt to compare the planters of Java with the planters of the West Indies. It was perfectly well known that in Java sugar was grown under a system of serfdom, and was the product of forced labour. As to the American plantations in the Phillipines, Cuba, or Honolulu, did the hon. Member for Devonport know that the planters had a great advantage in entering the American market? Had he ever tried to import a ton of sugar into New York? Did he not know that the protective duty against the British planter was 40 per cent., while these American rivals were thriving under the genial influences of a wholly different fiscal system?

The hon. Member for Carnarvon had laid stress upon the fact that Russian sugar had been excluded from our markets. He thought fit to compare the exclusion of Russian and Argentine corn from these markets with the exclusion of sugar. But whereas corn from Russia and the Argentine bulked largely in the whole import, the sugar from those two countries was quite infinitesimal. The hon. Member for Carnarvon lamented the exclusion of Russian sugar, but last year the drought prevailed in Russia as much as on the Continent, and the crop was short by 250,000 tons. Therefore, whatever figure imports of Russian sugar might have bulked at in 1903, the chances were that under a drought the quantity would not have bulked so large in 1904. Whereas the import of sugar into this country was commonly 6,500,000 tons, out of that big total no less than 5,448,000 tons had hitherto been beet sugar. Last year there was an extensive drought practically spreading over the whole of central Europe from where our beet supplies were drawn. Hon. Members opposite appeared to think that that was a satisfactory condition of things for the British consumer, but as a matter of fact we were practically putting all our eggs into one basket; quite independent of any injustice that might be done to our fellow-subjects beyond the seas.

The hon. Member for Chippenham, he supposed, was so partially informed of anything beyond his own county that he thought the term "planter" meant merely a British farmer, and he taxed the planter with doing little to take advantage of the new arrangements under the Brussels Convention. But while in England a man might take a big farm, and in a fortnight stock and equip it with the best of implements, a planter on a sugar estate, in whatever part of the world he lived, had either got to create a big manufactory himself or else to combine with his neighbours in providing a central manufactory. It was not right for hon. Members opposite to criticise the planter beyond the seas who had laboured under the disadvantages to which he had alluded, and ask how it was, after thirty years of annual depression, that the planter had not been able within eighteen months of the passing of the Convention either to find money himself or to borrow it from his bankers to erect the necessary plant which alone could make his industry a success. The process would take a great many years, but already many of the estates were beginning to feel the advantage of an assured and stable market. [MINISTERIAL cheers.] If it was an assured fact that an industry was going to yield an adequate return money would never be found wanting. Now the bounties were abolished there would be certainty of a return for anybody who chose to lend money for sugar planting, and he had no doubt that money would be forthcoming at no distant date.

The only accuracy that could be claimed for the Amendment was that, owing to the abolition of the Excise duty on the Continent, naturally there had been an increased consuming power on the part of the masses. Therefore there was probably a serious miscalculation in the figures by which they alleged that there was an increased production amounting to 54 per cent. on the Continent. There was another statement made which although accurate in words amounted to a *suggestio falsi*. It was said that the price of sugar had doubled since the Convention came into operation. It was perfectly true that since September 1st, 1903, the price of sugar had doubled, but that was a very disingenuous argument. If they referred to the figures they saw that in January, 1903, the price of beet was only 8s. 4¾d., and that that compared with the five previous years was less than in three of them; in the following February the price had dropped to 7s. 8¼d.; in March it had gone up to 8s. 2¼d., an enhancement which was owing to rumours that there had been reduced sowing. There were some authorities who thought there might have been a shortage of sowing of 3 per cent., but there was now a full belief that practically there was no shortage of sowing worth talking of. In the following March it was only 8s. 2¼d., which was even then below the cost of production. In May the price rose to 9s. 6d., and then there came an estimate that there really would be some shortage of crop. But even in May the sugar users, if they thought there was any risk, had the opportunity of buying for October at 9s. 6¾d., and that was a fact which absolutely traversed the statement that the action of the Convention was the cause of enhancing the value. Sugar users were quite sharp enough people to fix the value as far as they could forsee it, and if they had feared any risk as the result of the Convention they could have bought, and no doubt some did buy, in May over against October, at ¾d. more than in May. In the following June they still could have bought at 9s. 1¼d., so that even then the risks of the Sugar Convention had diminished according to the estimation of the market. It was only at the end of June that the price rose from 9s. 1½d. to 9s. 4½d. Then obviously there came above the horizon a very appreciable chance of a shortage, and at that time the price went up to the figures they had since had. They could follow the action of the sugar market as on a barometer, and they could trace the causes of the rises. He had no doubt that, owing to the enhancement of prices, if they allowed a few months to go by prices would come down as fast as they went up and even faster. There was no reason to think that the sugar industry would suffer more than any other industry which was liable to suffer from special fluctuations which might occur owing to inevitable circumstances such as had occurred on this occasion. The authors of the Sugar Convention, when they talked of fewer fluctuations, never thought that the arrangement they were making would interfere with the dispensations of Providence. What they said was that this was a fiscal arrangement which would modify the fluctuations that arose from fiscal causes. They never pretended that it would be able to produce two tons of sugar where none was produced before, or make any difference in the output of sugar irrespective of the acts of Providence. Hon. Members opposite were in the ridiculous position of endeavouring to bolster up an industry which, whatever its value—and no doubt it was very great, and he wished it God speed on sound and proper lines—claimed that it should have its raw material at less than cost price, that the foreign consumer never should eat more than he had done in the past, and practically that it should be the sole industry in the world free from outside competition. He wished hon. Members opposite every joy in maintaining propositions which were absolutely absurd and indefensible.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said that so far as he understood the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down he appeared to think that the Convention had had no influence whatever in sending up the price of sugar.

MR. LAWRENCE: Except in the way I say.

MR. McKENNA said they would all admit that the drought had been an important factor in settling the price, but he understood the hon. Gentleman to say that even had there been no Convention, provided the drought had been what it had been, the price would have been the same.

MR. LAWRENCE: I said that the only accurate, or partially accurate, statement made in support of the Amendment was as to the increasing of the consumption of sugar on the Continent.

MR. McKENNA said he would take that from the hon. Member. This was a question of plain figures, and anyone was capable of following the increased consumption on the Continent. It amounted to 800,000 tons.

MR. LAWRENCE: I do not admit that.

MR. McKENNA said this was given as a fact on official authority. The decrease in the crop last year which was given again on the authority of the hon. Member's own friends, amounted in comparison with the previous good years to 750,000 tons, so that the hon. Member admitted that was a factor in sending up the price. But the 800,000 tons exceeded by 50,000 tons the whole diminution in the crop due to the drought. If the hon. Member seriously did admit the truth of the contention that foreign consumption had been a considerable factor in sending up the price he must admit that that factor had been more important than the drought itself. It was certainly this increased consumption of 800,000 tons, added to the diminished production of 750,000 tons, which had had the appalling effect of sending up the price to £16 per ton. Of course, outside the House nobody had suggested that the Convention had not had, or would not have, the effect of sending up the price of sugar. In a refiner's trade circular of a distant date he found the following—

> "If the Convention is to do the good for which it was promoted there must be a general readjustment of values, in process of which the tendency will be against the British consumer who has been paying too little, and in favour of those newly-liberated centres of consumption where the people have been paying too much for their sugar."

That was the trade view at the time of the passing of the Convention. In the same circular the notion that the price would not rise was dismissed as all too ridiculous, and the increase in the European demand was given as the cause of the rise in price. There was another authority whose opinion he thought the Government would accept. He referred to Sir Nevile Lubbock. Speaking on September 8th, 1904, at a meeting of the New Colonial Company, he said—

> "If prices keep up, and there was every reason to expect they would, he thought he could promise them a very different state of things next year."

Sir Nevile was not speculating on another drought, but on the effect of the Convention in increasing the consumption of sugar on the Continent. The hon. Member did not think anyone would seriously contend that the Convention had had no effect in sending up prices. Were they to understand that in spite of that having been the admitted result of the Convention, and in spite of the prophecies of the Government at the time of the passing of the Bill having been shown to be wrong, the Government, if their hands were free now, would once again make such a Convention as this? Did the President of the Board of Trade so far stand by his policy? Would the right hon. Gentleman signify that he was so satisfied with the Convention that he would again introduce a Bill to ratify the Convention?

The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central): Quite ready.

Mr. McKENNA said there was no hope. The Government was incorrigible. Every prophecy they made and on which they founded the Bill had been falsified, and yet they assured the House that if they had the chance they would again enter into the Convention, would pass a Convention Bill, and would tie the hands of the House, and all in order to secure freer trade. What was the free trade they had secured under the Convention? As an illustration he would suppose that two ships came into the port of London, one laden with cheap Russian sugar, bounty-fed, and the other laden with confectionery made out of cheap Russian sugar. Under our new system of free trade the cheap raw material was not allowed to come into our port. The cheap sugar was shut out, but the cheap manufactured sugared goods made from Russian sugar were allowed to come in. Was that free trade worth fighting for? The other parties to the Convention to whom we had surrendered ourselves in the proportion of one to ten were all producers of sugar, and they were all anxious to secure a share, if not the whole, of the great trade we had built up in sugared goods. They had succeeded, and they would succeed still more because they were allowed to impose duties upon the import of sugar products into their countries while we were shutting out cheap raw material. Our manufacturers not having the advantage of free trade in getting cheap raw material were nevertheless handicapped in competition with manufactured goods made from cheap raw material. If we were to interfere with our present system of free trade it should be to allow all products to come into this country free. He did not wish to discriminate between raw material and manufactured goods, prohibiting cheap raw materials and allowing cheap manufactured goods to come in.

What was the effect, measured by the well-known system of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, of this shutting out of sugar? We were paying now at the rate of £10,000,000 a year more for our sugar than was paid before the Convention came into force. The hon. Member for Salisbury referred to the fact that the imports of sugar in 1904 cost us £2,800,000 more than they cost in 1903. Those figures were perfectly correct, they were to be seen in the Trade and Navigation Accounts. But those same Trade and Navigation Accounts showed equally that at this moment we were paying at the rate of close on £1,000,000 a month more for sugar than in the corresponding period in the previous year. What did that mean if the present prices lasted over the whole year? Upon the calculation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham £10,000,000 a year would mean employment for 120,000 men at 30s. a week, or a living wage and subsistence for 625,000 people. In the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham we had now got 625,000 people thrown upon the streets because the price of sugar had been raised by £10,000,000 a year. But the argument applied here was a far more real argument than as it was usually applied by the late Colonial Secretary, and for this reason. The increase in the price of sugar to us was a dead loss. Before the Convention, when the price was low, a man with 25s. a week gave one week's work in the year in order to pay for sugar for himself and family. He had now to give two weeks work to get exactly the same result, and consequently we had got to pay to people out of the country for what we formerly got free from abroad. We were therefore the losers of the proceeds of a whole week's work of each mechanic on account of the Convention. We were paying higher prices for our goods, spent more money in taxation, and had so many people out of employment.

Figures had been quoted, but they could not be too often repeated because this matter was a real object-lesson in fiscal policy. He knew that the late Colonial Secretary disowned the authorship of the Convention. He remembered long ago when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham referred to Majuba he spoke of it as one of Mr. Gladstone's messes. He had no doubt that ten years hence the Sugar Convention would be described as one of Mr. Balfour's messes. But just as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham was responsible for Majuba, so was he responsible for the Sugar Convention, and he must take the blame for Majuba and the Convention for what it was worth in either case. That Convention in the injury it had inflicted on the people engaged in the manufacture of sugar-products, had probably done more harm than any other single Act of Parliament in the recollection of any Member of the House. The figures given in the Census Returns were very clear. We had engaged in sugar refining in the whole country 3,100 persons. 41,000 were engaged in the actual industries which used sugar as a raw material. That statement did not include bakers and confectioners. It was not too much to say that 60,000 persons were engaged in other branches of trade in which sugar was a raw material. So that at least 100,000 persons were engaged in industries which used sugar as a raw material. Therefore, for the benefit of 3,000 men engaged in sugar refining—the right hon. Gentleman could only fix his mind on one industry at a time—there were 15,000 persons driven out of employment and 50,000 put on short time. If these statements were correct—and they could be verified by anyone from the official Returns—he asked, was it a wise policy for us to enter this Convention. Had we in fact secured the principles of free trade on the Continent, having regard to the refusal of the parties to the Convention to reduce the surtax, and having regard to the fact that sugar products made from bounty-fed sugar were being admitted into the Conventional countries? Admitting that the drought on the Continent had had—as it must have had—a serious effect in sending up the price of sugar, could it be doubted for a moment that the Convention had greatly aggravated the effects of the drought. He therefore asked hon. Gentlemen opposite whether they would be willing to support the Government in the policy of renewing the Convention, and if not, he asked them to vote for this Amendment.

*Sir WALTER THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk) said he had been connected with this industry for a great number of years. He had listened to the speeches delivered that day and had read some of those made on the previous night, but so far as he could see the only argument adduced by hon. Gentlemen opposite was an argument in favour of the principle of bounties. They were told that the bounties were of great benefit to this country. He asked hon. Gentlemen opposite if foreign countries gave these bounties purely from philanthropy?

Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham): Why did they want to take them off?

*Sir WALTER THORBURN said he maintained that these foreign countries did not give these bounties on philanthropic grounds. They had one object, and one alone; and that was to kill the sugar-refining industry in this country, and also to knock off the competition of cane sugar, and after that to get the market pretty much to themselves. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down referred to the comparatively small number of people engaged in the refining industry. If it had happened that a much larger number had been so employed hon. Gentlemen opposite would not have been such advocates of the bounty system. They had been told by the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs about the exclusion of Russian and Argentine sugar; but he might inform that hon. Gentleman that the bulk of Russian sugar formerly exported to Great Britain was now going to Egypt, which latter country was now sending cane sugar to this country. The Egyptians preferred to import beet, which cost less, and export cane sugar to England, which brought a higher price. Russia had now a market for all her surplus sugar products in Egypt and the Balkan States, Persia and other Eastern markets. Java had been referred to; but he would point out that we had a colony which could produce the finest cane sugar in the world, and but for the insane objection to the employment of tropical labour it would do so, viz., in North Queensland. Although white labour could not be employed in North Queensland in sugar cultivation, the objection to tropical labour was so great that only a small quantity of cane sugar was produced there now; that was consumed in Australia itself, and the great bulk of the land was practically left derelict from cultivation.

He hailed with the greatest satisfaction the Amendment brought forward from the opposite bench. He thought it was remarkable evidence of the sincerity of those gentlemen on the question of free trade. For months past they had denounced the Government from every platform in the country for their policy which was to make free trade freer. But in this Amendment they asked the Government to revert to one of the worst forms of protection ever devised by the wit of man. During the last session there were various occasions on which hon. Gentlemen opposite raised the question of Chinese labour, which they thought they might use in the country with some advantage to themselves. Chinese labour had become rather stale now, and when a debate upon it took place not one of the right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench got up in his place to take part in it. He did not know whether they would follow the same course in regard to sugar. Now, they were told by this Amendment that heavy losses had been inflicted on some classes of trade. He submitted that the present price of sugar was not so great as it had been in past times, and although confectioners may have had to submit to reduced profits as compared with the period when bounties were in existence, he denied that actual losses had been incurred. He happened to see the reports of two confectionery companies; and one of them paid 12 per cent. and the other 10 per cent. What, then, of the statements of hon. Gentlemen opposite? The reduction in labour had also been grossly exaggerated; but even if it were not, there was a shortage in employment in almost every other industry as well. Why should the confectionery trade be exempt?

The question, however, was whether the Convention was responsible for the present price of sugar. He was convinced it was not the result of the Convention, but of an act of God, Who had sent a drought over Central Europe unprecedented since the middle of the eighteenth century. There was a rock in the Elbe which had not been seen since that period, but it was visible last year. That showed that there was an enormous drought, the result of which was that the beet crop showed a shortage of 1,200,000 tons. There had been a very considerable increase in the price of wool, which was also produced by a great drought in Australia, during which millions and millions of sheep perished; wool became scarcer; and according to the laws of supply and demand the price increased until it was now nearly double what it was before the drought. He would, however, tell the House what the Convention had done. It had stimulated the growth of cane sugar in the West Indies and elsewhere, with the result that 400,000 tons more of cane sugar were imported into this country than last year. Were it not for that the price of sugar would be £4 or £5 a ton greater than it was. Before the abolition of the bounties the cane growers had no inducement to improve their land and better their machinery. Now that was all changed. According to Mr. Lamont, the Radical candidate for Bute, whose testimony hon. Gentlemen opposite would accept, immediately the Convention was signed a wave of prosperity passed over the West Indies. He was told that such was the scientific skill that was being applied to the cultivation of cane sugar that eventually it would be grown at a less price than beet sugar could be produced. He was convinced that in a very few years sugar would be cheaper in this country than it had ever been before. The Convention would put the sugar industries of the world on an equitable basis. Neither the grower nor the refiner asked for anything but fair competition and to be put on a level basis with the foreign producer; and they were not afraid to fight the world either in connection with the sugar industry or any other industry. The confectioners were not content because they were not given protection. Under the bounty system undoubtedly many large fortunes had been amassed, but if these gentlemen now said that they could not exist without protection, then they must go under. Their policy was a very short-sighted one, for had the bounties not been abolished, it was only a matter of time when refining would cease to exist in this country and the competition between cane and beet sugar would have been killed. Then they would have realised what the price of sugar would have risen to He himself had been connected with the refining industry, and he had known the price of sugar to be far higher than it was at present. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham pointed out that the present price was clearly temporary. At present it was possible to buy in that market sugar for delivery in October at £4 a ton below the existing quotations. He was afraid that a great many of the arguments of hon. Gentlemen opposite were used for the purpose of influencing votes in the country. He could not however, understand hon. Gentlemen opposite who professed to be free-traders supporting protection of the worst kind. They were throwing consistency to the winds. If they could only secure a temporary advantage for their Party consistency might go by the board. He was sure that all the monstrous statements of hon. Gentlemen opposite would not, however, delude the country in the long run.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) commented upon the position which the hon. Member occupied as a champion of free trade. It was a novel position for him and one to which he hoped the hon. Member would adhere.

SIR WALTER THORBURN: I have been nothing else all my life.

MR. BRYCE hoped, then, that when the proposals of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham came before the House they would meet with the hon. Member's strenuous opposition.

SIR WALTER THORBURN: Yes; I have never supported the position of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham.

MR. BRYCE said that if they had succeeded in eliciting the opinions of one Member on that side on this point the debate would not have been in vain. There was just one remark which fell from the hon. Member which he would at once refer to lest he overlooked it later. The hon. Member said the whole object of the bounties was to kill the sugar refiners of this country, and that when that end had been attained the bounties would disappear; but did not the hon. Member know enough of protectionist countries to know that the great mainspring of protection was their own direct interests, and that if they thought they could get any benefit from their Governments, either by way of bounty or duty, they asked for it?

SIR WALTER THORBURN said that what he said was that these bounties not only killed the sugar refiners, but, if persevered in, killed the cane producers as well, because it was impossible for them to compete with bounty-fed sugar.

MR. BRYCE said that the hon. Member at the latter end of his speech showed that it was perfectly obvious that the cane-sugar industry could not be killed, that cane sugar was bound to come into competition with beet.

SIR WALTER THORBURN: Not against bounties.

MR. BRYCE: Yes. [AN HON. MEMBER: Impossible.] The hon. Member would have an opportunity of proving that it was impossible later, but he (Mr. Bryce) would give some reasons why he thought it was possible. The hon. Member had spoken of a rock in the Elbe and had said that when it was exposed to view Germany wept, but in this case it would be the other way about, because Germany was using more sugar than ever before, and instead of weeping the people would be smiling, as instead of one lump they would be sweetening their coffee with two.

The speech of the Member for West Birmingham did not seem to him to have added much to what the House previously knew on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman's chief argument was that the rise in the price of sugar was not due in any way to the Convention, but to natural causes, and that it was ridiculous of them to complain of a Convention against foreign bounties. He admitted that the statistics they had had about sugar from all quarters had been conflicting and difficult to deal with for anyone who was not an expert. But he thought there were some broad results which were incontestable, and which were not disputed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham.

Sugar was dearer, contrary to the predictions made by members of the Government. It was twice as dear as it was at the time of the Convention, and we were paying £8,000,000 or £9,000,000 a year more than we paid before, and from what he gathered the consumption was decreasing. The consumption of sugar, which three years ago had reached 90 lbs. per head of the population, had now decreased to 80 lbs. The prediction that employment would increase after the Convention had also been falsified, the balance of the changes which had taken place being towards the diminution of trade. True there had been an increase of labour amounting to 400 or 500 hands in the sugar-refining trade, but there had been a diminution in the other sugar-using trades calculated at about 12,000 men out of work and between 40,000 and 50,000 working half time.

The Member for West Birmingham had contended that an explanation of the state of the sugar trade was to be found in natural fluctuation, as in the case of some other commodities. But in regard to cotton and grain there had been no State interference. Here we had a Convention which was intended to have effects, and which had had effects. It was inevitable that we should ascribe some of the alteration of price to a measure which was intended to produce that result.

The House was told that owing to the abolition of bounties less beet was planted in Germany, France, and Austria. That was at any rate a result of the Convention. In those countries, too, the price had fallen and the consumption had increased. Then there was the fact that we had excluded from our market certain exporting countries. The cutting off of the Argentine and Russian supply must have had an effect upon our markets. He had thus pointed out three causes directly due to the Convention, which had no doubt had the principal influence in raising the price of sugar. He was interested to see the Government in the new and unfamiliar character which they generally tried to fix upon the Opposition—that of being the friends of every country but their own. They had benefited the people of Germany and France by giving them cheap sugar, whilst our people had certainly suffered—not merely as consumers, but also as manufacturers using cheap sugar. Why when the Government were entering into these negotiations did they not carry out the policy of making commercial treaties, so strongly recommended by the Member for West Birmingham, and adopted by the First Lord of the Treasury, for the benefit of British sugar products? Instead of that, those industries were now in a worse position than before. Another result of the Convention was that we had lost the advantage of having open ports. Our system of open ports was one of the things that had made our mercantile marine the greatest in the world. For the first time within historical memory we had subjected ourselves to the control of foreign authorities. We had become members of a board, all the other members of which were more or less protectionist and had interests adverse to our own, and we had bound ourselves for the period of the Convention to submit to the deliberations of that board, in which we generally found ourselves in a minority. Then we had made it easier for what were called corners or syndicates to be formed in sugar. It would be obvious that the more the source of supply was restricted the easier it became for a trust or syndicate to create a shortage.

What had been the object of entering into this Convention? First of all, it was suggested that it would stop dumping. After all, the sugar trade had benefited by dumping all these years, and if we suffered from protection in other countries in so many ways, might we not get what little benefit there was to be gained from it? We had been getting some little gain from the mischievous fiscal policy which prevailed on the Continent, but now we were to suffer all the evils and get none of the benefits. He knew the favourite argument was that if dumping was allowed to go on for a certain length of time it would ultimately crush our own industry out of existence; that if any kind of goods was habitually and persistently sold in this country below cost price the foreigner would get a monopoly of the market and would be able to raise the price of those goods and sell them to us at any price he liked to fix.

But sugar was not produced in this country, though it was produced in some of our Colonies. At any rate, English interests were not affected by this dumping. No one could say that it was doing any harm to England at all comparable to the benefit of getting the sugar cheap. The Convention might have been intended as a measure of retaliation. If so, the retaliation had taken the form of making sugar cheaper for the foreigner and dearer for ourselves; in fact, it had turned out to be a retaliation on ourselves, for the tangible result was the greater dearness of sugar in this country and the consequent damage to our own industries. He did not understand what hon. Members meant by saying that they, on his side of the House, supported bounties. They had never supported them.

Sir WALTER THORBURN: You are supporting them to-night.

Mr. BRYCE denied that they had ever said a single word in defence of bounties. They had recognised that the bounties enabled people in this country to get sugar cheaper than they could without them, but they had never advocated bounties. Liberal statesmen had always held that bounties were bad and would oppose them in this country, but they had never attempted to go as missionaries to other countries and ask them to abolish bounties. When the Liberal Government in 1881 or 1882 was urged to approach foreign Governments on the subject, no one opposed the suggestion more warmly than the Member for West Birmingham. In 1887 or 1888, when the late Baron de Worms urged the entering into negotiations with foreign countries with a view to stopping the bounties on sugar, Mr. Gladstone held that, although bounties were wrong, it was no business of ours to interfere.

The real reason for entering into the Convention was the furthering of the interests of the West Indies, and the prime mover was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. Those who remembered the debates when the Act ratifying the Convention was passed would remember the strenuous vigour with which the right hon. Gentleman supported their case. But the House must not suppose that this was a question on which the prosperity of the West Indies turned. It was a question of importance only for a very few of the islands. If they had given bounties to those particular islands, it would have been far better business for this country than paying the additional price for sugar which we now had to pay. The reason why the West Indies had not succeeded with cane sugar was not solely owing to the competition of beet, but because they had neglected improvements in their methods of production. He had visited Jamaica and Cuba, and knew that wherever there were new plantations equipped with good machinery they were doing well and making a profit. He agreed that it was a wise policy to send out a competent botanist to see how improvements could be made in the cane. That was a decided benefit, and he hoped the Colonial Office would continue a policy of that kind. From what had been said the House might very well suppose that the cane-sugar industry, under the blighting influence of bounties, was dying out, but what were the facts? In 1882–3 the production of cane sugar in the world was 200,000 tons. In 1902–3 the world's production was 4,300,000 tons. The cane contained a greater quantity of sugar in proportion to the expenditure than could be produced by beet. All that was needed was to open up these tropical countries and give them the benefit of the best machinery and scientific appliances, because they already possessed great advantages of climate. What he had said of Cuba could be said of Java and other places, where the production of cane sugar was enormously increasing, and when American capital went into the Philippines the same thing would happen there. His complaint against the Government was not that bounties were a good thing or that the Government should have taken any steps to keep them up, but simply that they should have left them alone. They ought to leave trade and commerce alone, because nature was wiser than they were in these matters. The Government appeared now to be animated by a philanthropic desire to benefit the people of Germany and Austria and give them their sugar cheaper, and in this they had succeeded. He did not think, however, that that was a policy which any sensible commercial country should follow. There never was a case in which it had been shown so clearly that this country was receiving a maximum of inconvenience in return for a minimum of benefit to the West Indies. The whole moral of this was that they should leave trade alone.

*MR. BONAR LAW said this was a subject which had been very much discussed, but there was a large number of arguments which could be regarded as stock-in-trade arguments. He would deal with them, but before doing so he would refer to some of the points brought forward in which individual hon. Members had more of a proprietary interest. The first point he would refer to was the remarks which had just been made about the West Indies. It was a familiar argument that what was wrong with the West Indies was antiquated methods and the want of improved machinery. If the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen referred to the right hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick, who was a member of the West Indies Commission, he would learn that because of the bounties the manufacturers of beet sugar could afford to have the best machinery, and that by the abolition of the bounties the West Indies, being placed in a position of equality with their rivals, would be able to obtain the most improved machinery also.

MR. BRYCE said his right hon. friend was opposed to the abolition of the bounties.

*MR. BONAR LAW: I think the right hon. Gentleman is mistaken. I think the right hon. Baronet was in favour of the abolition of bounties.

MR. BRYCE: In the way of countervailing duties.

*MR. BONAR LAW said the right hon. Gentleman opposite and the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs said to the Government, "Look what you have done! You have not only doubled the price of sugar here, but you have reduced it by half on the Continent." He never had the slightest desire to prevent any other country from getting an advantage if they could get it without doing us any harm. Now did the fact that they were getting sugar cheaper on the Continent do this country any harm? The hon. Member for Carnarvon thought it did, but he appeared to be under a misapprehension. What was the chief cause of the lower price? It was because the interval duty had been lowered, but that did not affect competition with this country. In all the countries concerned a drawback was given, and they all competed upon equal terms in regard to the price of sugar. England went into the Convention not merely as a consuming country but as a country producing sugar. If the effect of the Convention was not to stimulate the production of cane sugar in the British Empire it had been a failure, and if it did stimulate this production then it would be a success. Another point alluded to by the hon. Member for Carnarvon was that we had prohibited sugar from our ports, but the real apostle of this doctrine was the hon. Member for West Islington, who contended that three-fourths of the rise in the price of sugar was due to the shutting out of sugar from our markets. He wondered whether the hon. Gentleman realised what that argument came to. It amounted to this, that as far as three-fourths of the rise was concerned, if this country had done what other countries had done, that was to put on countervailing duties instead of prohibition, that rise would not have taken place.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I do not see that it follows.

*MR. BONAR LAW said that other people saw it. The result of that contention was this, that owing to prohibition the Government had made the price of sugar dearer than it would have been had our markets been open to sugar from Russia and Argentina. But the largest market for Russian sugar was the East, where it went in very large quantities, and where it competed with Austrian and German sugar. Was it not obvious that when Russia was thus selling a large part of her production, all that was necessary to sell any surplus was to take a smaller price than that of her competitors? If the market had been open, Russian sugar would not have been sent here at a lower price than could be obtained in the East. What object could they have in it? He could think of only one. If the Russian Government were as anxious as hon. Gentlemen opposite to turn out this Government they might have sacrificed the price of sugar, but that was the only reason he could conceive for a policy so completely unbusinesslike. There was another point. Switzerland was one of the countries which were open to receive the Russian sugar. It could go there if it was really capable of being sold at a price materially lower than our price. Why was it that sugar was not cheaper in Switzerland? That reminded him of a rather curious incident. The hon. Member for Devonport had made the strongest case hitherto against the Convention, but he was able to do so only by throwing overboard three-fourths of all the speeches and pamphlets which had been delivered on this subject during the recess, in every one of which it was stated that, owing to the prohibition, confectioners in Switzerland were able to get their sugar cheaper, and were so able to beat us in our own markets. The hon. Member for Islington wrote a letter to a newspaper in which he implied that sugar in Switzerland was 5s. cheaper than in this country, but did he only imply this on the platform or did he state it as a fact?

Mr. LOUGH: I have said nothing at all about Switzerland for three or four months.

*Mr. BONAR LAW said that illustrated in a most striking way a fact which he had noticed in the debate of the day before. With one exception, none of the hon. Gentlemen who spoke mentioned Switzerland, and when the hon. Member for Dundee, who did not know so much about his subject, incidentally mentioned that country he noticed a solemn frown gather on the faces of his friends. Why should the hon. Member for West Islington not mention Switzerland for months? It was because he had found that sugar was dearer in that country than here. Hon. Gentlemen opposite talked about the competition, or they did until three months ago, which we suffered from with Swiss manufacturers. What was the fact? If they competed with us in this market or in neutral markets they had to pay in this market not only an equivalent of the sugar duty which our manufacturers had to pay, but they had to pay their own duty of 3s. in Switzerland for which they did not get a drawback. In competing with us, either here or in neutral markets, the Swiss manufacturers were handicapped to the extent of fully 20 per. cent. on the price of their raw material.

He would now refer to what were the common stock arguments on this subject. They were very eloquently put by the hon. Member for Carnarvon. The hon. Member said that in the Convention they had a working model of what fiscal reform meant. Whatever might be said about the Sugar Convention, he did not see how anyone could possibly say with truth that it was a step in the direction of protection. The fact that it was so described illustrated the great change which had come over the minds of those who considered themselves the representatives of free trade as to what free trade really is. It is just the difference between two opposing theories—the theory of free trade and the theory of free imports. To the free-importer cheapness was the one thing necessary, everything else was unimportant, whereas to the free-trader freedom of exchange was the one thing necessary, and everything else, even cheapness, was unimportant. Cobden said that cheapness was not the basis of his policy, but free exchange at natural prices. What, in the opinion of hon. Gentlemen opposite, was Cobden's idea in making that distinction? He did not think it was very difficult to find. Cobden knew, as everyone knew, that cheapness, though it might be a good thing, was not necessarily a good thing, but was often a very bad thing. Take an illustration from the present time. If hon. Gentlemen were in the habit of reading the commercial journals, or the commercial articles in the daily Press, they would find a good deal of talk just now about the revival of trade, which, however, he thought was rather premature. In those articles they would see that the expectation of better trade was based on the fact that prices were a little higher than they had been—that there was a slight rise in the price of commodities. That meant that low prices meant bad trade and bad employment, and that a rise in prices was regarded as an indication of better trade and better employment. The right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down tried, he thought somewhat disingenuously, to show that Mr. Gladstone looked on bounties as bad only for the countries that gave them. He knew that was not the view of Mr. Gladstone.

MR. BRYCE said everyone knew that Mr. Gladstone condemned bounties as bad economically. He must ask the hon. Gentleman not to misrepresent him; he thought his language was discourteous. What he said was that Mr. Gladstone always steadily refused to have anything to do with any negotiations for the abolition of bounties on the basis either of retaliatory duties or of prohibition.

*MR. BONAR LAW said if he had said anything which the right hon. Gentleman thought was discourteous he was sorry, and withdrew it. He would quote the following passage from a speech of Mr. Gladstone's—

> "We do not regard with any satisfaction the system under which an artificial advantage is given in our markets to the products of foreign labour. Some people say it is a good thing because the consumer gets the benefit of it, but I do not think that any benefit founded on inequality and injustice can bring good even to the consumer."

But it was not necessary to go so far back even as Mr. Gladstone. There was a debate on the subject in the House in 1899, when the Leader of the Opposition said—

> "These bounties appear to me to be bad."

But he did not stop them. If he had done so, he might have meant what is his present contention that they are bad for the country which gives, and not for the country which receives them; but he added they are bad because—

> "They disturb trade and hinder the development of the country."

It was, then, our trade which they disturbed, and our country whose development they hindered, so that even he had become a very recent convert to the new theory of what free trade was.

The question for consideration was whether the Convention in itself was a good or bad thing. If it was bad it was bad only because and to the extent to which it had raised the price of sugar. If the Convention were the cause of the rise in price there were two questions which he would like to put. Why did not the rise occur earlier, and why was it not plain from the course of prices that the Convention was the cause of the rise? There were two periods in this connection which must be taken into account—the date when the Convention was signed, and the date when it came into operation. In regard to the first he was bound to say that in connection with any article the moment it became apparent something was going to happen to raise the price was the time when the increase would begin. What had happened? The Convention was signed in March three years ago. What was the average price of sugar for those three years as compared with the average price of the previous three years? The price had fallen in the last three years to the extent of more than 1s. per cwt. Many hon. Gentlemen opposite claimed that the Convention was the sole cause of the rise in the price of sugar. [OPPOSITION cries of "No, no."] Well, he had read a speech of the Leader of the Opposition in which he had practically said so, and stated that the result of the Convention had been to add £8,000,000 a year to the cost of sugar. Well, he had wondered where the right hon. Gentleman had got those £8,000,000 from; but probably it was from a speech of the hon. Member for Islington, where he found the increased cost was £16,000,000, and the right hon. Gentleman had divided that sum by two and thought that he would be comparatively safe.

So much for the first period; he came now to the second period. The Convention came into operation on September 1st, 1903. Did the price immediately rise? On the contrary, it fell; and six months after the Convention came into operation the price had only risen to that figure at which it stood the day before the Convention came into operation. He repeated that if the Convention was the cause of the rise, the rise must have occurred earlier; it would not have taken six months to bring about that change in the price. Now, as to the criticism of the hon. Gentleman opposite; he hoped to put it fairly.

That hon. Gentleman's contention was that, as regarded the first period, there was a great deal of speculation in anticipation of a new duty being imposed here on sugar, and that when a new duty was not put on the price fell to counteract the rise which would otherwise have been occasioned by the Convention. What were the facts? Immediately after the Budget there was a rise instead of a fall. On April 21st a large sugar broker's circular stated that since the Budget had set at rest the fear of an increased duty, a greater demand had been experienced, and the consequent result was not a fall, but a rise of 1½d. per lb. He was surprised that the hon. Gentleman should have put forward that theory at all, because the hon. Gentleman knew better probably than most Members of the House that sugar was an article in the world's market, that the price was quoted f.o.b. Hamburg, and that the effect of an English duty could only be local. As a matter of fact, the duty was really a "bear" point against the market instead of in its favour, because it would have the effect of diminishing the consumption, and, therefore, a tendency to produce a fall rather than a rise. What possible answer was there to that? The hon. Gentleman told the House with a flourish of trumpets that the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade had a very superficial acquaintance with the sugar business. He personally did not object to that; he did not pretend to a knowledge of all the details of the trade possessed by the hon. Gentleman. But the hon. Gentleman had omitted something; he had shown a want of knowledge of the general principles which affected every trade. The hon. Gentleman had put forward another argument, which he admitted was a better one, about the price not falling after the Convention came into operation. He admitted that there was something in that argument, which amounted to this, that the Continental Governments had ear-marked a large quantity of sugar to receive the bounty and to be shipped after the date the Convention came into operation. That, he admitted, would have an effect on prices; but he maintained, on the other hand, that it ought not to have had the effect of counteracting the expectation of increased prices owing to the bounty. He had had a large experience in other articles that fluctuated more than sugar. He had seen immediate statistics dead against a rise in price. He had seen stocks increasing month after month, and yet the price steadily rising. Why was that? Because people who knew most about the trade believed that better times were coming in the future, and were quite willing to lie out of their money in expectation of a rise and of the higher profits they would get when that expectation was realised. He maintained that exactly the same thing would have happened in regard to sugar if there had been that belief in the Convention raising the price.

What was the cause of the rise? There was no difficulty in answering that question. Admittedly there was an unexpected shortage in the beet supply of more than 1,000,000 tons. Did anyone for a moment deny that that shortage in itself was bound to produce a big rise in price? He did not say that it might not be possible that the rise had been accentuated by the Convention. He was ready to say something more; that before the Convention was carried out it might have seemed reasonable to anyone that, while the change was taking place, there would be a slight rise in price, but that the change would not have been a permanent one. It was therefore quite possible that some part of the rise was due to the Convention; but there was no evidence whatever of that. In fact, the whole of the evidence was in the contrary direction, for while the crop of beet sugar had decreased, the crop of cane sugar had increased to the extent of nearly 400,000 tons. He wanted the House to notice the way in which hon. Gentlemen opposite dealt with this matter. They said that whenever there was a rise in price, or anything favourable to their contention, that was due to the Convention; but that whenever there was a fall, that was due to other circumstances. Take jam, for instance. They knew that the price of jam was low, and they said that was not due to the Convention, but to the big supply of fruit; that the price of confections was high, but that was not due to the bad crop of beet, it was due to the Convention! In the same way hon. Gentlemen opposite now said that the Convention had nothing whatever to do with increasing the supply of cane sugar. He did not think they could get anyone to believe that. He insisted there was not the slightest doubt that the fact that the Convention was signed did encourage the production of cane sugar all over the world, and that, as a consequence, some part at least of the increase was due to the Convention, and that it counteracted the effect of the shortage in the beet supply.

There was another aspect of this question which should be regarded. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had made a great outcry on behalf of the confectioners. It was said that they were going to be ruined by getting their sugar at the same price as other people. There was something he would like to say in regard to this question of the ruin which was falling on the confectioners. His right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham had pointed out the previous night that so recently as May of last year the confectioners could have bought sugar for delivery at the end of that year at 9s. per cwt., or only 6d. per cwt. above the price the day before the Convention came into operation, or they could have bought it up to the end of this year at only 6d. advance on that price. Now, a gentleman had been writing very violent letters to the papers on this subject who signed himself as a managing director of a confectionery company. If he was as certain that the Convention was going to raise the price of sugar as he now was that it had raised the price, why did he not buy in advance? If he did not buy under such circumstances it showed he was not a very skilful managing director and was not likely to write any wise letters on that or any other subject. But why did he not buy? There could be only one answer to that question. He did not buy because he did not believe that the Convention would have the effect of raising the price, and neither did anyone else. The people who made their living by buying and selling sugar did not expect it, or they would not have been willing to sell at the lower price, and the fact that they were willing was proof that the rise was not due to something that could have been foreseen, but to something which was absolutely unforeseen—viz., the drought on the Continent. In this direction he wanted to deal with an argument used by the hon. Member for Monmouthshire. That hon. Member said that owing to the Convention sugar had been cheaper on the Continent, and that consumption had largely increased there, and that the supply available here had been in consequence diminished. He admitted that that was an important consideration, but the answer was that in every one of the brokers' circulars as to the price of sugar issued during the months while sugar still kept low, reference was made to the increased consumption. That, therefore, was a factor that was taken into account, and yet did not cause an advance. He understood the hon. Member for Devonport to say that there was no rumour about the drought until August. In that the hon. Gentleman was wrong. He had looked into the circulars and found that the first reference was June 16th, and on July 14th it was given as an explanation of the slight rise that had taken place. All these facts clearly bore out that the rise was not due to the Convention, which could be foreseen, but to the drought, which could not be possibly foreseen.

The hon. Member for Carnarvon made a great point of his having said that in his belief employment in this country would be improved if the Convention were carried, and referred to the fact that there were several thousand people in the confectionery trade out of employment at the moment. Supposing they admitted that, did anyone on the opposite side of the House really maintain that the whole of that want of employment was due to the high price of sugar, whatever the cause of that high price. He would point out that employment had been bad for some time. At a time when there was a great want of employment the trades which suffered first were those which supplied the luxuries. Sugar for tea or cooking was a necessity, but confectionery was a luxury, and the trade which must suffer most was the trade which supplied luxuries consumed by all classes of the community. In 1889 the confectioners were suffering in exactly the same way as they were suffering now. There was want of employment, and they said they were being ruined by the high price of sugar. Then they attributed their misfortunes to the existence of the bounties. Now they attributed them to the abolition of the bounties. It was obvious that the present high price of sugar could not be a lasting price. Hon. Gentlemen who quoted the present price, and told them that it was exacting £10,000,000 a year from us, really knew that they were talking nonsense. If they read *The Times* to-day they would find that sugar could be bought for the last quarter of this year at 4s. per cwt. below the present prices. They knew that the present high price was temporary and that it could not permanently injure the sugar-users in this country.

Hon. Gentlemen opposite looked at this matter as if our whole interest in it was as consumers—as if it did not matter to us where we got the sugar so long as we got it cheap. That was a very shortsighted policy. What would be the effect of the abolition of the bounties? The prosperity of the West Indies was admitted by every one. It was admitted that money was pouring into the West Indies to an extent which had not been experienced before. With new machinery and more scientific methods they would be able to produce sugar cheaper than they had ever done before. That was, no doubt, an advantage to the West Indies: but hon. Gentlemen opposite imagined that in addressing working men they should appeal only to their direct personal interest. That, he thought, was a mistake. He recently addressed a large working-class audience on the subject, and he thought the working-classes had as strong a sense of fair play as any one in that House, and that they realised that Parliament ought to prevent injustice to our Colonies, just in the same way as it would prevent injustice to any trade in the United Kingdom. Another direct effect of the abolition of the bounties was that the sugar-refining industry in this country, which had suffered from unfair treatment for thirty years, was showing signs of reviving. It was said that the sugar-refining industry was small. It was; and that explained the attitude of hon. Gentlemen. If it were large, if it commanded more votes their attitude would be different. But it was reviving. At Greenock 25 per cent. more raw material passed through the refineries last year, as compared with the previous year. That was not bad for one year. One of the indirect effects of the abolition of the bounties would be the increase of employment in this country. What would now have been the increase of our trade with the West Indies and our Colonies if the enormous increase in our consumption of sugar had been supplied from cane-producing countries, from countries largely within the Empire, instead of from beet-producing countries, from which we got no advantage? In his own time machinery for the West Indies was one of the most important industries in his constituency. Look at the sugar machinery alone, which we would have supplied, but that was not the whole of it. In exchange for their exports of sugar, the sugar Colonies would have required supplies of all kinds, and our factories would have been busy and the men employed in them would have found work in producing these supplies. Consider also what the effect in our shipping trade would have been if ships had been required to bring home that sugar and take out those supplies. That indirect increase of trade would have given employment to an enormously greater number of people than the whole number employed in the confectionery industry. That increased trade we had lost entirely owing to the bounties. Now the bounties had been abolished, and we were gradually regaining it. He was told in Glasgow that the sugar machinery firms were working night and day. What had they gained by importing beet sugar from Germany and Austria? This country did not supply them with any of the machinery they required, and so far was it from being the case that, in consequence of our increased purchases of sugar from these countries they bought more manufactures from us, as a matter of fact, our exports of manufactured goods to Germany were less now than fifteen years ago.

Any one, he thought, who took all those considerations into account would feel that Mr. Gladstone took a wiser and a more far-seeing view than the Gentleman who now sat in his place. They would feel that Mr. Gladstone was right, that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition was wrong now but had been right in 1899 when he declared that bounties were bad because "they disturbed trade, and hindered the development of the country."

MR. LOUGH said his only quarrel with the hon. Gentleman was his statement that he (Mr. Lough) had stumbled into a difficulty with reference to Switzerland. That was not the case, as he had visited the country and knew. The hon. Gentleman said that his hon. friends could not be free-traders and free-importers. He, himself, was willing to admit that he was as much a free-importer as he was a free-trader. The only object any Government could have in forming an exchange was to establish cheapness. Why should the Government object to cheapness? Cheapness meant plenty: dearness meant famine. The hon. Gentleman stated that trade was improving everywhere, and he attributed that to the fact that commodities were getting a little dearer. He denied that altogether. Improvement of trade occurred when the purchasing power of the people was increased. The hon. Gentleman was quite candid in his defence of the Sugar Convention, and stated that its main object was to improve a declining industry.

MR. BONAR LAW said that that was only one of the objects.

MR. LOUGH said that the hon. Gentleman referred to the refining industry, but it was of a very limited character. Then the hon. Gentleman spoke of improvements in the West Indies; and he laid down the extraordinary theory that this country did not receive anything in return for the sugar imported from the Continent. What nonsense it all was! The hon. Gentleman ought to remember that the House expected from him some economic doctrine; but if he suggested that imports from the Colonies paid for exports more than imports from foreign countries he was mistaken. Ministers would be judged more by their treatment of sugar than that of any other commodity. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham opened up a vista with regard to many commodities. His policy was vague and distant; but, so far as sugar was concerned, he had had his way. They had now an opportunity of considering the result; and many hon. Gentlemen opposite, who supported the Sugar Convention, would find themselves on a black list as the enemies of free trade when the general election occurred. Any free-trader who had helped forward the Convention might be likened to a soldier who secured an entrance to a beleagured fortress on the pretence of defending it, and then used his position to hand over the citadel to the enemy.

He had been accused of making extravagant statements as to price, but who would now dispute that his view was correct? He did not think the House would agree with the Parliamentary Secretary's treatment of the question of price. To argue that if the Convention was signed to-day, and there was no rise in price to-morrow, the Convention had not affected prices was an absurd way of dealing with the question. Markets were not immediately affected by legislation. It was not until the people engaged in the business concerned had actual experience of the trend of events that the House could tell what results its legislation might have. The question of price should be looked at broadly. He did not quarrel with the list of prices the Government had put forward, for they admitted that in July, 1902, three months after the Convention was signed, the price was 6s. per cwt., and that was a good price to take. Fifteen months later, when the Convention came into operation, the price was 8s. 4½d., a rise of 40 per cent. After the lapse of a twelvemonth the price was 10s. 10½d., a rise of 80 per cent.; while at the end of last month the price had still further risen to 18s. 7¼d., or a rise of 160 per cent. An increase of one penny per lb. on the sugar imported represented £15,000,000; therefore, as the increase was more than a penny, his estimate of £15,000,000 had been fully justified. In addition, there was the £6,000,000 of extra taxation, making a total of £21,000,000 upon this commodity, which must necessarily have dealt a staggering blow to the industries affected. But while his statements as to price had been borne out by the event, how did the prophecies of the Government stand? The President of the Board of Trade declared that the Convention would bring about an era of moderate and comparatively stable prices, and expressed the belief that the average price would not be raised at all, while the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said he had never admitted that a rise would take place, and denied also that Sir Henry Norman had ever made any such admission. He did not suggest that these statements were not made in good faith, but how extremely foolish the authors of the Convention appeared in face of the tremendous rise of 160 per cent. There had never been so long and so pronounced an upward movement in the price of sugar during the whole of the period over which these discussions had ranged.

But were the Government quite as innocent with regard to the probability of a rise as they pretended to be? Did they really think the price would not go up? Incidentally he might express his belief that the Government were shaping their plans for a Colonial Conference on the model of the conference at Brussels. During the sittings of that conference the Cabinet held meetings at home, and were constantly telegraphing instructions to the British representatives in Brussels. Early in 1902, after urging that the Convention should be pushed forward, they stated that their main reason "for desiring to terminate a system which for a time had tended to cheapen the price of sugar," was their conviction of its injurious effects on the sugar-producing Colonies in the West Indies. That was a remarkable admission in the face of the Prime Minister's declaration that it was no part of his policy to raise the price of food. In February, Lord Lansdowne wired that if the Convention was not arranged the British Government would take steps to safeguard British interests, and, later on, that it was important that a decision should be arrived at without delay. Those despatches created a situation as dramatic as any recently seen. Publicly the Government were declaring against the taxation of food, while in the secrecy of the Cabinet they were working to terminate the period of cheap sugar, and demanding the right to subsidise the Colonies and grant them a preference. To complete the picture, the policy of the Government was now seen in full operation, and the people of this country were suffering grave evils owing to the experiments that had been made. In the face of these facts, it was impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the Government expected a rise in price to follow the Convention, that they did the whole thing deliberately, and that nothing had occurred except what they had anticipated and did their best to promote.

The contention of the Government was that although the prices had gone up they had at any rate established a better system of trade and put the sugar industry on a sound footing. He had grave suspicion of any defence of free trade from the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade or the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. The position of the Opposition on this question ought to be clearly understood. They did not mix up the questions of the abolition of bounties and the Brussels Convention. The former could have been easily secured without the instrumentality of the latter. As free-traders they were and always had been in favour of the abolition of bounties, but that was a very different thing from supporting such an instrument as this Convention. The nature and effect of the bounties had never been really understood in this country, but the results of their abolition had thrown a new light on the question. There had been a great increase in consumption in every beet-producing country. Free-traders had always maintained that the abolition of bounties would result in great blessing to the bounty-giving countries themselves, and this contention had been abundantly borne out by the facts. What had occurred proved that bounties and tariffs were exactly the same in their incidence, nature, and effects, and should therefore be opposed by all free-traders. It had been too readily assumed that the bounties had made sugar cheap in this country. If a French importer produced sugar at a cost of £8 a ton, and received a bounty of £5 for exporting it to this country, would it be sold in Mincing Lane at £5 10s.? Not a bit of it. If the price was £11 the Frenchman would take every penny of it; he would not sell the sugar a farthing the cheaper because he had received a bounty. The object of foreigners in getting their Governments to organise a system of bounties was to put money into their own pockets, not to give anything to the British, but to enrich themselves. The reason sugar fell was that the buyer always found some other sugar on the market which he would have taken if the other had not agreed to meet his wants. The price was settled by the law of supply and demand, and had never been settled by bounties or by any consideration given beforehand to the grower. If that were true, it was also true that the present rise in price was due, not to the bounties, but to something else, and hon. Members, putting aside the sophistries of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, ought to search patiently for the real reason of the rise in this absolute necessary of life. Much had been made of the difference between the cost of production and the price at which the article was sold being met by a bounty. That was a most dangerous doctrine. What had we to do with the cost of production in any great market? Which cost of production did the Government mean—the highest or the lowest? Sugar was produced in forty-two countries, in some of which the cost of production was as low as £5 a ton. If that question were taken into account at all a stop would be put to all improvement in methods of manufacture, and there would be great difficulty in preserving the commercial supremacy of this country.

But what was the real reason of the great rise in price? The hon. Gentleman opposite had made out that it was largely due to the shortage in the beet crop. But to what was the shortage in the beet crop due? The reason was that when, instead of allowing the bounty system to die a natural death, the Government resolved to take part in the Brussels Convention, and to give a certain day for the termination of the system, they caused a diminution in the sowing of beet to the extent of 6½ per cent., which represented a falling off in the crop of about 400,000 tons. Then came a dry summer, for which of course the Convention was not responsible. But then there was the increased consumption in Continental countries for which the Convention was directly responsible, so that two out of the three great causes of the shortage of beet sugar were immediately due to the Convention. It was true there had been an increased production of cane sugar, but it could certainly not be traced to any effect of the Brussels Convention. For the last twenty years there had been a steady increase in the production of cane sugar, notwithstanding the existence of bounties, but we had been prevented from taking advantage of the last increase of 400,000 tons by the very arrangement made under the Convention. But the Convention had brought into operation something a great deal worse than prohibition. In the place of the free market which formerly existed in this country, the Convention had created the greatest combine the world had ever seen, and what hon. Members forgot was that this combine was working day after day in Brussels against the interests of this country. There were sent by each country and attached to the Permanent Commission one or two gentlemen called "trade experts," whose business it was to discuss the quantities of sugar sent from every country, who knew exactly what we wanted in our markets, and who were fully aware that to send up and maintain prices it was only necessary "to feed us low," to give us a little less than we wanted. The Government had actually called those competitors together, and enabled them to form this great combination against this country. It might be asked whether our own expert was not protecting the interests of Great Britain. It was only necessary to mention the name of the gentleman to answer the question. The British expert was Mr. George Martineau, whose very name suggested sugar refining and producing, and he had joined with other producers to work out a plan by which prices should be kept up steadily. He did not make the slightest attack on Mr. Martineau. Sir Nevile Lubbock also was sent as an expert a year or so ago. He did not at all blame these gentlemen; they were producers; and it was their business to make dear the article they had to sell, and they had done it very effectively. The very words of the Convention stated its object as being "to equalise competition between producers." Why should we equalise competition? The object of buyers was to keep competitors apart, and to buy from the one who would sell the cheapest; whereas the object of the Convention was to bring the competitors together, and pan out the trade of the United Kingdom in this most important article between them. By the creation of this European combine the Convention had indeed been a most powerful instrument in raising the price of sugar in this country.

Then there was prohibition. Prohibition was the invention of Great Britain and was her contribution to this precious instrument. The principle of the Convention was countervailing duties, to the merits of which the whole of the speech of the President of the Board of Trade on November 24th, 1902, was devoted. The House had never heard why that method was abandoned; he would now reveal to them the secret. About four months after that debate there was issued a White Paper, containing the names of forty-two countries from which sugar was exported to this country. It also showed that the value of Great Britain's export to those countries was £201,000,000 or 60 per cent. of her total exports, and seventeen of those countries had treaties containing the most-favoured-nation clause, and absolutely forbidding the policy of countervailing duties. That White Paper killed the first suggestion of the Government, and they then brought forward the idea of prohibition, which in his opinion was worse than countervailing duties. In the Court set up under the Convention there were eleven judges, ten of whom were appointed by foreign countries. What right had foreign countries to pronounce decisions as to where our commerce should go? Never in history had anything so undignified been assented to by Parliament as the position in which Great Britain was placed in this matter. A more wretched or contemptible mockery of a Court had never been set up. It had no rules of procedure; there was no system of cross-examination of witnesses; evidence was not sifted; everything seemed to be upside down, as the House would see from the decisions which had been arrived at. At its first meeting in June, 1903, its business was to examine the trade systems of the various countries. Why should this Court of foreigners examine our trade system? Their own trade systems were not pure, and they themselves were protectionists. Not only was this surtax retained, but three Powers were actually permitted to give bounties. The Court, under the Convention, had to pronounce decisions upon the purity of every trade system in the world. In June, 1903, this Court condemned six countries. Now the Convention contained a provision that the moment condemnation was pronounced it was the duty of each contracting party to act upon it. With regard to those six condemned countries this country only prohibited from three of them, and not the sugar from Japan, Spain, and another country. The Government said that we got no sugar last year from those countries, but then they might get some from them next year. They should either have prohibited the sugar from all those countries or else have expressed their contempt for the Convention by not prohibiting from any. The American Republic had been condemned, and in July, 1904, they started prohibiting from America. Later on twenty more countries were condemned by the Court, and why did the Government not prohibit from all those countries? Why was our own Government the first to set itself up in rebellion against the law the Government had created? Simply because the whole thing was ridiculous and intolerable. What evidence had the Government to justify their appeal against the decision of the Court in regard to those twenty countries? This question of appeal wanted some attention. The Convention provided that appeals must be heard within thirty days, and if any country included in the Convention took exception it had to appeal within eight days. Our Government appealed within eight days, but they never took any pains to get their appeal settled within the thirty days. The whole thing was an intolerable farce, and this postponement of the decision of the Court was a great injustice to British commerce. The intolerable nature of these proceedings was only realised when it was recognised that this nation was the only country in the Convention that did any trade with the condemned countries, and that was the reason why by a majority of ten to one the Court decided not against the trade of their own countries but against the trade of Great Britain. That was an ignominious position for the trade of this country to be placed in. Who were the judges? Why the people who were interested in the supply of sugar. It was very easy for them to tell us to close our ports against this sugar. At the present time we were paying £800,000 a month more for our sugar, and it was not costing any more to produce it. Where was this money going to? The sum of £400,000 a month was going to Germany, £200,000 a month to France, and £150,000 a month to other European countries. Those judges, therefore, had got very good reasons for closing our ports. He wished most seriously to ask the President of the Board of Trade why had they set the decision of the Convention at naught? Why did they refuse to prohibit from certain condemned countries and not from others? Why did they not refuse in all cases and tell the Convention plainly that the ports of England would be kept open by Englishmen?

He wished to say a word or two with regard to the treatment of Russia. Russia was one of the first countries condemned. The President of the Board of Trade rashly contradicted a figure of his, but the right hon. Gentleman had now admitted that he was entirely wrong, and if he was not absolutely right, at any rate he was much nearer the truth than the right hon. Gentleman. Russia was one of their best customers in the world, but they were ordered to prohibit from Russia. The Convention received a Russian deputation on the subject, and after the matter had been fully discussed there was nobody opposed to the Russian demands except Sir Henry Bergne. Why did he oppose? There was not a country in the world that it was more unwise for this country to oppose at the Convention than Russia. And what did Russia do? She immediately put a duty on our tea. The President of the Board of Trade had admitted that the Government did not know what sugar they got from Russia and what amount of tea we sent to Russia. Upon this the right hon. Gentleman had admitted that he was entirely wrong. The Government had not in every case taken into consideration the question whether a bounty was given or not. The Government claimed the right to judge for itself with regard to Russia, but it had no right to do so under the Convention. It was the Permanent Commission which was to decide these matters. Russia had been treated differently from Dominica by the Government. At this moment the decision of the Permanent Commission with regard to Russia had been postponed. Surely if the Government was disposed to open our port with regard to Russian sugar it could do so.

*Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said Russia did give a bounty. The countervailing duty originally fixed was objected to by Russia, and it was subsequently reduced by the Permanent Commission to the amount at which the United States fixed the countervailing duty for Russia. The ultimate decision as to the amount of the countervailing duty had been postponed.

Mr. LOUGH said that was a perfectly candid statement, but he claimed that as the decision was postponed we also should postpone the prohibition. We should act as cautiously as possible before we closed our ports. He thought it was time that this country asserted itself in regard to this matter in order to get the whole thing put on a better basis. The results of the present policy were most alarming. It was all very well for the Secretary to the Board of Trade to say that sweetmeats were a luxury, but that did not help the people who were making a living by the manufacture of confectionery. It was difficult sometimes to draw the line between a necessary and a luxury. There were 3,500 factories, great and small, in the country engaged in this business, and £30,000,000 of capital was invested in it. The president of the Association of the Sugar-using Trades said that the mineral water trade had been brought to the verge of ruin by the increase in the price of sugar. The Aerated Bread Company in London was one of the companies engaged in the distribution of liquid refreshments, and it stated that the sugar given out in cups now cost £5,000 more than a year ago, and £10,000 more than ten years ago. As a result of the sugar policy there had been a decrease in the employment of the people of this country. He thought it had been shown clearly that all the forecasts which the opponents of the Convention made had been proved to be true and that everything the Government said had been falsified. He believed it was utterly impossible to administer the decisions of the Court set up; most important industries had been brought almost to the verge of ruin; and great distress had been caused among certain classes by the rise in the price of sugar. These were things they might expect when the freedom of the commerce of the country was interfered with. This Convention would, he believed, be a lasting monument to the want of, foresight and wisdom of the present Government.

*Mr. DAVID MORGAN (Essex, Walthamstow) said there had been enormous speculation in sugar. There were a great number of people in this country who would raise their hands with horror if asked to go into the Casino at Monte Carlo, but who did not mind having a few tons of beet sugar in the Produce Clearing House in Mincing Lane. That speculation had been very heavy indeed. When the Sugar Convention was foreshadowed beet sugar was at a price below the cost of production. In July, 1902, it was 5s. 11d. The Sugar Convention came into operation in September, 1903. Beet sugar in Mincing Lane on July 3rd, 1903, was 7s. 8½d. and on the July 31st it was 8s. 0¼d. On August 7th, it was 8s. 3d. The total visible supply in Europe and America in July, 1903, was 2,696,296 tons; in Feb., 1904, 3,787,130 tons; in July, 2,594,335 tons, and in September, 1,527,613 tons. From February to July, 1904, the consumption abroad increased a million tons, causing a rise in price from 7s. 8d. in February, 1904, to 9s. 8d. in July, 1904, and 10s. 8d. in September. The sales of 88 per cent. beet sugar registered in London Produce Clearing House during August–January, 1903–4, were 3,261,000 bags; August–January, 1904–5, 11,188,000 bags; but the quantity actually tendered in those periods was only, 1903–4, 630,000 bags; 1904–5, 744,000 bags. They had heard a great deal of the opinions of people on the political side of this question. He should like to quote the opinion of one who, he supposed, was the best informed gentleman on the sugar question in London, namely, Mr. Cæsar Czarnikow. Speaking at the yearly general meeting of the London Produce Clearing House he said—

> "Without wishing to introduce any controversial element, I should like to give you my opinion, as one who has had the closest connection with sugar all his life, that the much-abused Brussels Convention is not responsible for the rise we have had. I might as well add that the Convention came just in time to save the cane-sugar industry from ruin, not only in our West Indian Colonies, but in other parts of the world as well, and if it had not been carried through we should have had under present conditions an even greater scarcity and probably much higher prices."

That was the statement of a man who had a lifelong experience of the sugar trade and whose views were infinitely better than the amateur opinions of many who had addressed them on the subject.

Sir JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street) said the gambling in sugar to which the hon. Member opposite had referred was very detrimental to the interests of the importers and the consumers. These gambling operations were in the nature of bets, there being no compulsion to deliver the goods. It was customary to have a clause inserted in the contracts to the effect that only the differences in the buying and selling prices must be paid. He would not trouble the House at any great length, but there were one or two general considerations which, as representative of a large sugar-consuming constituency, he thought he ought to allude to. He was an opponent of the bounties which were given in various ways by foreign countries. What he could not understand was, why the Government should have only dealt with one class of bounties, that on sugar, and should have ignored others which caused this country very serious harm. Take the bounties given by the French Government to shipping. Every French shipbuilder who built a ship in France received a bounty, and every French shipowner who sailed a French ship manned by a French crew received a bounty. These bounties affected the shipping industry in this country very prejudicially. A customer of his own had forty-three sailing-ships trading to Chili, and the bounties he received from the French Government amounted to £43,000 a year. Why did not His Majesty's Government, which professed to be very anxious to abolish the system of bounties as against the principles of free trade, try to get the abolition of these shipping bounties which injured this country very seriously instead of dealing with sugar alone from which we received very great benefit? Now, undoubtedly this Convention was intended to raise the price of sugar, because it was from the first stated that it was agreed to in the interests of the West Indian Islands. [Ministerial cries of "No."] If it was not intended to raise the price of sugar he failed to see what was its object, or what good it could have done. But now the Government saw the evil effects of raising the price of sugar in this country, and they naturally wanted to show that it was never intended to raise but to reduce the price of that commodity. He confessed he had never been much against the sugar bounties, because he had always seen that they were a benefit to this country and injurious to those countries which gave them and placed huge tariffs against the goods exported from this country. He had always looked upon the sugar bounties as some sort of compensation for these high tariffs. He knew that for years the bounties given in Continental countries had been increasing, and that these countries had felt them to be a very serious burden on their population. They did not know how to get rid of them until they induced His Majesty's Government to give them their support. He was satisfied that when the five years for which the Convention was to last came to an end, that Convention would not be renewed by this country, and the Continental countries would not be very keen to renew the bounties. The result would be that instead of our getting the very great boon of cheap sugar, that article would remain cheap on the Continent and would enable their manufacturers to compete effectively against ours.

He had listened very carefully to the speeches on both sides, and confessed that any rational line of argument—to use a favourite expression of the Prime Minister's—had been all on one side, and that against the Convention. He could not understand why His Majesty's Government, which was always anxious to get this House to give them the power of making their own bargains in regard to tariff questions—to give them a free hand in short—had handed over the control of the sugar industries of this country to a Commission of ten members, of which only one was an Englishman. Why should His Majesty's Government have tied their hands in every form, and practically handed the control of our sugar industries over to our commercial opponents? It was a mad policy they had pursued in regard to this Sugar Convention. There was no doubt whatever that the open ports which had been maintained in this country for the last fifty years had been a great advantage, had brought cheap food to our people, and given large employment to our workmen; and he could not understand why the Government should have given power to the Sugar Commission to prohibit the entry of sugar into this from other countries, such as Argentina, which was a very rich agricultural country, and would enormously increase its production of sugar if its sugar-growers could only get into our market. This country was entirely dependent on a foreign sugar supply, and why should the importation of sugar be prohibited from certain countries? The result would be that these countries would give up producing the very articles we were anxious to buy from them.

He had been very much interested in what fell the previous night from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, but thought that the right hon. Gentleman was labouring under great difficulties, because he saw clearly that he had a very bad case. Consequently the right hon. Gentleman was not so clear and incisive in his argument as was his usual wont. However, the right hon. Gentleman had made as much of his case as he possibly could, although he did not answer a single one of the arguments put forward so strongly by the mover of the Amendment, the seconder, and the hon. Member for Islington. The arguments of these hon. Gentlemen were overwhelming in showing the folly of the Government in entering into the Sugar Convention. The increase meant an added expenditure of from twenty-two shillings to twenty-six shillings per annum to every householder maintaining a family; and that was important. He was very interested in a statement published by the President of the Mineral Water Manufacturers' Association; and he confessed he had no idea that the association represented such an enormous capital or had such a large number of employees. That industry depended largely on cheap sugar; and it would be a very serious matter if it were interfered with. He failed to see why the Government should have overlooked these considerations. He thought they had not been fully aware of the case in all its bearings. He was satisfied that as time went on the Government would begin to see, notwithstanding the eloquence of the hon. Gentleman the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, that they had made a mistake in this matter, and that they would have to retrace their steps. Whether that was the case or not, he was satisfied that when there was an appeal to the country there would be great difficulty in persuading large co-operative societies and other large consumers of sugar that the increase in the price of the commodity was not to a great extent owing to the Convention. Only 50,000 or 60,000 tons were sent from the West Indies; and it was amazing that the Government should have entered into such a scheme on their behalf. How could any such scheme benefit this country? As had been pointed out by his hon. friend the Member for West Islington, the great benefit which was being conferred by the Convention was given to Germany, France, and Austria.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham alluded to the various fluctuations in the price of sugar which had taken place, and said that the Convention would have the effect of preventing them. He wished he could hope that that would be the case; but he was afraid that gambling in sugar would continue in the future as in the past. What the Convention would do would be to create a large stock of ready material, and if there was an enormous stock the price would be subject to very serious fluctuations. He thought, therefore, that the Convention would not prevent fluctuations. Again, it would be found that the countries to which this country sent large exports sent back large imports, and that this country sent large exports to the countries from which it received large imports. If, therefore, they prevented imports from any particular country, that country would take less goods from this country; and would take its supplies from other countries. The Convention was a most foolish thing; and it showed the great danger of a Government interfering with questions of tariff. If the Government obtained a free hand to interfere with other trades and manufactures in this country as they had interfered with sugar, the country would never know where it was. He believed, however, that the country would not allow the Government to gamble with its interests as they had gambled with the sugar industry. He protested against any such policy being carried out. He would prefer to trust the traders and manufacturers of the country whose industries depended on free sugar, rather than trust the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow or the President of the Board of Trade. It appeared to him extraordinary that the Government should have handed over the control of sugar to competing countries and commercial opponents, whose interests it would be to control the trade to their own advantage. He hoped hon. Gentlemen would make clear to the constituencies the serious injury which the Convention inflicted on this country. They ought to have been satisfied with the old conditions.

MR. JAMES REID (Greenock) said there was one point which seemed to have been overlooked by every Member who had spoken in this debate, namely, that we had no guarantee that foreign nations would continue these bounties after they had crushed our sugar refiners out of the trade. What they would no doubt do then would be to keep their cheap sugar for their own consumption and send their dear sugar to us. The firms of Tate and Lyle had been referred to, but the House must remember that the trade of both those firms was exceptional; Messrs. Lyle struck a speciality in syrup, and Tate's in cubes. It was impossible to point to any other refiner in the country who had done such a trade, or anything like such a trade, as either of those firms. In Greenock ten or twelve sugar refiners had been crushed out of the trade, and the four or five who were left were, up to the time of the Convention coming into operation, living from day to day, although there had been some improvement since. The manufacture of sugar-refining machinery and the shipping trade with the West Indies, both good trades in times past, were now gone or almost gone, although it was to be hoped, with the resuscitation of the sugar-growing industry in the West Indies and the arrival here of cargoes of sugar from those islands, there would be a return of prosperity to those trades.

He had no new arguments to place before the House with regard to the fluctuations in the price of sugar, but contended that the Convention could not be held responsible for them inasmuch as sugar, before the Convention came into operation, varied in price from 6s., a price which could not pay the producer, to more than 28s., and again fell to 10s. in the same year. The consumption on the Continent at the time of the drought was largely the cause of the small supply and the high prices. These, however, were temporary, and would pass away owing to the larger area which would be planted in the future. Switzerland had been said to have benefited by admitting Russian and Argentine sugar, but he did not know that sugar was cheaper in Switzerland than in other parts of the Continent. Jams were no doubt dearer, but he could not believe that trade was so ruined as had been made out, for he noticed that one of the firms engaged in the jam manufacturing industry distributed a dividend of 37½ per cent. in 1903. The confectioners wanted their raw material at under cost price, and he made bold to say that any trade which could not exist unless it could obtain its raw material under cost was a rotten trade and one which ought not to be allowed to survive. All the sugar refiners asked for was a fair field and no favour. They were quite prepared to meet fair competition, but said that so long as bounty-fed sugar was allowed to be imported into this country in competition with them they would clamour for relief. That relief they had now got, at all events for five years, by means of the Convention. The outcry of the confectioners was inconsistent, because in 1889, when sugar was 28s. 3d. per cwt., they said the high price was caused by the bounties put upon it, and now they were crying out that the bounties were killing them. No one could be blamed for the fluctuation of prices. Wool, for instance, had recently risen 100 per cent., there was no bounty there, and all that could be done was to face the difficulty and wait for better times in the hope that things would come round in time. He trusted that this Amendment would be rejected by a large majority, and that our sugar trade would be no longer crushed, for he believed that as a result of this Convention we should see a very largely increased supply of sugar both from Europe and the West Indies in the near future.

*MR. ASHTON (Bedfordshire, Luton) thought the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, in his anxiety to prove that the Sugar Convention was not responsible for the rise in the price of sugar, had proved almost too much. If the hon. Gentleman's contention was correct, what became of the argument that the Convention was for the benefit of the West Indian planters? Various reasons had been given for the rise, and doubtless the drought on the Continent had occurred most conveniently for hon. Gentlemen opposite. But it was practically admitted that £11, the price of beet for future delivery as against the present price of £15, was a fair price after discounting the drought, and he submitted without hesitation that the whole of the difference between the former price of £6 and £11 was due to the Convention. The fact that the average prices for the three years preceding the Convention, and for the three years since, were very much the same, proved nothing. For years past, until the Convention, there had been a gradual decline in the price of beet owing to the bounty system, but from 1902 the price had steadily increased. Was it not probable that the rise was due to the discussion of the question, and the introduction of the legislation which culminated in the Brussels Convention ? It could not be a question of crop, as the crop was wrong only last year, and prices had been steadily rising for two years before. The various prices were as follows : July, 1902, 6s. ; November, 1902, 7s. 7d. ; February, 1903, 8s. ; September, 1903, 8s. 6d. ; January, 1904, 8s. ; June, 1904, 9s. 3d. ; September, 1904, 10s. 11d ; and at present it was about 16s. He thought that was proof positive that the main part of the rise was due to the Convention. If the shortness of the crop had been the reason, why had not prices risen on the Continent as well as here ? Prices on the Continent had declined just as they had risen in Great Britain. To what could it be owing but the altered circumstances brought about by the legislation complained of ? Prices had gone down abroad because the duties had been lowered, and they had increased here because Great Britain was no longer a free market. Regularity of price was no doubt of enormous importance in all trades, but it was certainly not secured by the Sugar Convention. The Government ought to have left the foreigners to stew in their own juice. It was admitted that the system could not go on for ever, and that the abolition of bounties would have come without any outside interference. There would then have been a gradual rise, and little harm would have been done as compared with the destruction of industries caused by the sudden enormous increase of prices. It was an easy thing to get prices down, but a very difficult thing to get them up, and this Convention had greatly increased the difficulty.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

Mr. Ashton.

EVENING SITTING.

KING'S SPEECH (MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [27th February] to Main Question [14th February], " That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, as followeth :—

" *Most Gracious Sovereign,*

" We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Mount.*)

Which Amendment was—

" At the end of the Question, to add the words, ' But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that Your Majesty's Government in committing the country to the policy of the Brussels Sugar Convention have inflicted heavy losses upon trade, diminished employment of labour, enormously increased the cost of a necessary food to consumers, without any compensatory advantage ; and we humbly submit to Your Majesty that these evil results call for an immediate remedy ; and that the Convention should be denounced at the earliest possible moment.' "—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Question again proposed, " That those words be there added."

*Mr. ASHTON (continuing his speech) said when the adjournment took place he was endeavouring to develop an argument against that which the right hon. Member for West Birmingham had employed on the previous evening, namely, that the abolition of the bounties would prevent the fluctuation of prices. With that view he agreed, always provided bounties were abolished and that the countries affected had free trade. But that was not the case with this country, because we were not allowed to have free trade within the Convention. Our liberty was largely restricted, and we were only allowed to deal with certain favoured countries for sugar. That being so we should not get the benefit of the reduction in the price of sugar. Theoretically, bounties were absolutely bad. They bolstered up industries by means of false protection, of which they were themselves a form, and therefore he disclaimed entirely any desire to see bounties in this or any other country which studied its own interest. But that was a very different thing from saying that we ought to have assisted in this Convention to get rid of bounties in foreign countries, which, so far from being detrimental to us, were of enormous benefit. In consequence of those bounties we got our sugar cheaper by many millions of pounds sterling than we otherwise should, and there was no reason why we should not have gone on receiving that benefit so long as other countries were satisfied. The advantages were so great that we were enabled to start large numbers of new industries which depended for their prosperity on cheap sugar, and in that way get a start in the markets of the world, with our cheap goods, which it would be very difficult for other countries to overtake. We also gained a very cheap article of food, and sugar being so cheap was one of the great factors which permitted the Chancellor of the Exchequer to put a half-penny tax upon it during the time of war. It would have been extremely difficult for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to have put the duty on sugar if the right hon. Gentleman had not at the same time been able to argue that we were getting our sugar at less than cost price and that, therefore, it was not a hard tax to bear. But now the policy had been altered and the price of sugar raised as it had been by the Convention, he was bound to say this tax had become a very hard tax for the people of this country to bear. Under these circumstances the Government might well be charged with a want of foresight and businesslike methods in conducting the affairs of this country.

The argument that the Convention was entered into for the benefit of the West Indies did not hold good, because the benefit to the West Indies could only be a few hundreds of thousands of pounds, whereas the loss to this country was £8,000,000, taking the price of sugar at £11 a ton, the price to which it was expected to drop when the next crop came in. He quite admitted that there had been considerable hardship felt in our West Indian colonies in having to compete with bounty-fed sugar, but at the same time the benefit to ourselves was so enormous and the loss to the Colonies so infinitesimal that it would have paid this country over and over again to give some sort of subvention to the Colonies, while the bounties lasted, rather than deprive itself of the vast benefit accruing from cheap sugar. If the condition of things had been met in that way the great free-trade policy of this country would not have been interfered with. It would have been left intact. That could not be said under the present circumstances. This Convention had brought us to a condition of preferential trading. And to whom was the preference given? Not to our Colonies, but to the hated foreigner. That was hardly the thing to expect from the right hon. Gentleman, and those who supported him. This preference had already led to retaliation, and was in itself a splendid illustration of what the policy of retaliation would be. The innocent suffered for the guilty. Russia was prevented from sending sugar to this country and therefore had retaliated not by putting a tax upon this country, not even by taxing the sugar-growers of India, but by putting an extra tax on the unoffending tea-grower of India. One set of people had to suffer for the sins of another set of people. What a commentary that was on the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman for a policy of retaliation. America would not take South Wales tin plates, and therefore we were to tax not American tin plates but American agricultural implements imported into this country!

Were we quite sure that the West Indian Islands were in need of this policy of a Convention which had had such a disastrous effect on this country? There had hardly been a period in the history of those islands when the people had not been calling out about the distressed condition of their trade and expecting this country to go to their assistance. In private life the giving of doles was known to be a most dangerous proceeding, and it was open to question as to whether this policy of giving doles to communities did not sap the enterprise of the people. Want of enterprise was one very important factor in the economic history of the islands. How was it that the West Indies had been unable to compete with sugar bounties when Cuba and Java had not only been able to compete, but had increased their production? The reason that Cuba was able to compete was because in that island the planters lived on their plantations and took an interest in them and were up to date in their machinery and methods. Nothing but indolence and want of enterprise prevented the West Indies from doing what Cuba had done. Were we quite sure these Colonies were going to make so much out of this Convention? Speaking for himself he was not so sure. If sugar fell to £11 a ton were these islands going to be much better off for it. Before the Convention came into operation the West Indies were admitted to the American markets, which were closed against bounty-fed sugars. That advantage had now gone. The bounties were now abolished, the Continental growers would keenly compete in the American markets, and he thought the West Indies would not have the advantage that they had before the abolition of the bounties. On the other hand there were the industries in this country which had been injured by this Convention, not only those directly concerned with sugar, but also those which were injured indirectly. We had excluded the sugar of certain countries from our ports. That was to say, we were going to restrict their exports to this country, and the natural result of that would be that they must restrict our exports to them. We could not restrict the imports of sugar into this country without affecting our exports to the countries whose sugar we did not allow to come into our ports. That was a very serious matter. Our exports to the Argentine amounted to £8,500,000, and it would be a most serious thing to the manufacturers of this country if the Government's action in this matter restricted their markets for the benefit of foreigners. Another great result of this Convention was that it placed the policy of the fiscal system of this country at the mercy of the foreigner. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham had admitted on the previous evening that he could not carry out the changes in our fiscal policy which he desired to carry out, and the reason for that was that we had bound ourselves to the foreigners, and we had tied ourselves to the tail of certain interests in this country—the sugar interests.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough) said he had always looked upon the Convention as a gross monstrosity, and he had voted against it at every stage during the last session. On this question, the Government had shown great precipitation. They had plunged headlong into the question without taking the opinion of their Party beforehand. Their supporters were not told before the last election that they would be called upon to vote for a measure so far-reaching. The Government had shown scarcely less impetuosity than another historic collective body which once ran down a steep place into the sea. They had gone into this alliance in haste, and were now repenting at leisure. The result of the Convention so far had been that works directly or indirectly interested in the sugar industry were shut in all parts of the country, and we were paying in increased prices of sugar no less than £8,000,000. [Cries of "No, no!"] He would refer those who differed from him to the Board of Trade statistics. They had heard the statement cited that evening that the people of this country were paying over £8,000,000 more for their sugar than they were before the Convention, and he did not think any answer had been given which actually refuted that statement.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham): It has been pointed out that the increase is £2,000,000 and not £8,000,000.

MR. SEYMOUR ORMSBY-GORE said that was the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, but he appeared to have left out of his calculation the freights and the duties.

Three reasons had been adduced by the Government in favour of this Convention. First of all, it was contended that the recent rise in the price of sugar had not been caused by the Convention, and that in any case the price of sugar would have risen to its present level. The second reason was that the Convention would render assistance to the struggling sugar industry in the West Indies, but that had proved true only to an infinitesimal extent. The third reason advanced in support of the Convention was that it would rehabilitate the sugar-refining industry of this country. With regard to the contention that the Convention was not responsible for the rise in the price of sugar, he was not an admirer of the argument of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, but he thought an argument like that could be urged upon this occasion. He thought there was overwhelming evidence that the increased price of sugar had been produced by the Convention. They had been told that this increased price was largely due to an attempt to "corner" the sugar market, but no such attempt had been made. There had, of course, been a great impetus given to speculation that might be entered upon. The results of this Convention might have been foreseen by any business man. What happened on the Continent, with the abolition of the bounties and the surtax limited to 6 francs per 100 kilos for refined, and 5½ francs for unrefined sugars? The fence round our Continental neighbours broke down, and the price dropped heavily, consequently a great increase in consumption, and a restriction in production. In France up to the year ending August, 1904, consumption increased from 371,119 tons to nearly 700,000 tons, or about 90 per cent.; in Germany, from 740,000 tons to over 11,000,000 tons, or 52 per cent.; in Austria, from 380,000 to over 500,000 tons, or 37 per cent. The production on the Continent had decreased. This might be due to last season's drought, but not to that alone, because the sowings of beet had largely diminished. The area under beet had diminished by over 100,000 hectares. The diminished yield was accounted for by the withdrawal of the bounties, but that only accounted for a minimum of the increased price, for present visible supply with sugar at 14s. 3d. per cwt. was 10,250,000 tons, against 10,750,000 tons in 1902, and 10,375,000 tons in 1903.

Had the Convention benefited the West Indies? He had always questioned the great utility of the West Indies to this country as a sugar-producing colony. The people were very pig-headed. They still thought they cou'd grow sugar at a great profit. This country had given them doles, but what had they done with them? Had they improved their machinery or systems of production? No, their capital had been what was called "blown" and not expendedon the importation of machinery. Besides, the greater number of the islands in the West Indies were not adapted to sugar growing. They were hilly, whereas flat countries were required for the conveyance of the produce. Nor could he see that the West Indies had benefited by this Convention. The West Indies could only manage to distil 58 per cent. of their sugar, whilst in Honolulu they distilled 92 per cent. The West Indies had brought most of their misfortunes on their own heads. They had squandered the many doles and subventions that had been accorded them by the House. The hopes raised had prevented the West Indies from making arrangements with the United States. It would have been far cheaper for this country to have given them £350,000 per annum rather than to have imposed £8,000,000 on this country. Let them take Barbadoes as an instance. In 1902 the production of Barbadoes was valued at £301,602; in 1903 it was valued at £259,746. In 1903 the imports from the West Indies and British Guiana to this country were 522,907 cwts. In 1904 they were 809,929 cwts., or an increased value of only about £20,000 to the whole of the West Indies. The West Indies were not adapted to growing sugar except Cuba, Antigua, Barbadoes, St. Kitts, and British Guiana, which were now growing fruit instead. They were too mountainous and did not permit of the cheap construction of tramways to the central factories. With regard to sugar refining, there were just as many men employed in this industry as there were twenty years ago, and therefore there was not the slightest grievance on that score. Some twenty-three pigmies had been consolidated into two giant factories, and that was the only difference. Mr. Martin, a director of Tate's, said in a pamphlet—

> "Sugar refiners have never asked for more than fair competition, and if anyone has cause to grumble at the Sugar Convention surely it is the British refiner, who still feels the effect of

the surtaxes allowed the foreign refiner which give him a distinct protection in his own market."

The increased price of sugar was due to the Sugar Convention, which had given a stimulus to speculation. Having been on the Stock Exchange he knew the game. We had almost wrecked certain industries through this disastrous legislation, and had made ourselves the laughing-stock of the foreigner. Why, having had this large sugar-plum put into our mouths, should we insist on rejecting it? We had shut Russia and Argentina out of our markets, and had given an impetus to Java only. The 250,000 tons of sugar from Russia and Argentina would have relieved the market. Speaking upon the subject of retaliatory duties in regard to Indian sugar, Lord Curzon said he thought that was indisputable. He imagined that that opinion was synonymous with that which was held by those on his side of the House who took the same opinion on this Convention as he did. He looked upon the whole Convention as a disaster. But, to speak metaphorically, they were "sucked" into this Convention and the foreigner was reaping the benefit. He thought he might be allowed to read what Monsieur Josef Caillaux said in "La Gironde" of September 22nd last—

"Several years ago the impost on sugar was fixed at the exorbitant rate of 65 frs. per 100 kilos., 65 centimes per kilo. As everyone knows, a large portion of the product of this growing tax does not return to the Treasury. The annual consumption of sugar in France oscillating between 400,000,000 and 500,000,000 of kilos., the State ought to recoup 450,000,000 frs. yearly; it only receives 150,000,000 to 200,000,000, the surplus being employed in bounties distributed to the manufacturers of sugar. This custom has had the principal result of creating a disproportion between the production, which, roused by the stimulus of bounties, develops itself beyond all measure and the consumption which remains stationary, overwhelmed by the weight of the impost; above all, furnishing the English at the expense of the French taxpayers with cheap sugar. The laws of concurrence prevented, therefore, the producers retaining the greater part of the bounties which were paid, though they employed them to lower the price of sugar, and, as they sold in England about two-thirds of the goods which they manufactured, two-thirds of the bounties paid by the French reached the English. We were thus benevolently turning over to our neighbours across the Channel a subsidy of 50,000,000 or 100,000,000 frs. yearly. Ah, my dear neighbours, what is so remarkable about your astonishment? What you have not understood is that the imposition of bounties on the powers of the Continent had the effect of diminishing the price of sugar to your advantage; that when the bounties disappeared, necessarily the tendency of sugar was to rise; that, however, was only to be expected."

Now, Sir, that was a faithful witness as to the effect of the bounties in this country. Even had they wished to raise the money by the further taxation of sugar in this country that even would have been better than to have attempted to bolster up the West Indies at the price of the British taxpayer. But here they got nothing, and they gave £8,000,000 for nothing, and that was an act of the grossest stupidity which the Government could have been capable of. He had always voted against the Government on this question, but to-day a vote did not mean that the Convention would be repealed, and even if the Convention were repealed, they could not force the sugar-growers and manufacturers in Germany and Austria to reimpose their cartels. The Convention would continue in force for the next three years and a half. We had bound ourselves in this unfortunate alliance with nine other Powers, but if he were in the House two years and a half hence he should certainly vote for denouncing the Convention.

*MR. CROOKS (Woolwich) said that he remembered the agitation in the old days when sugar refining first encountered foreign competition and its improved methods. He was then one of the injured working men whose trade had been taken away, and he remembered the masters getting up mass meetings of five or six in a public-house to protest against the bounty-fed sugar when an unanimous vote was easily secured after the champagne and cigars had gone round. He remembered reading a speech which the right hon. Member for West Birmingham made in Greenock, and in which, talking of the disappearing industries of the district, he pointed to the decadence of the sugar industry, and asked where it had gone to. If he had been behind the right hon. Gentleman he would have said that it had gone to Silvertown. In former days there were thirteen sugar houses in the Tower Hamlets, and they were now all shut up. But when they were working the number of men employed was only 300—all

Germans too. They never heard anything about aliens in those days. A firm which had to leave Greenock owing to the acquisition of the site of their premises for the extension of a dock came to Silvertown and started in this ruined industry there. This one firm now employed far more men than all the thirteen sugar houses did in their time. They might get an Englishman, or a Welshman, or an Irishman to invest his money in a ruined industry, but they would never get a Scotchman to do it. That gentleman knew all about bounties, and yet he started in Silvertown, where he put improved machinery in his works, and where he had convenient rail and river transit facilities. There was also the case of Messrs. Tate & Co. He could affirm that this particular firm—he did not know the technical name for it, but he would put it in his own rough way—was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1869 or 1870 when the duty was taken off sugar. That firm discovered a new method of refining sugar, and they went to the various refiners throughout the kingdom, and informed them of the discovery which they said would enable British refiners to fight their foreign competitors. They invited the other firms to co-operate with them in working on the new system, but their request was refused. Messrs. Tate & Co. went on with the new process on their own account, with the result that they had built up a great business which had prospered during the worst periods of competition with imported bounty-fed sugar. Why? It was because the quality of their sugar was better than that produced by the foreigner. This ruined industry enabled Sir Henry Tate, who was a philanthropist, and an exceedingly good sort, to present Liverpool with money to build a children's hospital, to present Battersea Polytechnic with £10,000, and to leave to the nation the beautiful collection of pictures in the gallery at Millbank.

Was there any need for this Convention at all? We had suddenly discovered that our neighbours on the Continent were so immoral as to endeavour to improve their trade by means of bounties, and we had to teach them better manners by saying we would not have their cheap sugar. That was a new doctrine for Englishmen, who generally wanted all they could lay their hands upon. Was it because we were getting it for nothing that we would not have it? If £250,000,000 had been wasted on a war to make dividends for somebody, it would have been a different thing altogether. They were asked to look at the profits made in the confectionery business. Would not the mine-owners like to make such profits? Of course they would. But the confectioner was probably getting his 37 per cent. on his invested capital, while the others wanted to make it out of their watered stock, which was a different thing. The Member for West Birmingham claimed that the Convention had increased the growth of cane sugar, and also maintained that there had not yet been time for its effects to be felt at home. He could not have it both ways. A rise of £2,000,000 in the price of sugar had been spoken of as if it were of little importance; but it made the difference between having sugar in their tea and doing without it to many people whom he knew. An increased profit had been given to the sugar refiners of this country, but he would like to know where the working men had received increased wages. Confectioners had been obliged to dismiss hands. How could it be said that the cause of such a condition of things had made no difference? The fact was that cheap sugar gave us markets at home and abroad, and we were able to employ thousands of the humblest of the population in the sugar-using industries. The depression which the country was passing through was bad enough before, but it was worse now. How could it be said that the cause of this condition of things made no difference? Anyone who said so must live in the clouds. By this policy the value of the shares in the sugar-refining companies had been increased, but an irreparable injury had been done to the working men of this country.

MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR (Essex, Romford) said the hon. Member for the Chester-le-Street Division had stated in his speech that the Member for West Birmingham had made a bad case. If that was the hon. Member's opinion he did not think it was shared by anyone else in the House. He thought his right hon. friend had made a splendid case, and that his arguments were absolutely unanswerable. He was convinced that if the Convention had done anything in the way of altering our fiscal policy and removing difficulties under which we laboured, it was a step in the right direction. It was patent to all that anything that was unstable with regard to raw material must be a bad factor so far as the manufacturer was concerned. Nothing could make the sugar industries more unstable than the fact that they were bolstered up by bounties. It was obvious that something had to be done in order to meet the difficulty in which we found ourselves as the result of the bounty system. It had been said that if the West Indies were in a good condition, they could easily compete. The fact was that there had been no confidence whatever in the investment of capital in the West Indies, and consequently no machinery went out to enable sugar-growers there to carry on their industry to the best advantage. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had introduced confidence, and the result had been that machinery was being set up for the purpose of producing sugar under more favourable conditions than had hitherto been possible. He considered that was one proof that the Convention had so far done good. They did not say for a moment that the best effects of the Convention had yet taken place, but he thought they would come in the near future. It was now realised that the principle of bounties was a bad one, and that foreign countries should be prevented, if possible, from giving them. If bounties were to be successful in destroying our sugar trade, foreign countries might be encouraged to attack our shipping and other industries by means of subsidies. That was not a good business policy. He did not think the hon. Member for West Islington would ask the Government to abolish the Convention and reinstate bounties. On account of the artificially low price of sugar a number of factories were established in this country for the purpose of producing confectionery, because the goods could be exported to the countries which sent us the sugar and sold there at lower prices than they could be produced at in those countries. It was a peril to this country to have factories which could not compete unless they were bolstered up by low-priced sugar. He thought the time had come when we should set our house in order by putting our commercial administration on a thoroughly sound basis.

*MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said he had listened with very great interest to the speech of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. He did not understand that the hon. Gentleman was altogether very happy about the Convention or that he was disposed to take the responsibility which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham seemed inclined to put upon him. The fact was that the rise in the price of sugar had been very annoying to the Government, because it had made it obvious that the Convention had not been the success which they anticipated it would be. The Under-Secretary and other hon. Gentlemen opposite had said that, because free-traders were averse to a system of bounties, therefore they ought to welcome this Convention. They did not appear to be able to appreciate the great difference between our proposing to abolish bounties to which we were opposed, and our coming to an arrangement with other Powers to abolish bounties which, in our opinion, were financially to our advantage. The Under-Secretary to the Board of Trade had quoted the authority of Mr. Gladstone and other eminent Liberals on this subject, but he was quite certain that if those great authorities had had to deal with the abolition of bounties which, in theory, were abolished by the Convention, their object would have been two-fold. In the first place, they would have endeavoured to effect it gradually and by degrees, without the violent convulsions of prices and trade which had attended the introduction of the Convention. And, further, they would have desired and obtained an absolute and complete abolition of all bounties. They would not have agreed to a Convention which retained the principle of cartels and surtax, which secured to each foreign country concerned "efficient protection" in its own market against our sugared goods, and forced us to prohibit sugar from all other countries. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade in his original speech looked upon the Convention as a diplomatic triumph, and seemed to think that the Government had been able to induce reluctant foreign countries to agree to the British proposal. The Under-Secretary to the Board of Trade, following the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, developed the idea that the bounties had been put on with the object of destroying our sugar industry in the West Indies and our refineries here, and that that being accomplished, they would secure a great monopoly. He did not think that the history of the sugar question justified that attitude. It was quite certain that the bounty-giving nations had not been able to come to any agreement to abolish bounties —the only result of their manifold conferences being that the bounties had been increased—until they found a Government, like the present Government of this country, to act as a cat's-paw for them, and to enable them to come to an arrangement by which they finally abolished the bounties. The fact was that these bounties had become a sort of Old Man of the Sea to foreign Governments, clinging round their necks and continually becoming tighter and heavier. They were consequently anxious to obtain relief from them.

The point for us was what had been the financial result of the Convention, especially taking into account the attitude of the Government and the prophesies they had made in regard to it? A great deal had been heard in reference to the increased cost of sugar. He was not quite sure that too much had not been made of that particular point; for, putting it for the moment aside, he condemned the Convention on its merits. How did we stand with regard to this matter? The Prime Minister some time ago very rightly said that so far as he was concerned—

> "The riches of one nation conduced not to the poverty but to the wealth of another nation; and if we could double or treble by the stroke of some fairy wand the wealth of every other nation in the world but our own, depend upon it our nation would greatly profit by the process."

He agreed with that statement, with this emendation, that the additional prosperity to other nations should not be carried out at the expense of this country, or we be impoverished for the greater comfort of other countries. Now, it was admitted that the Convention had cheapened the cost of sugar in other countries, while it had raised it here. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had said that the price of sugar abroad was not cheaper than here. That was true, but what had happened was that relatively to the position before the Convention came into force, the price of sugar in this country was infinitely higher than it was before to the foreign consumer and competitor. The best evidence of that was that while in Germany the consumption of sugar had jumped up 25 per cent., in this country, if it had not diminished, it had not increased in the ordinary degree. Then our manufacturers were admittedly in a worse position than they were before. The Under-Secretary to the Board of Trade in his speech the previous evening had stated more than once that in consequence of the drawback given on the exports of foreign sugared goods, as far as our own markets were concerned the English manufacturers were not in a worse position than they were before. He ventured to dispute that position, because the mere fact that the foreign manufacturers got very much cheaper sugar than before would be a benefit to them. Then the hon. Gentleman forgot the very important element that when we had cheap sugar here, and dear sugar abroad, our manufacturers of sugared goods had not only been able to advance their position in our own markets, but to export, in increasing amounts, their manufactured goods to those countries in which bounties were given. But now the reduction of the Excise duty and the increased import duty very much prejudiced the foreign markets against our manufacturers, and, therefore, these would lose very largely in the foreign market.

There was one point to which he thought no reference had yet been made, though it was important in his judgment. In this country we were going to pay a toll in the increase of cost to an extent variously calculated up to £15,000,000 a year, while our taxpayers would have to pay an additional price for their sugar. What had happened abroad in consequence of the abolition of the bounty system? It was found that in France, Austria, and Germany the Exchequers had enormously benefited. It made a difference to the Austrian Exchequer of £800,000 a year, and had given the Austrian Chancellor a surplus instead of a deficit. Last December the German Chancellor stated that, in consequence of the increased consumption of sugar in that country, the sugar revenue had increased to the extent of no less than £700,000. That was a very different position to that in which we stood here. Our Chancellor of the Exchequer would be very glad to receive such a sum as that. While our consumers and manufacturers had suffered from the Convention, the taxpayers and consumers abroad had enormously benefited.

He now came to the question, largely discussed, as to how far the additional cost of sugar in this country was due to the Convention or to other causes. They were in rather a remarkable position in regard to this matter. The previous night the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, in defending the Convention—although he would not admit it was due to him—said that the increase of price, be it two or fifteen millions, had "had nothing whatever to do with the Convention." He was glad to hear that afternoon that the Under-Secretary of the Board of Trade had practically admitted the whole of the case of the Opposition, because he started by saying that some of the increase in the price was due to the Convention. Nobody on that side of the House said that the whole increase in price was due to the Convention, but that the Convention had largely aggravated it.

MR. BONAR LAW said that he had denied there was any evidence that the Convention had been the cause of the rise. So far as he could judge it was the drought.

*MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Very well, but he could not understand why the Government and the right hon. Member for West Birmingham should be much annoyed at the suggestion that the Convention had raised the price of sugar, because the whole object of the Convention had been supposed to be to raise the price of sugar. The President of the Board of Trade had several times said that the price of sugar before the Convention was unnaturally low, below the cost of production, and that the Convention would raise the price to £10 per ton, and enable the West Indian planters to make a profit. Why, then, should he be so much annoyed when it was said that the Convention led to an increase in price. He understood the Under-Secretary to the Board of Trade to argue, that if the rise in price were due to the Convention, that rise must have come earlier, and his argument was that the increase of price was entirely due to shortage of crop. But his hon. friend the Member for Devonport had shown by figures that there was a surplus of stocks immediately after the Convention came into force, which, under market conditions, kept down the price. This was entirely confirmed by a Question which on February 25th, 1904, was asked of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in reference to the operation of the Sugar Convention and its effect on the exports of sugar from the West Indies. That was at the period when the Under-Secretary said the price ought to have risen. In his Answer the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary said—

> "The existence of large surplus stocks of sugar in the home market necessarily retards the natural operation of the abolition of bounties."

But "the natural operation of the abolition of bounties" was to increase the price, and it proved entirely the contention of those on that side of the House that the reason why the price did not rise earlier was because there were surplus stocks which kept values below their normal prices. He came now to the other point of the Under-Secretary, namely, that the whole of the increase in price was due to the short crop. Now, the shortage of crop in 1904 admittedly amounted to 700,000 tons, and the increase in consumption admittedly amounted to 840,000 tons. It seemed to him, therefore, clear that the greater effect on the increase of price was due to the Convention, which caused the increase of consumption, rather than to the shortage of crop. The Under-Secretary and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had also argued that the considerable speculation which had taken place had driven up the price of sugar. Of course if 1,500,000 tons were taken off the market by shortage and consumption it afforded a greater facility to speculators to run up the price. But his contention was that the restriction of the area to which we could go for our supply had had a very considerable effect also on the power of speculators to run up the price. It had been said that a very small amount of sugar from Russia, Argentina, and other prohibited countries had ever come into this country; but the point was how much would have come in if the price had risen from £6 to £16? He contended that if our ports had been open to the products of these countries there would have been a very large addition to the amount of sugar exported from them to this country, and that would have very much affected the question of price.

It had also been argued by the Under-Secretary and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham that the great advantage of such a Convention as this would be that fluctuations in price would in the future diminish. If there were less fluctuations in the future it would only be because the price was permanently on a higher level. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said that they would not get so much fluctuation because they would stimulate the production of cane sugar. He confessed that he had listened with very great surprise to the development of that argument. The right hon. Gentleman had said that if there was a short crop of beet sugar last year, on the other hand, there was an increase of 400,000 tons of cane sugar, and that that was due to the Convention. He denied that because, with the very small exception of Java, all the other nations from which that increase had come were not under the Convention at all, but were in the prohibited area. But assuming that the Convention had stimulated the growth of cane sugar, he maintained that that was not the object of the Convention at all. The great sacrifice we made was not made to increase cane sugar cultivation in Argentina, Java, and the Philippines and other tropical countries. Its whole object was to increase the production of cane sugar in the West Indies. Had it done so? The Under-Secretary shook his head, but only a few months ago the Prime Minister said—

> "If it were not for the fact that in this case the proper investment of capital in the West Indian Islands, capital belonging to the Empire, was rendered impracticable and dangerous under our existing system, if it was not, in fact, for the case for the West Indies, there is no conceivable reason why we should not allow the foreigner to tax himself for the benefit of the British consumer."

Surely, it was not intended that we should pay so many millions a year in order to benefit the cane sugar planters elsewhere than in the West Indies; yet the West Indies was the one spot in the world where the crop had been shorter than in previous years. Of course, the West Indies had benefited in that for the smaller crop they had got about £16 a ton instead of £6. But we had been told that as members of a great Empire and lovers of the Colonies we were to be benefited by being able to consume West Indian sugar whilst the West Indies got a higher price. Whether they looked at the Convention from the point of view of the supposed advantage to the West Indies, the enormous disadvantages of our own consumers and manufacturers, or the increased price which had followed it, the words of the Amendment properly condemned it, and the judgment of the country would condemn it as well.

*MR. GERALD BALFOUR said that after listening to the three speeches delivered from the front Opposition Bench, he was still at a loss to know what was the real attitude of the Liberal Party towards the Convention. First of all the hon. Member for Dundee told them that, so far as foreign bounties were concerned, he would lie on his back, open his mouth, and ask for more. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen held that bounties were economically unsound, and said, if without any effort of ours we could see bounties abolished that would be a matter for rejoicing. Last of all came the hon. Member for Poplar, who told them if Cobden and Mr. Gladstone had had to deal with the problem they would have been quite ready to enter into a Convention for abolishing bounties, the only difference being that they would have objected to certain provisions in the present Convention, such as the penal clause and the surtax. He did not know which of these three views represented the view of the Liberal Party at the present time; but he congratulated the hon. Member for Poplar on having returned to the traditions of the old Liberal Party on this subject. Two questions had been asked by the hon. Member for Dundee as to the proceedings of the Permanent Commission. They did not appear to him to be particularly relevant; but as one involved a reflection on the action of the British delegate at Brussels he would answer them at once. The first question had reference to the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Commission as to the possibility of a bounty being given by any of the Governments, parties to the Convention, on sugar products; and the hon. Member asked whether a resolution of that kind had executive force. In a narrow and technical sense he did not suppose that the resolution would carry with it executive force. It was binding on the Commission, and in the case supposed the Commission would be under an obligation to express an opinion; but there was no clause in the Convention binding the contracting Powers to accept such an expression of opinion. He had little doubt, however, that it would be practically operative, nor did he think that the Governments, parties to the Convention, were at all likely to ignore a recommendation of the Permanent Commission made in accordance with the terms of this resolution. If they did it would be a justification for this country to take such steps as the circumstances might seem to require.

An HON. MEMBER: What would you do?

*Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said to the hon. Member: it was not the custom in this House to answer hypothetical questions. When the matter came up it would be time enough to decide what action should be taken. Next, a reference was made by the hon. Member to a further resolution of the Commission by which a countervailing duty was fixed in the case of about seventeen States outside the Convention; and the hon. Member asked whether the British delegate voted against this resolution. It did not appear that any vote was actually taken on the subject, but the British delegate did record his objection in the most formal manner against the action taken by the Commission. His Majesty's Government concurred with Sir Henry Bergne in the objection which he raised, and he had every expectation that the Permanent Commission would meet the views of the Government on the subject.

He did not think it necessary to spend many words on any abstract question raised in connection with the Amendment or to discuss whether the Sugar Convention was a step in the direction of free trade or not. The general contention of hon. Gentlemen opposite appeared to be that the importation of bounty-fed goods was not inconsistent with free trade. All he would say was that it was inconsistent with free trade as understood by such authorities as Cobden and Mr. Gladstone. Trade was free when it flowed in natural channels, and it ceased to be free when diverted from those channels either by protection or bounties. As regards what, after all, had been the main subject of the debate—namely, the relation which the Convention had had to the great rise in the price of sugar—he would not contend for a moment that the Convention was not likely to have any effect on the price of sugar. It was the intention of the Convention to restore the natural price of sugar by restoring the natural conditions of demand and supply. The price during a considerable period before the Convention was such that the production of sugar in many parts of the world could no longer be carried on at a profit. A price below the cost of production could not possibly be a natural price; and if they started from a price of 6s., of course the tendency of the Convention would be to raise that price to one more nearly approaching the natural or normal price. At the same time, the Government had always contended that the Convention would have the other effect of preventing great and rapid fluctuations of price. In spite of the rise of price during last year, from which we were still suffering, he still maintained the soundness of this contention; but it was also necesary to add that they must distinguish between the policy of the Convention and the mere process of change from the old bounty system to the new system under which bounties were abolished.

The real question was what, if any, effect had the Convention had in producing the great and rapid rise of price during the last five or six months of last year. Now, assuming for the sake of argument that the Convention was responsible for the rise, was it the abolition of the bounties which had been the cause, or was it some special provision in the Convention apart from the abolition of the bounties? In other words, was it contended that if the sugar-producing countries on the Continent had of their own accord abolished bounties without any action on our part, the great rise in price would have resulted, or had the rise in price been caused solely by some special provision in the Convention, and in particular by the penal clause? Various opinions had been expressed on this subject by hon. Gentlemen opposite. The hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs said that the bounties were worth £6,000,000 annually to this country. Therefore, his view was that it was the abolition of the bounties that produced the increase in price. On the other hand, the hon. Member for West Islington advanced the view that the abolition of bounties had had no effect whatever on the rise in the price of sugar. The hon. Gentleman's contention was that three-fourths of the rise was entirely due to the action of the Government in excluding Russian and Argentine bounty-fed sugar from this country. During the last five months of the year the rise in the price of sugar was something like 4s. Therefore, if the view of the hon. Member for West Islington was correct, at least 3s. of that rise must have been due to the action of this country in applying the penal clause to Russian and Argentine sugar. Was that admitted? Very well. It happened that a practical test could be applied to the matter. If the application of the penal clause was the real cause of the rise in the price of sugar, it was clear that that rise in price must be a phenomenon peculiar to the country applying the penal clause. In countries which were not parties to the Convention the rise in the price of sugar, according to the view of the hon. Member for West Islington, should be at least 3s. less than it had been in the United Kingdom. But what was the fact in Switzerland? There the rise in the price of sugar was greater even than than it had been in this country.

AN HON. MEMBER: France?

* **MR. GERALD BALFOUR:** The price had also increased in France more than in this country. Surely these facts blew the entire case of the hon. Member to the winds. The truth was that in all Continental countries, whether they applied the penal clause in the form of prohibition or in the form of countervailing duties, sugar had risen in price as much and as fast as in the United Kingdom. The Member for Devonport had attacked him with some vehemence in respect to certain statements which he had made on a previous occasion regarding the amount of sugar sent by Russia into this country. The statement he had made was in reply to a statement of the hon. Member for Islington that the amount of sugar sent into this country by Russia in 1902 was 100,000 tons. He had traversed that statement, and, quoting from Russian official statements, had said the amount was only 1,000 tons. He was prepared to admit that subsequent investigation had convinced him that the official document on which he relied did not give an accurate account of the facts. There was no doubt that a good deal of sugar formerly came into this country from Russia through Germany which was not shown in the Russian statement. On the other hand it was perfectly clear that in 1902 not more than 69,000 tons crossed the European frontier, and it was therefore absolutely impossible that the figure given by the hon. Member—100,000 tons—could have been anything near the mark. He was prepared to admit that he might have been wrong to the extent of 20,000 tons, but in that case the hon. Member for Islington would still be in error to the

extent of about 80,000 tons. Even taking the higher figure of the hon. Member for Devonport, and allowing that 36,000 tons might come from Russia into the United Kingdom, it would be seen that, as the total imports into this country were something like 1,600,000 tons, the Russian contribution was a comparatively trifling affair. Putting the amount which might have come from Russia and Argentina together after the Convention at 50,000 tons, the absolute annihilation of this small quantity would not have been likely to cause a very great difference of price. But this sugar was not annihilated. Although Russian sugar was excluded from this country, it was not prevented from taking the place of sugar that did come to this country. Russia exported sugar in considerable quantities to Turkey Persia, Egypt, and the Levant generally, where she competed with Austria. The moment prices rose in the London market, Austrian sugar would be attracted here, and its place in the East would be taken by Russian sugar. He hoped that what he said would convince the House that they might really neglect absolutely any effect of the penal clause in producing the rise in the price of sugar.

It remained to be considered whether the abolition of sugar bounties, as distinguished from the application of the penal clause, had had any effect on the rise of price and, if so, what effect. There was really no mystery about the cause of the rise that had taken place. Everybody in their candid moments would admit that it had been produced by two causes—in the first place, by a shortage in production, and in the second place by an increase in consumption. Price depended upon considerations of demand and supply, and in this case there had been at once a greater demand and a smaller supply. If the abolition of bounties had had any effect on the rise of price it must have been by affecting the demand or the supply or both. It was admitted on all hands that there had been a very great shortage in the supply. The best authorities put it at something very little short of 1,200,000 tons. Reference had been made to diminished sowings during the past season. These diminished sowings had been estimated at about 6½ per cent. of the whole, but the shortage in the yield of the beet crop was no less than 20 per cent., so that only about one-third of the shortage could be put down to diminished sowings, the remaining two-thirds, an amount which might be estimated at not less than 800,000 tons, being due to a drought of altogether exceptional character.

Mr. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury) asked what the diminished sowings were due to.

*Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said that if he granted that possibly the diminished sowings, representing a shortage of 400,000 tons, were due to the Convention, he was equally justified in assuming that the increased yield of cane, which came to almost exactly the same figure, was the result of the Convention too. Therefore, setting one against the other, both might be written off the account. The dominating feature of the situation, so far as supply was concerned, was the shortage of 800,000 tons, due entirely to climatic conditions, which neither this nor any other Government could control. The hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs had said that speakers on the Government side contended that the rise in price was due to the drought and to nothing else. At any rate it was better to insist upon what everybody admitted to be a real and a most important cause than to omit mention of it altogether. He had read speeches made in the country by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose, in which the rise of price was invariably ascribed to the Convention pure and simple, and in which no mention whatever was made of the drought. He put this question to those right hon. Gentlemen. If they knew of the drought, was it fair or honest to say nothing about it in the country? And if they did not know of it, what title had they to discuss this subject at all? So much for the question of supply.

He now came to the question of demand. He did not dispute for a moment that in connection with the abolition of bounties there had been a great reduction of price in Continental countries. That reduction of price was caused partly by the reduction of internal taxes, which was certainly not due to any provision of the Convention. In fact, internal taxes had not been reduced at all in some countries that were parties to the Convention, as for instance Austria and Holland. Still he was quite prepared to admit that the abolition of bounties did afford a convenient occasion for the Governments of various countries to diminish internal taxation, and so to reduce the cost of sugar. But was the Convention to be condemned on that account? Hon. Gentlemen opposite, who had cosmopolitan sympathies, should rejoice that the price of sugar had been reduced in those countries. [AN HON. MEMBER: At our expense.] Was the excess of consumption as compared with production a permanent or a temporary effect? If it was a permanent effect, he could well understand that it would be fair enough to connect it with the Convention; but there was a great difference between an increased consumption as compared with production that arose from the temporary disturbance in the relations of supply and demand incidental to the change from a bounty system to a non-bounty system, and one which would be a permanent effect of a system in which bounties did not exist. Was it the abolition of the bounty system, or the mere transition from one system to another that had produced that effect? He said it was a merely transitional disturbance, and it was not fair to attribute the effect to the Convention itself or to the policy of the Convention. He submitted that he had shown that the penal clause had had nothing whatever to do with the rise of price; that the most important element in the rise was shortage of supply caused by climatic conditions; and next to that the increased consumption: but this increased consumption was not directly the result of the Convention, but was due to the transition from one system to another, during which production had temporarily fallen behind the increase of consumption. Both these factors in the rise of price were of a temporary character, and if we had a favourable season next year it was practically certain that the prices would again resume their normal level. Even to-day the prices for delivery in the later months of this year were £4 or £5 below the current price.

¶He desired to add a few words about the effect of the Convention upon the sugar-using trades. It had been said that unemployment in those trades had been entirely the result of the Convention. If the Convention had not been the cause of the rise of price, then, so far as rise of price had affected those trades, it was clear that the Convention could not be responsible for the depression which he was sorry to say existed. Then it was said that the sugar-using trades in foreign countries, especially in countries outside the Convention, had the advantage of cheap, and even of bounty-fed sugar, and were thus able to compete unfairly with our own sugar-using industries. So far as the countries in the Convention were concerned, it was quite clear that they were not in a position to use bounty-fed sugar in the manufacture of confectionery. Switzerland, as a matter of fact, did not use bounty-fed sugar, except to an extremely small extent from Russia. The import of sugar from Russia into Switzerland last year was less than 400 tons, he believed, or about 1-200th part of the entire amount of sugar that Switzerland used. Therefore it was clear that the depression in the confectionery trade was not due to serious competition arising from the use of bounty-fed sugar in Switzerland. There was no sign in the figures that our sugar-using industries were losing their position in the foreign markets. Our exports of sugared goods were almost exactly the same in the present year as they were last year. It had been asserted that sugared products of Continental manufacture were beginning to invade neutral markets, which had hitherto been supplied by this country, and even to invade our home market. The figures gave absolutely no sign to point to that conclusion. There had been a considerable increase in the imports of sugared goods, but this increase consisted exclusively of fruit preserved in their syrup, a class of goods with which our own trade did not directly compete. Confectionery imports, properly so called, were not increasing, but declining. In the face of these facts he submitted that there was no justification for the allegation in the Amendment that the policy of the Brussels Convention had

> "inflicted heavy losses upon trade, diminished employment of labour, and enormously increased the cost of a necessary food to consumers without any compensatory advantages."

The Convention could not be expected to produce within eighteen months all the results which they ultimately anticipated would accrue from it. One of the declared objects of the Convention was to equalise competition between beet and cane sugar, and by that equalisation of competition to increase the sources of supply and give steadiness to the price of sugar. Such objects could not be secured in a day, and to judge the Convention by the results of a year's experience was altogether unreasonable. The Parliamentary Secretary had earlier in the evening quoted from a speech in which Mr. Gladstone declared that the bounty system with all its inequalities and injustice was not really to the advantage of either the consumer or the producer. The Government held the same opinion as Mr. Gladstone, and assuredly nothing had occurred since the Convention came into operation, or been said in the course of the debate, to shake their conviction that time would vindicate the wisdom of the policy they had pursued.

MR. RUNCIMAN said that the right hon. Gentleman had endeavoured to prove that the Convention had nothing to do with the rise in the price of sugar. If the right hon. Gentleman honestly believed that, he was the only man connected with the trade, either officially or unofficially, who did believe it. The right hon. Gentleman practically contended that it was possible to cut off important sources of supplies of raw material without that cutting-off of supplies having any effect on prices; in other words, that supply had nothing whatever to do with price. That might be very good special pleading, but it was uncommonly bad economics. The whole of the Convention was nothing but a gratuitous scheme for putting large sums of money into the pockets of foreigners, and a small amount into the pockets of the West Indian planters. The Government had intended to do the latter, though not the former, but they had succeeded admirably in both. According to the preamble of the Convention, one of the main objects was to increase the consumption of sugar. That object had been attained—on the Continent—but the right hon. Gentleman had overlooked the fact that increased consumption without increased supply must increase the price. It was true there had been a drought, but prices were rising long before the drought occurred. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that diminished sowing had something to do with the rise. That was an extraordinary admission on the part of one who was contending that the Convention had nothing whatever to do with the rise in price, as the diminished sowings were directly caused by the Convention. If bounties were abolished or diminished, it obviously meant less chance for the growers to make a profit on their commodity, and naturally they would sow less. Climatic conditions doubtless had something to do with the rise, but to cut off sources of supply simply accentuated the evils caused by the drought. There were two obvious facts which no amount of argument or special pleading would overcome. Before the Convention £20,000,000 a year were paid in sugar bounties, and those bounties were now practically wiped out. This country would never be persuaded that the wiping-out of those bounties had had no effect on the price of sugar. But one of the main arguments for the Convention had always been that it was to benefit the West Indies. If the Convention had not raised prices, how had it been a boon to the West Indies? The rise was due to the act of God; it was God, not the authors of this Convention, who had conferred the boon on the West Indies. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had stated that the disadvantage under which the West Indies laboured before the Convention was about £5 per ton of sugar. If that statement meant anything, it meant that the Convention had resulted in a loss of something like £8,000,000 a year to this country. The Convention was certainly not the product of free-trade principles. The Parliamentary Secretary had supported it in an eloquent and ingenious speech, but he had ended by enunciating the most orthodox protectionist principles. The Convention was really a step in the direction of that retaliation of which the Prime Minister was an ardent advocate. Sugar had had a peculiar political history. It brought about the downfall of Lord Melbourne's Administration in 1841; it brought into peril Sir R. Peel in 1844, and Lord John Russell in 1846; and it had certainly not benefited the standing of the present Government in the year 1904.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 211; Noes, 276. (Division List No. 10.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt EC(SAndrw'sBghs.
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir Francis H(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R.C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N.E.
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Grant, Corrie
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis Vernon
Hardie, J Keir(Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan, W
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Crae, George
M‘Fadden, Edward
M‘Hugh, Patrick A.
M‘Kean, John
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M‘Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd(Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hn. John (Montrose
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shackleton, David James

Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,RtHnC.R (Northants)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Stevenson, Francis S.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas,David Alfred(Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Waldron, Laurence Ambrose
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wills,ArthurWalters(N Dorset
Wilson, Chas. Henry (Hull, W.
Wilson, Fred. W. (Norfolk,Mid
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen,AugustusHenry Eden
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn. HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn. A.J. (Manch'r.
Balfour,RtHnGerald W(Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin
Beach,RtHn.Sir MichaelHicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hn. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn J. (Birm.
Chamberlain,RtHn.J A(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (AntrimS.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies,Sir HoratioD.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dewar,Sir T. R (Tower Hamlets
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale,RtHn.Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hn. George H.
Finlay,SirR B(Inv'rn'ss B'ghs)
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,Sir RobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson,Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon,Hn. J.E.(Elgin &Nairn
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.
Gordon,MajEvans-(T'r H'mlets
Goschen, Hn. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green,Walford D.(Wednesbury
Greene, Henry D(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,RtHnLordG (Midd'x
Hamilton, Mar. of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy,Laurence(Kent Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hn. Claude George
Heath Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath SirJames(Staffords.NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (York N. R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain HerbertMerton
Kennaway,RtHn Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Laurie, Lieut -General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence,Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawson,Hn H L W. (Mile End
Lawson, JohnGrant(Yorks.NR
Lee,Arthur H (Hants. Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman

Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, Reginald J (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Calmont, Colonel James
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H (Dumfriesshire
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Peel, Hn. W. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rothschild, Hn. Lionel Walter
Round, Rt. Hn. James
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H (Renfrew)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H (Hertford, East)
Smith, H C (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C E (Taunton)
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hn. John Lloyd
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R (Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wylie, Alexander
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Main Question again proposed.

Debate arising; and, it being after midnight the debate stood adjourned. Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

On the Motion for the adjournment of the House.

Mr. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden) asked what business would be taken on Thursday in the event of the debate on the Address being concluded.

*The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Sir A. Acland-Hood, Somersetshire, Wellington) said that in the event of the debate on the Address being concluded on Wednesday, Supplementary Army Estimates would be taken on Thursday, to be followed by the Supplementary Civil Service Estimates.

REPORTED RESIGNATION OF MR. WYNDHAM.

Mr. RUNCIMAN: May I ask the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury whether he is able to give us any information as to the reported resignation of the Chief Secretary for Ireland?

* Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD: There is no foundation for it.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): Is it untrue?

* Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD: Quite untrue.

Adjourned at twelve minutes after Twelve o'clock.

[APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CXLI.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the Lords.

(A.) House of Lords.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Advertisement Regulation [H.L.]	*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*	Read 1^a 24th Feb. (1205)
Bishopric of Bristol [H.L.]	*Lord Bishop of Bristol*	Read 1^a 16th Feb. (285) Read 2^a 21st Feb. (724)
*Congested Districts (Scotland) [H.L.]	*Marquess of Linlithgow*	Read 1^a 24th Feb. (1205) Read 2^a 28th Feb. (1443)
*Criminal Cases Reservation of Points of Law [H.L.]	*Lord Chancellor*	Read 1^a 21st Feb. (723)
Ecclesiastical Commissions [H.L.]	*Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*	Read 1^a 16th Feb. (286)
Military Manœuvres [H.L.]	*Earl of Donoughmore*	Read 1^a 16th Feb. (285)
*Municipal Corporations (Merthyr Tydvil Scheme Confirmation) [H.L.]	*Marquess of Londonderry*	Read 1^a 16th Feb. (286)
Newcastle Chapter Amendment [H.L.]	*Lord Bishop of St. Albans*	Read 1^a 27th Feb. (1275)
*Reserve Forces [H.L.]	*Earl of Donoughmore*	Read 1^a 16th Feb. (285) Read 2^a 24th Feb. (1207) Committee Report 28th Feb. (1444)
Sale of Intoxicants to Children [H.L.]	*Lord Dunboyne*	Read 1^a 27th Feb. (1275)
*Seamen and Soldiers' False Characters [H.L.]	*Earl of Donoughmore*	Read 1^a 16th Feb. (285) Read 2^a 21st Feb. (724) Committee Report 23rd Feb. (1019) Read 3^a and passed 24th Feb. (1208)
Select Vestries [H.L.]		Read 1^a 14th Feb. (5)
Street Betting [H.L.]	*Lord Davey*	Read 1^a 21st Feb. (725) Read 2^a 28th Feb. (1441)
Sunday Closing (Shops) [H.L.]	*Lord Avebury*	Read 1^a 20th Feb. (544)

(B.) House of Commons.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Access to Mountains (Scotland)	*Mr. Bryce*	Read 1° 21st Feb. (756)
Canals	*Mr. Barran*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (475)
Catholic Disabilities Removal	*Mr. MacVeagh*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (477)
Chartered Societies	*Sir John Rolleston*	Read 1° 22nd Feb. (911)
Children's Courts	*Sir Howard Vincent*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (479)
Church Discipline	*Mr. Austin Taylor*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (477)
Church Organisation and Discipline	*Lord Hugh Cecil*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (480)
Closing of Licensed Premises (Christmas Day) (Ireland)	*Mr. Nannetti*	Read 1° 28th Feb. (1494)
Coal Mines (Employment)	*Mr. Jacoby*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (473)
Coal Mines (Weighing of Minerals)	*Mr. Compton Rickett*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (473)
Colonial Marriages	*General Laurie*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (478)
Compensation for Damage to Crops	*Mr. Mount*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (476)
Congested Districts (Scotland) Act (1897) Amendment	*Mr. Ainsworth*	Read 1° 27th Feb. (1346)
Contempt of Court (Ireland)	*Mr. Patrick M'Hugh*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (478)
Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal	*Mr. Lundon*	Read 1° 20th Feb. (622)
Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act (1886) Amendment	*Mr. Weir*	Read 1° 27th Feb. (1346)
Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Acts Amendment	*Mr. Ainsworth*	Read 1° 27th Feb. (1346)
Drunkenness (Ireland)	*Mr. T. W. Russell*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (478)
Dublin Police Acts Amendment	*Mr. Clancy*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (476)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Foreign Trawlers Regulation	*Mr. Black*	Read 1° 20th Feb. (621)
Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities	*Sir Charles Dilke*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (479)
House-letting (Scotland)	*Mr. Alexander Cross*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (477)
Housing of the Working Classes Acts Amendment	*Sir Walter Foster*	Read 1° 22nd Feb. (1015)
Jurors' Expenses (Ireland)	*Mr. O'Dowd*	Read 1° 21st Feb. (755)
Land Drainage and Sewers	*Mr. Harold Reckitt*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (477)
Lands Valuation (Scotland) Amendment	*Mr. M'Crae*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (480)
Land Values (Assessment and Rating)	*Sir John Brunner*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (474)
Land Values Taxation (Scotland)	*Mr. Ainsworth*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (474)
Leasehold Enfranchisement	*General Laurie*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (478)
Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland)	*Mr. Hunter Craig*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (474)
Local Authorities (Qualification of Women)	*Dr. Shipman*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (475)
Local Government (Ireland) Acts Amendment	*Mr. Mooney*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (476)
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister	*Colonel Lockwood*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (474)
Medical Act (1886) Amendment	*General Laurie*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (478)
Merchandise Marks	*Sir Howard Vincent*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (479)
Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment	*Mr. Louis Sinclair*	Read 1° 28th Feb. (1493)
Milk Depôts (London)	*Mr. Lough*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (481)
Minister of Commerce and Industry	*Mr. Louis Sinclair*	Read 1° 28th Feb. (1493)
Municipal Franchise (Companies)	*Sir Albert Rollit*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (480)
Nurses Registration	*Mr. Munro Ferguson*	Read 1° 23rd Feb. (1112)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS—*continued.*

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Osborne Estate Act (1902) Amendment	*Mr. Victor Cavendish*	Read 1° 27th Feb. (1346)
Outlawries		Read 1° 14th Feb. (80)
Pharmacy	*Mr. Lough*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (480)
Plural Voting	*Mr. Soames*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (475)
Private Bill Procedure (Ireland)	*Mr. O'Doherty*	Read 1° 23rd Feb. (1112)
Private Legislation Procedure (Wales)	*Mr. Vaughan Davies*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (475)
Public Entertainment	*Captain Jessel*	Read 1° 24th Feb. (1271)
Public Trustee and Executor	*Sir Howard Vincent*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (479)
Purchase of Land (England and Wales)	*Mr. Jesse Collings*	Read 1° 22nd Feb. (911)
Rating of Machinery	*Mr. George Whiteley*	Read 1° 20th Feb. (622)
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Saturdays (Ireland)	*Mr. Sloan*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (477)
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Sunday)	*Mr. Perks*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (476)
Salmon Fisheries (Ireland) Acts Amendment	*Sir Henry Seton-Karr*	Read 1° 22nd Feb. (911)
School Board Electorate (Scotland)	*Mr. Weir*	Read 1° 27th Feb. (1346)
Shipowners' Negligence (Remedies)	*Sir Harry Samuel*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (472)
Small Dwellings (Acquisition)	*Sir Thomas Wrightson*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (910)
Small Holdings (Scotland)	*Mr. Black*	Read 1° 27th Feb. (1346)
Small Holdings	*Mr. Channing*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (476)
Small Holdings (No. 2)	*Mr. Jesse Collings*	Read 1° 23rd Feb. (1112)
Steam Engines and Boilers (Persons in Charge)	*Mr. Joseph Walton*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (477)
Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amendment	*Mr. Herbert Roberts*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (479)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Town Tenants (Ireland)	*Mr. Patrick O'Brien*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (473)
Trades Unions and Trade Disputes	*Mr. Whittaker*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (473)
Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment	*Mr. Patrick M'Hugh*	Read 1° 20th Feb. (622)
Trawlers' Certificates Suspension	*Mr. Weir*	Read 1° 28th Feb. (1494)
Vehicles Lights	*Mr. Bigwood*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (474)
Voting Disqualification (Poor Law) Removal	*Mr. Schwann*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (479)
Wages Boards	*Sir Charles Dilke*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (479)
Women's Enfranchisement	*Mr. Slack*	Read 1° 17th Feb. (475)

APPENDIX II.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1905.

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Intermediate Education (Ireland),—Copy of Time Table of Examinations for 1905 [41 and 42 Vic., c. 66, s. 6]	14 February	40 days
Intermediate Education (Ireland),—Copy of Rule making an addition to Rule 9 (a) of the Rules and Programme for 1905 [41 and 42 Vic., c. 66, s. 6]	14 February	40 days
Intermediate Education (Ireland),—Copy of Rule for the Examination in Music [41 and 42 Vic., c. 66, s. 6]	14 February	40 days
Intermediate Education (Ireland),—Copy of Additional Rule as to the French Course [41 and 42 Vic., c. 66, s. 6]	14 February	40 days
Factory and Workshop Acts (Special Exception—Overtime),—Copy of Order, dated 15th November 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 49 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception under that section to non-textile factories and workshops, or parts thereof, in which the making up of any article of table linen, bed linen, or other household linen is carried on [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 126 (3)]	14 February	40 days
Factory and Workshop Acts (Special Exception—Nightwork),—Copy of Order, dated 9th August 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of 16 years and upwards, employed on the system of three shifts of not more than eight hours each in the processes of pressing and reeling cordite and nitrating and moulding gun cotton carried on in non-textile factories [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 126 (3)]	14 February	40 days

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Factory and Workshop Acts (Dangerous and Unhealthy Industries),—Copy of Regulations, dated 24th October 1904, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 79 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, in respect of the processes of loading, unloading, moving, and handling goods in, on, or at any dock, wharf, or quay, and the processes of loading, unloading, or coaling any ship in any dock, harbour, or canal [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 84]	14 February	40 days
Inebriate Reformatories (Regulations),—Copy of Regulations made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department for the management and discipline of the certified Inebriate Reformatory at East Harling, Norfolk [61 and 62 Vic., c. 60, s. 21 (1)]	14 February	4 weeks (whilst the House is sitting)
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Magdalen College, Oxford, on 11th May 1904, amending the existing Statutes of the College [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	14 February	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of Statute made by the Governing Body of New College, Oxford, on 15th June 1904, amending Statute XV. (Pension Fund) of the Statutes of the College [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	14 February	12 weeks
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of Statutes made by the Governing Body of Balliol College, Oxford, on 26th May 1904, amending (1) Statute III. and (2) Statute IV. and Schedule B of the Statutes of the College [40 and 41 Vic., c. 48, s. 50]	14 February	12 weeks
Supreme Court (Rules),—Copy of Rules of the Supreme Court dated 1st October 1904 [38 and 39 Vic., c. 77, s. 25]	14 February	40 days
Deeds of Arrangement Act, 1887 (Rules),—Copy of Rule under the Act, dated 1st October 1904 [38 and 39 Vic., c. 77, s. 25]	14 February	40 days
Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Acts, 1883 to 1902,—Copy of the Patents Rules 1905, dated 20th October 1904 [46 and 47 Vic., c. 57, s. 101 (5)]	15 February	40 days
Osborne,—Copy of Rule for Osborne in connection with the Regulations prescribed by The Parks Regulation Act, 1872 [35 and 36 Vic., c. 15, s. 9]	16 February	One month
Education (Scotland),—Copy of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 16th February 1905, providing for the distribution of the General Aid Grant [35 and 36 Vic., c. 62, s. 67]	16 February	One month
Public Records (His Majesty's Stationery Office),—Copy of Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents existing or accruing in His Majesty's Stationery Office which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	16 February	4 weeks

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &C.—*continued.*

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Public Records (Board of Agriculture and Fisheries),—Copy of Second Schedule containing a List and Particulars of Classes of Documents existing or accruing in the Office of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office [40 and 41 Vic., c. 55, s. 1]	16 February	4 weeks
Board of Education,—Copy of Draft Order in Council continuing certain provisions contained in the Order in Council of 6th March 1902 [62 and 63 Vic., c. 33, s. 5]	17 February	4 weeks
Prisons (England and Wales),—Copy of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Stafford Prison [61 and 62 Vic., c. 41, s. 2]	20 February	30 sitting days
Prisons (England and Wales),—Copy of Draft Rules proposed to be made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department under the Prisons Acts, 1877 and 1898, with respect to the constitution of the Visiting Committee of Borstal Prison [61 and 62 Vic., c. 41, s. 2]	21 February	30 sitting days
Factory and Workshop Acts (Special Exception—Nightwork),—Copy of Order, dated 18th February 1905, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 54 (4) of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, extending the special exception in that section to male young persons of the age of 16 years and upwards employed in the process of continuous wire drawing carried on in non-textile Factories [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 126 (3)]	21 February	40 days
Railways (Certificates) (Corringham Light Railway Company),—Copy of Draft Certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the Corringham Light Railway Company to raise additional Capital [27 and 28 Vic., c. 120, s. 14]	21 February	6 weeks
Prisons (Scotland),—Copy of Rule made by the Secretary for Scotland as to the appointment of Visiting Committees to the Prisons at Barlinnie, Perth, and Peterhead [40 and 41 Vic., c. 53, s. 58]	28 February	40 days

INDEX

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

[AUTHORISED EDITION.].

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1905.

FEBRUARY 14—*FEBRUARY* 28.

EXPLANATION OF ARRANGEMENT AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Bills: Read First, Second, or Third Time — 1R., 2R., 3R. [*c.*] = Commons. [*l.*] = Lords. *Amendt.* = Amendment. *Os.* = Observations. *Qs.* = Questions. = *As.* = Answers. *Com.* = Committee. *Con.* = Consideration. Rep. Report.

Where in the Index * is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that Stage of the Bill, or on that Vote.

Subjects discussed in Committee of Supply are entered under their headings, and also under Members' Names, without reference to the actual Vote before the Committee.

Aberdare Tramways Bill
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2R.* *Feb. 27*, 1294.

Aberdeen
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Abertillery Urban District Water Bill
l. 1R.* *Feb. 17*, 429.
2R.* *Feb. 21*, 721.

Abraham, Mr. W. [Cork Co. N.E.]
Kingston Estate, Sale of, *Feb. 22*, 901.
Fair Rent Appeals—Kingston Estate Second Term Rents, *Feb. 20*, 612.

Abyssinia
Frontier Survey—Report Presented, *Feb. 14*, 51, 92.

Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill
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Accidents
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Railways, *see that title.*

Accrington Corporation Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 20*, 563.
2R.* *Feb. 27*, 1294.

Accrington District Gas and Water Board Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 20*, 564.
2R.* *Feb. 27*, 1294.

Achill Island
Distress in—Relief Works proposed.
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Acland-Hood, Rt. Hon. Sir A.—*Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury.* [Somerset, Wellington]
Business of the House, Course of, *Feb. 28*, 1585.
Ireland—Resignation of Chief Secretary, *Feb. 28*, 1586.

Acton Sewage Bill
c. 1R.* *Feb. 20*, 564.
2R.* *Feb. 27*, 1294.

Aden
Frontier Force, Casualties in, Rewards to, etc.
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